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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

(21)

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The

American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION IN CALIFORNIA

FOR several years, indeed during most of the period since the establishment of the Pacific Coast Branch in 1903, the members of that branch urgently invited the American Historical Association to hold one of its regular meetings somewhere upon the Pacific Slope. Great as were the attractions, the difficulties, especially in the case of meetings held at Christmas time, seemed insurmountable. Accordingly the Pacific Coast members, three years ago, took advantage of the approach of the Panama-Pacific International Exposition to invite the Association to hold an additional or intercalary meeting in California in the summer of 1915. The invitation was gratefully accepted. Mr. Rudolph J. Taussig, president of the Academy of Pacific Coast History and secretary of the exposition, was made chairman of the committee of arrangements, Professor E. D. Adams of Stanford University (whose place was later taken by Professor Frederic L. Thompson of Amherst College, temporarily resident at Berkeley), chairman of the committee on programme. The date set was July 20-23. Officials of the University of California, of Stanford University, and of other Californian institutions, co-operated heartily with those named, in making the meeting successful; but no doubt all who labored for its success would unite in declaring that it owed more of its form, merit, and interest to the endeavors of Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, president of the American Historical Association, than to those of any other individual.

Those who remember the meeting of July, 1893, held at Chicago during the time of the World's Fair, will not need to be told that a meeting held under such circumstances cannot be expected to have the same character as one that might be held in cloistered seclusion at some tranquil time and place. It was difficult for audiences to be prompt, difficult sometimes for them to resist the surrounding

attractions of the exposition. The programme was broken, a little more largely than is usual, by defaults and alterations. Circumstances required the exercises to be held in too many different places—the Philippine Islands Building, the Oregon Building, the California Building, the Argentine Building, at the exposition, the Fairmont Hotel and the hall of the Native Sons of the Golden West in San Francisco, the buildings of the University of California at Berkeley, those of Stanford University at Palo Alto—places, in some instances, separated from each other by long suburban or urban journeys.

But on the other hand there were compensations, more than ample, for all these minor and inevitable infelicities. No one had expected or desired the occasion to reproduce in full detail the typical meeting of the Association, and all attempt to do so was frankly abandoned. There was no business session, nor any attempt to transact business. The attendance (registration about 150) was mainly of members dwelling in the western half of the United States, though with a fair sprinkling of eastern members. The programme made no effort to cover the whole field of human history, but, with excellent judgment, substituted for the usual miscellany a body of papers all having the common trait of relating to the Pacific Ocean or to Panama. This appropriate limitation gave unity to the whole occasion, and the exceptional interest which resulted from it was one of the distinguishing marks of the California meeting.

Other distinguishing characteristics were supplied by the local environment and by the resident friends of the Association. It was difficult to take other than a hopeful view of the status and progress of history, in the sparkling air and under the bright sky of California, in sight of the Audacious Archer and the other artistic triumphs of the exposition, under the live-oaks of the Berkeley campus, or in the impressive cloisters of Palo Alto. The great war, which in the East oppresses the heart with incessant pain, was visibly three thousand miles farther away. The local members of the Association welcomed all comers with Californian openness of hand and mind. The general receptions at the California Building, at the house of President Wheeler, and at the hall of the Native Sons, the luncheons at the two universities, the afternoon hour at the beautiful country house of Mr. and Mrs. Crocker, and on the final day the hours of exquisite pleasure spent under the hospitable roof of Mrs. Hearst at her hacienda at Pleasanton, made a sum total of social pleasure which can hardly have been equalled at any previous

meeting, and which certainly could never be paralleled at any meeting held in the East in December.

By association with the meetings of the American Asiatic Association and of the Asiatic Institute, the meeting was made a part of a Panama-Pacific Historical Congress; but the present report is confined to the proceedings of the Historical Association. Those of the two organizations which preceded were not in the strict sense historical, though they dealt with themes which have great interest for every historian; for instance, the proceedings of the Asiatic Institute consisted of discussions of "The Pacific as the Theatre of Two Civilizations" and "The Pacific as the Theatre of 'the World's great Hereafter'", by ex-Secretary Bryan, ex-President Taft, Chancellor Jordan, and others. Even in the case of the papers read before the Historical Association, the fullest sort of summary is rendered less necessary, and the defects naturally attending one auditor's report will be made less of an evil, by the fact that a volume commemorative of the occasion and containing the full text of most of these papers is expected to be published before long. It will certainly be a notable volume, for the papers, besides the unity of theme and effect which has been spoken of above, were in general of marked excellence.

Four general papers of distinguished value marked the evening sessions: the address of Professor Stephens, president of the Association, on the Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean; that of Señor Don Rafael Altamira y Crevea, professor at Madrid, and representative of the Spanish government on this occasion, on Spain and the Pacific Ocean; that of Hon. John F. Davis, president of the Native Sons of the Golden West, on the History of California, and that of Mr. Taussig on "The American Interoceanic Canal; an Historical Sketch of the Canal Idea". At the conclusion of Mr. Taussig's clear and valuable review of the long process by which the great historic event now being celebrated had been brought about, Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, an ex-president of the Association, being called upon by the president gave an extended and most interesting narrative of the course of action through which, as president of the United States, he had secured to it the opportunity to construct a Panama Canal under purely American control; his speech gave to the programme a dramatic conclusion not foreseen.

The main purpose of Professor Stephens's presidential address was to show how the development of efforts for the control of the Pacific had followed the course of European politics. This was done with a characteristically wide view over the fields of modern

European history. Regular communication, it was pointed out, and systematic exploration and development, and all the problems of the Pacific, begin with the first advent of the Europeans, with the arrival of the Portuguese at Malacca in 1509 and in China, and with the simultaneous Spanish discoveries of Balboa. The first great landmarks are the expedition of Magellan and the Spanish occupation of the Philippines, begun in 1565, the latter an event of capital importance, which the institution of the Manila galleon connected closely with the history of Mexico. Another stage was marked by the absorption of Portugal into Spain in 1580. The English and Dutch resistance to the Hapsburg power is reflected in Drake's voyage and in other events, but the commercial endeavors of those powers were turned rather toward India, eastern Asia, and the Malay Archipelago, from which however the Dutch developed the earlier explorations of the South Pacific. The Spanish monopoly in the Pacific, assailed by the English and Dutch in the early seventeenth century, and under Louis XIV. by those French attacks which Dahlgren has recently described, was revived after the treaty of Utrecht, but once more assailed by the English in their struggle against exclusion from Spanish America, culminating in the war of 1740. Anson's incursion into the Pacific and capture of the Manila galleon marked a fresh era, showing that the Spanish power in the Pacific was vulnerable, that that ocean need no longer be regarded as a Spanish lake. English statesmen began to cast their eyes upon it. Draper's occupation of Manila in 1762 was a preliminary sign. From the time of Peter the Great the monopoly began to be threatened by Russia. Spain answered by renewed efforts, northward from New Spain, westward from Peru. The *legajo* in the Archives of the Indies which relates to the Portolá expedition is entitled "Papers relating to the Russians in California". But the answer came too late, and the Nootka Sound convention of 1790, ending Spanish monopoly, ended an epoch in the history of the Pacific. Already the first real trade across the Pacific—in furs from the Northwest Coast to China—had been begun; but the suspension of European activity of this sort from 1789 to 1815 gave the United States the chance to supplant Europe in the trade. In a similar manner, the effects of Spanish American independence, of the American acquisition of California, of the foundation of British Columbia and the confederation of Canada, of the rise of Japan and Australia, and of the war of 1898, were sketched in their large outlines, the problem of the conflicts between America and Asiatic powers remaining as the chief problem of the twentieth century.

Of the sessions occupied, after the manner of such meetings, with groups of briefer papers, five were devoted to five different aspects or subdivisions of the main theme of the congress. Thus, one session, a session held jointly with the two Asiatic societies, was given to the Philippine Islands and their History, as a part of the history of the Pacific Ocean area; one to the Northwestern States, British Columbia, and Alaska in their relation with the Pacific Ocean; one to Spanish America and the Pacific; one to the Exploration of the Northern Pacific Ocean and the Settlement of California; and one to Japan and Australasia. There was also a meeting of the California History Teachers' Association, and a meeting devoted to the history of New Mexico and styled a meeting of the New Mexico Historical Society, though open to the same public as the other sessions. In the former the question was discussed, by Professor George L. Burr of Cornell University, Miss Crystal Harford of the Lodi High School, Mr. Edward J. Berlinger of the Sacramento High School, and Mr. John R. Sutton of the Oakland High School, whether it is for the interest of history in schools that the American Historical Association make a fuller definition of the history requirement for entrance to college, a definition showing the especial points to be emphasized and those to be more lightly treated.

The session relating to Philippine History was presided over by Professor León María Guerrero, of the University of Manila, who introduced the session by remarks on the moral mission of history and on the special difficulties of the history of the Philippine Islands. In the absence of Dr. James A. Robertson, librarian of the Philippine Library, a summary was given, by another hand, of a paper in which he had set forth a remarkable discovery lately made by him, on the island of Panay, of a Bisayan criminal code in a syllabic script, which casts much novel light on the social structure of the early Philippine peoples and on their ideas of law in the period before the Spanish occupation.

Of the papers actually read in the session, the first, by Mr. K. C. Leebrick, of the University of California, dealt with the Troubles of an English Governor of the Philippines, namely, those of Dawsonne Drake, a simple-minded East India Company servant, of narrow training, sent out from Madras after the conquest of Manila, installed as deputy governor in November, 1762, and forced by his council to resign in March, 1764. The story was told from the Manila Records in the archives of Madras, and from papers in the Public Record Office and the British Museum. The difficulties were those naturally engendered by placing the officers of a mili-

tary and naval expedition under the direction of a commercial company, but heightened by conciliar organization, by the confusion of military and financial purposes, and by dissensions of religion and race among English, Spanish, native, and Chinese elements.

The paper by Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the same university, on the Question of Ecclesiastical Visitation in the Philippines, dealt with a long series of disputes arising from the exceptional arrangement whereby in these islands benefices were largely held by members of the regular clergy. The practice of episcopal visitation placed such holders of benefices in a position of divided allegiance, as between their prelates and their orders, and led to long-continued discord. Some of the earlier archbishops were regulars, ambitious for their orders; later, the archbishop usually acted under a natural ambition to control all ecclesiastical affairs. In these disputes of prelates and friars, the audiencia acted both as a tribunal and as agent of the royal power. But in the end the supplanting of the friars by seculars was generally conceded to be inadvisable, because its tendency would be to bring into the benefices immature and undesirable native priests.

Dr. David P. Barrows, dean in the University of California, and formerly commissioner of education in the Philippine Islands, gave a mere summary of his paper on the Governor General of the Philippines under Spain and the United States. The dilemma in the shaping of the office was, as he described it, that of investing the supreme administrative official with ample authority for meeting all emergencies, at so great a distance from the metropolitan country, yet guarding against excessive power. The purport of his paper was to describe the extent to which the traditions of this same great office as it existed under Spain had survived into the present régime.

The session for Northwestern-Pacific history was opened by a paper by Hon. F. W. Howay of New Westminster, judge in British Columbia, on the Fur Trade as a Factor in Northwestern Development. After dwelling upon the transitory character, wasteful competition, and slight results of the period of maritime endeavor from 1788 to 1815, he turned to description of the greater results which followed the fur trade, especially after the union of the Northwest Company with the Hudson's Bay Company. Despite the purpose of avoiding improvements not strictly necessary to subsistence and the trade, the Company was insensibly led to develop the country in ways that would bring forward agriculture and commerce, the lumber and coal industries.

From extensive studies in the Russian archives, made on behalf of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Professor Frank A. Golder, of Washington State College, in an address of much interest, developed the Attitude of the Russian Government toward its American Possessions. The beginning was made by the expeditions of Peter the Great. Catherine II. uniformly vetoed proposals of Russian expansion into America, on the ground that such undertakings called for a greater marine and a more abundant population than Russia possessed, and also would detract from the development of Siberia. Mr. Golder described the discussions under the Czar Paul, the chartering of the Russian America Company, the renewed discussions when its first charter expired, and the increasing burden which Russian America appeared, from 1820 to 1860, to lay on the Russian government, until, after an unfavorable report from two commissioners sent out in 1861-1862, Russia was quite ready to give up the territory for much less than she obtained by the treaty of 1867. The reasons given by Stoeckl, minister at Washington, in a confidential report to the Minister of Finance, were summarized: the general unprofitableness of European colonies, the difficulty of holding that great region in case of war, the great burden of expense to be borne till a remote period, the precariousness of trade as the United States expanded, "manifest destiny", and the stronger claims of the career that lay before the Russians in Asia.

Hon. Clarence B. Bagley of Seattle, in a paper on the Waterways of the Pacific Northwest, dwelt chiefly upon the development of steamboat navigation, especially that of navigation on the Columbia River till its recent opening up to Lewiston, upon the harbor improvements by government and capitalists at Seattle and Vancouver, and upon the recent history of northwestern commerce.

The final paper in this session was a thoughtful and suggestive discourse by its chairman, Professor Joseph Schafer of the University of Oregon, on the Western Ocean as a Determinant in Oregon History. Adverting first to the large place which water communication with the Pacific, for purposes primarily of Asiatic trade, had had in Jefferson's instructions to Lewis and Clark and earlier explorers, he showed how nevertheless the Willamette colony had till 1849 been isolated from the rest of the world almost as completely as early Virginia or Massachusetts. Development out of the pioneer stage would probably have been much slower but for external accidents like the discovery of gold in California and in British Columbia. Enthusiastic faith in a Pacific future, such as is expressed in Wilkes's prophetic words regarding the relations of Oregon and California to the Pacific Ocean, or such as is shown

in those thoughts of Asiatic trade that inspired the earliest projects of transcontinental railroads, caused the region to be settled before its time. Its social state advanced more rapidly than that of the Mississippi Valley because of its openness to the sea.

In the session expected to be devoted to Spanish America and the Pacific Ocean it so happened that the programme actually carried out consisted of three papers in Mexican history. Professor Herbert E. Bolton, of the University of California, described the life and the tireless missionary labors of Father Eusebio Kino, basing his narrative on the elaborate account by the father himself, *Favores Celestiales*, the manuscript of which Professor Bolton had discovered in Mexico. Kino's fifty *entradas* and missionary endeavors in Pimería Alta (southern Arizona and northern Sonora, 1687-1711), his foundation of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores and other missions, and the cartographical and industrial results of his labors, were well described.

Mr. Herbert J. Priestley, of the same university, presented a valuable paper upon the important subject of the Reforms of Joseph Gálvez in New Spain, where he spent the years 1769-1775 as the last *visitador general*. The speaker described the character of Gálvez, energetic, independent, vindictive, his instructions from Arriaga, and the financial abuses, of complication, looseness, speculation, which he was expected to correct. His reforms, supported by the Marqués de la Croix, and followed up by Bucareli and Revillagigedo, his creation of the Provincias Internas, his establishment of the intendancy system, greatly increased the royal revenues; but his efforts were confined to economic reform, when social and judicial reforms were also sadly needed.

A paper by the chairman of the session, Professor William R. Manning, of the University of Texas, on British Influence in Mexico and Poinsett's Struggle against it, brought this session to its conclusion. The paper, which rested on archival research in both Washington and Mexico, narrated the quasi-diplomatic efforts made by Canning in 1822 and 1823 through confidential agents preceding the appointment of Michelena as minister to Great Britain, the definite resolve of that country to recognize Mexican independence, the arrival of Poinsett, and his efforts to counteract the coolness of the Mexicans toward the United States and the ascendancy of the British representatives.

The first of the papers in Californian history, in a session held at Berkeley, was a paper of personal reminiscence, by its chairman, Hon. Horace Davis, on the Home League of 1861, an organization

of California Union men formed to bring together Republicans and Democrats in support of the Union and of President Lincoln's administration. Its work consisted in conducting propaganda, organizing a Home Guard, promoting enlistment, keeping down conspiracy, and especially in striving to elect a war governor (Stanford) who would support Lincoln. After Stanford's election, those who sympathized with the Confederacy largely left the state, to share the Confederate fortunes.

Next, Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., of Santa Barbara, the historian of the Franciscan missions of California, gave a brief and informal description of the order, of the general objects of its work in California, of its difficulties, of the methods of establishing and maintaining its sixteen missions, and of the process of their suppression.

In a paper on the Northern Limits of Drake's Voyage, Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, whose recent Hakluyt Society volume of new Drake documents will be remembered, established careful comparisons between noteworthy maps covering his Pacific voyage—the Hakluyt copy (Paris, 1584) of Drake's great map, made for Henry of Navarre, the Dutch-French map of 1586 in the New York Public Library, a second Dutch map corrected by Drake himself, and Hondius's map and text of 1596, which Hakluyt took over from the Dutch into the 1598 edition of his *Voyages*, the only narrative he gives which tells the story of New Albion.

The last paper of this session was one by Professor William D. Armes, of the University of California, on the Bear Flág War.

In the New Mexican session, which also took place at Berkeley, Hon. Bradford L. Prince, ex-governor of New Mexico, and president of the New Mexico Historical Society, described its work and collections, and marked the occasion, considered as a meeting of the society, by presenting the diploma of honorary membership to Professor Bolton and to Mr. Charles W. Hackett, of the University of California. Mr. Bolton then read a paper entitled *New Light on the Explorations of Juan de Oñate*. After reviewing the sources already familiar, for the most part already in print in the *Colección de Documentos*, he showed that documents of similar class and of equal value lay unprinted in the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Of several of these, transcripts are now available at Berkeley, including Oñate's own narrative of his journey of 1601, which, it seems, extended to the regions of southern Kansas (Wichita).

The chairman of the session, Professor Aurelio M. Espinosa, of

Stanford University, then called upon Professor Altamira, who spoke in Spanish, with great eloquence, upon the responsibilities, political and moral, of the historian.

Under the title, *New Light on the American Fur Trade in the Southwest*, Professor Thomas M. Marshall, of Stanford University, described, from *expedientes* found in Sonora and in the City of Mexico, the fur-seeking expedition of Cyril St. Vrain to the Gila River in 1826. Of such expeditions in that region there is little record. They were illicit and largely surreptitious. Gregg did not engage in trade over the Santa Fé trail till 1831, and knew little beyond that later trade in merchandise of which his book gives the classical account. St. Vrain's large expedition, which went into Sonora, mostly for beaver, was the subject of local protest, and of remonstrance to Poinsett.

The last paper of the session was one by Mr. Charles W. Hackett, on the Causes of the Failure of Otermín's Attempt to reconquer New Mexico, based on new materials obtained from Mexico and Spain, from the Bancroft Library and the Peabody Museum. The causes were simply the superiority of numbers on the Indian side, and the want of confidence in success on the part of the Spaniards.

The session concerned with Japan and Australasia was held at Palo Alto, Chancellor Jordan presiding. It was marked by two papers of capital interest, one by Dr. Naojiro Murakami, president of the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and representative of the Japanese government, and the other by Professor K. Asakawa of Yale University. Dr. Murakami's subject was the Early Relations between Japan and Mexico; his paper was based on personal researches in Seville as well as in Japan. The relations described grew out of commerce with the Philippines, from which annual ships began to come to Japan in 1608. The next year the beaching on the Japanese coast of the *San Francisco*, en route from Cavite to Acapulco, gave Iyeyasu the occasion for beginning relations with Mexico. The sailing of the first Japanese merchant in 1610, on the *San Buenaventura*, built in Japan by William Adams, had its response in Vizcaino's voyage of exploration to Japan in 1611. Macao and the Jesuits opposed the Philippine-Japanese trade, the Franciscans favored it; the audiencia of the Philippines, on the other hand, opposed the trade between Mexico and Japan. Dr. Murakami described the voyage of the Japanese envoy sent by Masamune in 1613 to the viceroy of Mexico, his progress on to Spain and Rome, his return by way of the Philippines, his arrival in Japan

in 1620; and narrated the course of events which made this trans-Pacific intercourse so short-lived.

Professor Asakawa's paper took the audience back into an earlier period of Japanese history, dealing with Japan's Early Experience with Buddhism. He described with much skill the stages through which Buddhism passed in the first seven centuries after its introduction into Japan: at first, much beyond the mental range of the average votary, emphasizing the moral conduct of the individual and used to promote welfare in a non-spiritual sense; then (ninth to twelfth century) turning at the Kyoto court toward the founding of temples and monasteries and thus toward ritualism, but pursued with better understanding of Buddhist doctrine, until the Kyoto literature was pervaded with it; then the new plan of salvation, after the grave, called Zhodo; then, as feudalism increased and the military class came into domination, reaching in the thirteenth century the form called Zen, suited to the needs of such a caste and calling for extreme concentration of mind, energy, and boldness.

For a fuller knowledge of the papers thus briefly summarized, recourse must be had to the forthcoming volume, already mentioned. But even these insufficient outlines may serve to show how copious and vivid was the interest of the occasion to those who were so fortunate as to attend, and how abundantly the project of holding a meeting of the Association on the Pacific Coast was justified by its execution.

J. F. J.

MAXIMUM WAGE-LAWS FOR PRIESTS AFTER THE BLACK DEATH, 1348-1381¹

FROM lists of ordinations and of institutions to benefices,² it has been calculated that about 5000 of the beneficed clergy in England died in the great plague—half of the total number,³ if the proportion of beneficed to unbeneficed clergy (including the regulars under the latter head) is reckoned as about one to four, the number of deaths among the whole body of clergy would be, roughly speaking, 25,000.⁴ The estimate of 2,500,000, or half the existing population, as the mortality for the whole nation,⁵ depends on the assumption that the proportion of clergy to laity is one to a hundred⁶ and that the death-rate is the same for both estates,⁷ including in each case a larger number of poor than of rich.⁸ That there was practically no recovery in numbers by the time of the Great Revolt is due in part at least to the serious outbreaks of pestilence during the intervening years, the plagues of 1361, 1368-1369, and 1375 being especially severe.⁹

Whatever divergence there may be in the views held by modern

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 29, 1914.

² They are preserved in the Episcopal Registers and on the Patent Rolls and together with the figures in monastic chronicles are the only precise data thus far analyzed for the mortality in England: Capes, *History of the English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries*, p. 74. The pioneer work in the analysis of these lists was performed years ago by Jessopp for East Anglia in *The Coming of the Friars and other Historic Essays* and has since been confirmed by the wider researches of Gasquet in *The Great Pestilence*, lately republished as *The Black Death*, and also by the investigations of the contributors to the *Victoria County History*. No calculations can be considered as final, however, until there have been statistical studies of the great mass of secular records now available, such as manorial court rolls, inquisitions post mortem, etc.

³ Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 236.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87, 156, 181, 203, foot-note, 236-237. For other calculations, cf. Jessopp, quoted by Gasquet, p. 87; Cutts, *Parish Priests and their People in the Middle Ages in England*, pp. 389-390; Capes, 265; Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (fifth ed.), III. 379, 384.

⁵ For the controversy on this point, see Putnam, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers*, p. 2, note 1, and Gasquet, pp. 225-227, 237-238.

⁶ Gasquet, *ubi supra*; for other estimates, see *ibid.*, pp. 192, 238; Cutts, p. 390; Capes, p. 258.

⁷ Gasquet, pp. 86, 192, 237.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 227; Creighton, *History of Epidemics*, I. 124.

⁹ Gasquet, pp. 225-226; Creighton, I. 203, 215-217.

scholars as to the permanent effects of the Black Death on the life of the English people,¹⁰ there is a consensus of opinion that its immediate effect was an appalling scarcity of manual laborers, with a consequent rise in wages, and an equally appalling scarcity of priests. On the first point I do not need to dwell;¹¹ on the second, I wish merely to refer to the fairly overwhelming evidence contained in ecclesiastical sources, such as episcopal and papal registers;¹² there are often no priests to perform divine services, to chant masses, or to administer the sacraments.¹³ To meet the grave situation, plenary indulgence was granted by the pope to all who died in the true faith,¹⁴ confession to laymen, even to women, was permitted, and it was said that if no priest could be found for the rite of extreme unction "faith must suffice".¹⁵ Innumerable dispensations were issued sanctioning the ordination of candidates who did not possess the usual qualifications of age, of legitimate and free birth, of education, etc.¹⁶ The demoralization of the church was inevitable and has often been described;¹⁷ here I am concerned with but a narrow phase of the whole situation, namely the effect of the plague on the unbeneficed, secular clergy, who received their incomes in the form of a fixed stipend, usually by the year.

Unbeneficed, stipendiary priests¹⁸ may be parish chaplains, with

¹⁰ The opinions range all the way from the view that every change occurring during the next two centuries is due to the plague to the more fashionable modern theory that denies any lasting effect to a cataclysm. Stubbs, *op. cit.* (fourth ed.), II. 419; Gasquet, pp. xxi-xxiii, 227-236, 251-253; Cunningham, *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* (fifth ed.), I. 370-379; Rogers, *History of Agriculture and Prices*, I. 8, 10, 60, 261-267, 292.

¹¹ For references to contemporary and modern views, see Putnam, p. 2.

¹² Of the chroniclers, Knighton gives the fullest description (Rolls Series), II. 63; cf. also Tait's edition of *Chronica Johannis de Reading et Anonymi Cantuariensis*, pp. 109-110, 193.

¹³ Gasquet, pp. 118-119, 121, 171, 178; Capes, p. 75.

¹⁴ Gasquet, p. 127.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 92-95, quoted from the register of the Bishop of Bath and Wells. For other measures, see Gasquet, pp. 125-126; *The Register of the Diocese of Worcester during the Vacancy of the See* (ed. J. W. Willis-Bund), pp. 241-242; Register G (entitled *Sede Vacante*) of the Monastery of Christ Church, Canterbury, ff. 29, 36.

¹⁶ *Calendars of Papal Letters and of Papal Petitions*, *passim*; Gasquet, pp. 238-250; Capes, p. 75.

¹⁷ Gasquet, pp. xxi-xxv, 250-255; Capes, pp. 75-83. For contemporary comment, see Gower's *Vox Clamantis*, and *The Vision of William concerning Piers Plowman*.

¹⁸ On the difficult question of terminology Professor Lunt of Cornell has made many valuable suggestions, but he is not responsible for possible errors in my conclusions. I follow Capes (p. 265) in using "stipendiary" in its literal

cure of souls, acting in the place of absentee rectors, or as assistants of resident rectors or of perpetual vicars,¹⁹ in some cases taking charge of chapels at ease;²⁰ or they may be the private chaplains of great men, lay or ecclesiastical, sometimes considered much as hired servants;²¹ finally, they may be chantry priests, their sole function often consisting in singing masses²²— in the case of a private chantry, for the souls of the founder or of his family and friends,²³ in the case of a "co-operative" chantry, for the souls of the members of the fraternity.²⁴ In some instances the stipendiary chantry priest is bound by his contract to take part in the divine services, to visit the poor and the sick, or to teach grammar schools.²⁵

The rapid increase of chantries and of private chapels during the fourteenth century²⁶ led to a growing demand for stipendiary priests at just the time when the supply was being diminished both by the plague and by the promotion of many of them to fill the gaps in the ranks of rectors and vicars.²⁷ Apart from this emergency, it is to be emphasized that the priests without benefices, in contradistinction to the more aristocratic rectors and vicars, were usually appointed from the middle and lower classes²⁸ and that many of them

sense, and throughout my discussion I am referring to those stipendiary priests, whether chaplains or cantarists, who do not hold benefices. (See Gower's usage, note 159, *infra*. For beneficed chantry priests, see Register Stretton, pp. 106–107, referred to in note 122, *infra*.) According to the language of the ecclesiastical measures and according to Lyndwood's interpretation (*Provinciale*, pt. I., p. 238, note s), the canonical maximum wage laws affect only the unbeneficed, stipendiary clergy. There is, however, some doubt as to the technical definition of "benefice" in spite of Lyndwood (*ibid.*) and there is serious disagreement among modern writers as to the definition of "stipendiary". See Gasquet, *Parish Life in Mediaeval England*, p. 98; Stubbs, III. 379; Richardson, "The Parish Clergy of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Century", in *Transactions of the Royal Hist. Society*, third series, VI. 115.

¹⁹ Cutts, pp. 106, 484; Stubbs, *ubi supra*. Gasquet designates these as curates, *Parish Life*, pp. 92–93.

²⁰ Cutts, p. 106; Gasquet, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

²¹ Cutts, p. 484; Gasquet, *ubi supra*; Abram, *English Life and Manners in the Later Middle Ages*, p. 52.

²² Stubbs considers that a large proportion of candidates were ordained on the title of chaplaincies and that the majority had neither cure of souls nor duty of preaching, their spiritual work consisting simply in saying masses for the dead. *Op. cit.*, III. 379, 384.

²³ Capes, p. 271.

²⁴ Ashley, *English Economic History*, II. 138; Unwin, *The Guilds and Companies of London*, ch. IX.

²⁵ Capes, pp. 271–272; Gasquet maintains that chantry priests are not usually mere cantarists, *Parish Life*, pp. 95–96.

²⁶ Capes, p. 271; Unwin, p. 112; *Calendars of Papal Letters and Papal Petitions*, *passim*; for the increased demand for portable altars, cf. *Cal. Papal Letters*, vol. III., preface, p. vi.

²⁷ *Calendars of Patent Rolls*, *passim*.

²⁸ Cutts, pp. 129, 484; Stubbs, *op. cit.*, III. 379–380.

had no representation in convocation.²⁹ In a very real sense, therefore, the gulf between them and the beneficed clergy, whose employees they normally were,³⁰ resembles the gulf between the laborers and the governing classes. Inevitably there occurs exactly parallel to the rise of laborers' wages as a result of the plague, an enormous rise in the salaries of unbeneficed priests. To check this rise, the great ecclesiasts enact canons that present close analogies to the secular labor laws; clerical strikes are thus met by clerical statutes of laborers.³¹

The purpose of this paper is to investigate within the separate dioceses as units the actual workings of the administrative machinery of the Church as applied to the economic crisis of 1348-1381. As far as I know, no such administrative analysis has thus far been made,³² partly because so often the county rather than the diocese has been the unit of investigation. A preliminary word as to sources will reveal the extent of my study. Aside from the relatively slight information contained in the rolls of Parliament, statutes, patent rolls, etc., and from the scanty notices to be gleaned from the chroniclers, the sources are strictly ecclesiastical: the mandates of archbishops and bishops, the constitutions of diocesan and provincial synods, the acts of consistory courts, judicial proceedings before archdeacons³³ (the last two classes of records only rarely preserved for this date),³⁴ and, finally, the records of deans and chapters.³⁵ For the period under discussion much of this eccle-

²⁹ Stubbs, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 48, 379.

³⁰ For the grievances of the beneficed clergy see Capes, pp. 265-266. Laymen might also be the employers of stipendiary priests.

³¹ Tout in his life of Islip in the *Dict. Nat. Biography* writes of the canon of 1350 as "a sort of spiritual counterpart to the Statute of Labourers".

³² Modern scholars have of course made many references to the clerical wage-laws; cf. e. g., Tout's excellent summary in his article quoted *supra*, note 31; but in most cases the references are curiously incomplete and therefore misleading; cf. Richardson, pp. 115-117; *Victoria County History, Gloucester*, II, 19-20; *Dorset*, II, 22; Coulten, *Chaucer and his England*, p. 305; article on Islip in the *Dict. Eng. Church History* (ed. by Ollard and Crosse).

³³ Stubbs's admirable account of the whole series of church courts is found in "The Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Constitution and Working of the Ecclesiastical Courts", *Parl. Papers*, 1883, vol. XXIV.

³⁴ A few instances of their preservation have come to my notice; there is a register of the Ely Consistory Court for the years 1375-1381, see *Ely Episcopate Records* (ed. A. Gibbons), p. 79; Reg. Sheppey (1353-1360) contains acts of the Rochester Consistory Court, ff. 265-280. Judicial proceedings before archdeacons are sometimes mentioned in churchwardens' accounts; cf., e. g., a reference for the year 1370 in the parish of St. Michael, Bath, in *Somersetshire Arch. and Nat. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, XXVI, xv, 9. For churchwardens' accounts in general, see Gross, *Sources of English History* (first ed.), pp. 402-403. They ought to contain reports to archdeacons of offenses committed by chaplains.

³⁵ See index to Hist. MSS. Comm. *Reports*, summarized by Gross, pp. 536-539.

siastical material is still in manuscript,³⁶ a large portion of it being enrolled by the bishops in their registers.³⁷ Limitations of time forced me to restrict myself in the main to these registers³⁸ and to the additional evidence that has found its way into such printed works as Lyndwood's *Provinciale*³⁹ and Wilkins's *Concilia*.⁴⁰ For the years 1348-1381 forty-three registers are in existence for the seventeen dioceses of England;⁴¹ of these, twelve are printed either in full or in abstract,⁴² the province of Canterbury having fared far better than that of York.⁴³ In my quest of manuscript material during the year 1912-1913,⁴⁴ the difficulties of securing permission at Durham,⁴⁵ York, and Worcester proved insurmountable in the time at my disposal, so that I am obliged to confine myself to the province of Canterbury, omitting for the present the seven registers of the important diocese of Worcester.

³⁶ In some cases in the British Museum but more frequently in local ecclesiastical archives.

³⁷ For an account of the contents of registers, see Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. vii.

³⁸ Both manuscript and printed.

³⁹ Edition of 1679, Oxford. On the contents and value of this work, completed in 1430, see Maitland, *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England*, and Ogle's bitter attack on Maitland in *The Canon Law in Mediaeval England*.

⁴⁰ Edition of 1737 (London, 4 vols.). Spelman's collection has been superseded by that of Wilkins while the various other works dealing with church history by Hody, Johnson, Joyce, Lathbury, Wake, etc., are frequently controversial in character and contain very little on my subject.

⁴¹ There are no Chichester registers earlier than 1397. The following registers are also missing: Stratford, Northburgh, and Courtenay for London; Barnet and Harewell for Bath and Wells; Bradwardine for Canterbury; Langham and Barnet for Ely; Brinton for Rochester. In Grandisson's register for Exeter, folios are wanting for the years 1362-1369; in Kirkby's register for Carlisle there are no entries later than 1347. To complete the history of a see all *sece vacante* registers should be examined.

⁴² The Hereford registers of Lewis Charleton, William Courtenay, and John Gilbert have appeared since my stay in England; also the first part of the Rochester register of Hamo Hethe. It is to be hoped that Mr. R. C. Fowler will publish his bibliography of printed registers, a paper read at the International Historical Congress of 1913.

⁴³ Except for the selections printed long ago in the Rolls Series by Raina, *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers*, and for the documents in Wilkins, *Concilia*, the seven registers of the province of York for this period are still in manuscript.

⁴⁴ I wish to express my gratitude to Mr. R. C. Fowler and to Mr. C. Johnson of the Public Record Office and to the Reverend Claude Jenkins for his ready help at the library of Lambeth Palace and for his kindness in securing me access to other archives. My thanks are also due to the never-failing courtesy of the many custodians of episcopal registers. It is deeply to be regretted however that in several dioceses the working days and hours are narrowly restricted and that the fees charged make thorough research almost impossible.

⁴⁵ I was not permitted to examine the Act Books of the Prior and Convent, a necessary supplement to Bishop Hatfield's register.

For convenience, I will deal, first, with the ecclesiastical administration of the labor legislation enacted by the central government primarily for the laity; secondly, with the ecclesiastical administration of the corresponding measures enacted by ecclesiastical authority for the unbeneficed clergy, and finally, with some instances of conflict between the king's courts and the courts Christian.

I. *The Secular Legislation.*

The ordinance of laborers was issued by king and council on June 18, 1349, in the form of a letter close to the sheriff of Kent.⁴⁶ At the end is a paragraph addressed to the Bishop of Winchester⁴⁷ bidding him publish it in his diocese and order his rectors, vicars, etc., to exhort their parishioners to labor and to obey the ordinance. Further, since stipendiary chaplains are refusing to serve except at excessive salaries, the bishop is to compel them to accept the customary rates, on pain of suspension and interdict. Similar instructions are directed to all bishops and to the guardian of the spiritualities of the Archbishop of Canterbury.⁴⁸

The document is enrolled on the registers of Bath and Wells, Exeter,⁴⁹ Hereford, Rochester,⁵⁰ and Winchester.⁵¹ Bishop Trilleck sends a copy to the officials of his two archdeacons and to the Dean of Hereford Cathedral. The instructions to the latter may be cited as typical: the dean is to proclaim the ordinance in the "vulgar tongue" in market towns and in other places according to his discretion, on holy days and feast days, and at fairs and markets when there would be the greatest assemblage of people. He is also to forbid his parishioners to give alms to able-bodied beggars and is to warn all stipendiary chaplains to demand only legal salaries.⁵² The prompt proclamation of the ordinance in the diocese of Bath

⁴⁶ Putnam, app., pp. 8-12; *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 307-308, 23 Edw. III.

⁴⁷ William Edendon, bishop 1346-1366. For the dates of all the bishops referred to, see Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum*.

⁴⁸ The prior and chapter of the monastery of Christ Church, see note 15, *supra*.

⁴⁹ *Register of John de Grandisson* (ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph), pt. I., pp. 69-71.

⁵⁰ Reg. Hethe, ff. 249-250: "Litera regis super ordinacionem servientium nolencium servire sine excessivo salario", followed by the bishop's letter to his archdeacon, "Litera super ordinacionem stipendiorum capellanorum nolentium servire sine excessivo salario", July 1, 1349; cf. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, I. 375, and Gasquet, *The Black Death*, pp. 121-122.

⁵¹ Reg. Edyndon, pt. II., f. 72: "Execucio brevis regis contra operarios et mendicantes ordinati", June 25, 1349.

⁵² *Registrum Johannis de Trillek* (Canterbury and York Society), pp. 321-322. The editor is in error in indicating June 18, 1349, as the date of the bishop's mandate.

and Wells possibly explains the attack on Bishop Ralph during his visitation of the parish of Yeovil. "Certain sons of perdition, forming the community of the said town", armed with bows, arrows, iron bars, and stones, actually imprisoned the bishop and his servants for twenty-four hours in the church and rectory.⁵³

Allowing for missing registers⁵⁴ and for vacancies of sees,⁵⁵ it appears that out of eleven possible cases, there is evidence for the action of five bishops in obedience to the royal mandate.⁵⁶

II. *The Ecclesiastical Measures.*

On May 28, 1350, shortly after Islip's accession to the primacy,⁵⁷ he issues, apparently on his sole authority,⁵⁸ the first general ecclesiastical mandate on clerical stipends, beginning: "Effrenata generis humani cupiditas".⁵⁹ On July 16, 1362, after the ravages of the second plague and after a decade of attempts to secure enforcement of the *Effrenata* in various dioceses, Islip "with bitterness of heart" addresses a complaint of neglect to Bishop Sudbury of London,⁶⁰ adding that "on the authority of some of his fellow-bishops and other magnates of the realm"⁶¹ he has drawn up more specific instructions. This document, preserved apparently only on a London register and hitherto unnoticed by historians, is important as anticipating the main provisions of a more famous measure. In the

⁵³ *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury* (Somerset Record Society, X.), pp. 593-595, 596-597.

⁵⁴ Chichester and London; Worcester must be excluded for the present.

⁵⁵ Canterbury. In Register G. f. 51 (see note 15, *supra*), under date of July 2, 1349, the prior of Christ Church complains to the official of the archdeacon of the scarcity of parish priests and bids him summon the cantarists to obey the ordinance.

⁵⁶ Of the statute of 1351 I have found no trace and only one instance of the enrollment of that of 1361, namely in Reg. Islip, f. 171.

⁵⁷ December 20, 1349.

⁵⁸ Maitland, *Roman Canon Law*, p. 32, quotes Lyndwood to show that provincial legislation proceeded from the archbishop rather than from the provincial council.

⁵⁹ "Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis mandatum ad compellendum capellanos ad deservendum ecclesiis curatis, et recipiendum moderata salaria." Wilkins, III. 1-2. Except where Wilkins prints from British Museum transcripts, I give references to his volumes instead of to the manuscript registers.

⁶⁰ Reg. Sudbury, f. 143. I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. R. C. Fowler for the opportunity of examining his transcripts of this register.

⁶¹ "Nobis vero et nonnullis confratribus nostris aliisque majoribus de regno." The anomalous form of the assembly is puzzling; but see John of Reading's account of Islip's council in August, 1362, as responsible for a measure concerning priests' salaries (ed. Tait), pp. 153-154. Cf. also Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series), I. 297, and Hody, *History of English Councils and Convocations*, pt. III., p. 201.

Parliament that met at Westminster the following October,⁶² the Commons complain of the exorbitant rates charged by chaplains and, ignoring the fact of the existing enactments, beg the king to request the archbishops and bishops to issue a constitution on the subject. The ecclesiasts present in Parliament accede to the king's request and answer in the same session that they have fixed legal rates for priests and have imposed penalties on ecclesiastical "givers" of excess as well as on "takers".⁶³ Their response is the second *Effrenata*, recorded in Islip's register as issued on November 9, "by the advice and consent of his brothers".⁶⁴ The last step is the acceptance of the *Effrenata* by the king and the enactment by him with the consent of the Magnates and of the Commons of a provision imposing penalties on lay infringers of the ecclesiastical measure.⁶⁵ There is constitutional significance in the sequence of events; if my account is correct, it disproves the theory accepted by most scholars, including Stubbs, that Parliament passed a statute fixing priests' salaries.⁶⁶ In other words, it is not a case of legislation of the laity for the clergy⁶⁷ but merely a striking example of harmonious co-operation between Church and State.

The last measure of my period was framed at the time of the Parliament that sat from October 20 to November 16, 1378, the second year of Richard II., meeting at the remote city of Gloucester for reasons important in the history of the Church.⁶⁸ On the very last day of the session, while the monastery of St. Peter was still

⁶² The session lasted from a few days after October 13 to November 13; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 268-273; cf. Tait's note to John of Reading, p. 302.

⁶³ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 271; *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 373-374.

⁶⁴ F. 188: "Ordinacio sive statutum super salario a presbiteris percipiendo . . . Datum apud Lambeth V Idus Novembris", addressed to the Bishop of London. The document is wrongly dated by Wilkins, III. 50-51, and by Professor Tait, p. 301.

⁶⁵ "The king, accepting this ordinance with the assent of the magnates and commonalty, ordained". *Cal. Pat. Rolls*. 1364-1367, p. 67; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 271; *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 374, 36 Edw. III., st. 1, c. 8.

⁶⁶ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, III. 344: "In 1362 a statute fixed the wages of stipendiary chaplains." Cf. also Hunt, *The English Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 205: "The Bishops reported Islip's constitution, which was thus turned into a parliamentary statute."

⁶⁷ So classified by Stubbs, *ubi supra*, pp. 332-334. Islip's earlier mandate, quoted in note 82, *infra*, expressly commands the obedience of the laity. Wilkins, III. 2.

⁶⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, III. 32. The session did not actually begin till October 21, and is vividly described in *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae* (Rolls Series), I. 52-54. It was rumored that there was a plot to destroy the liberties of the Church which the Londoners would have frustrated but God saved the Church even at Gloucester, *ibid.* Cf. also *Continuation of Murimuth* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), pp. 234-235; Walsingham, *Historia Anglicana* (Rolls Series), I. 380.

full to overflowing with the vast concourse of Lords and of Commons, so that in the words of the chronicler, "it seemed more like a place for a fair than a religious house", Archbishop Sudbury summoned "his brothers and suffragans" to a certain chamber within the monastery for the express purpose of dealing with clerical salaries, and with their "advice and consent" formulated the third *Effrenata*⁶⁹ issued ten days later from Lambeth.⁷⁰ It is significant that Lyndwood states specifically that the penalties here decreed apply only to clerical offenders and that he has heard that the Gloucester Parliament enacted a statute to punish lay "givers" of excess salaries to priests.⁷¹ Such a statute I have been unable to find.⁷²

An analysis of the ecclesiastical laws just listed shows how greatly episcopal eloquence exceeds that of lay legislators. Instead of the Statute of Laborers' brief phrase, "the malice of servants", etc.,⁷³ there is a long rhetorical introduction to Islip's *Effrenata* of 1350, of which I give a summary: The unbridled covetousness of the human race would grow to such a height as to banish charity out of the world, if it were not repressed by justice. Many complaints and long experience reveal that the priests who have survived the plague, not realizing that they have been saved merely in order to serve God and his people and not in the least ashamed of setting a pernicious example to lay workmen, completely neglect

⁶⁹ Wilkins, III. 135-136: "Statutum super salariis presbyterorum factum per Simonem Sudbury Cantuariensem archiepiscopum. . . . Nos tamen, temporum qualitate attenta, de fratrum et suffraganeorum nostrorum XVI die mensis Novembris. . . . in quadam camera infra septa monasterii apostolorum Petri et Pauli Gloucestriae . . . propter hoc insimul congregatorum consilio et assensu super salariis sacerdotum parochialium, et annualium . . . de caetero percipiendis, ordinamus et statuimus." Wake's comment is as follows: "This was another Remarkable Transaction . . . That here was a long and a busy Parliament held, and no Convocation with it. And at the Close of this Parliament an Ecclesiastical Synod of Bishops only; no Presbyters, no Regular Prelates, called into a part of it." *State of the Church and Clergy*, p. 311.

⁷⁰ "Data apud Lambeth. . . . 6 Kal. Decembris, A. D. 1378", Wilkins, *ubi supra*. Lathbury, *Hist. of Convocation*, pp. 87-88, errs in stating that a synod to regulate clerical salaries was held at Lambeth in this year.

⁷¹ Pt. I., pp. 240-241, note e: "Haec itaque Constitutio non arctat Laicos, saltem quoad poenam hic positam. Quare autem non fuit idem Statutum quoad Laicos, potest esse ratio; quia contra Laicos in eadem materia emanavit Statutum Regium etiam poenale, editum (ut audiivi) in Parlamento Glocestriae, ubi etiam facta fuit haec Constitutio 16 die Novembris anno domini * 1368 (* ms. Aetion 1378)."

⁷² It is probable that the ecclesiasts had acted at the instigation of Parliament (cf. the petition of 1376, *infra*, p. 29). This was the session at which the ordinance of laborers was made a statute. *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 11, 2 R. II., st. 1, c. 8.

⁷³ Putnam, *app.*, p. 12.

the cure of souls, preferring to celebrate annals and insisting on exorbitant salaries; unless their "irrational appetites" can be checked, many churches will remain empty. In order to limit their "insatiable desires", acceptance of a cure of souls is made compulsory and maximum annual salaries are somewhat vaguely named: for chaplains of parish churches, prebends, and chapels, including cure of souls, one mark above the old rate; for all others, the old rates; escape to another diocese is not permitted; the above to be enforced by ecclesiastical penalties.⁷⁴

The next measure, the mandate of July, 1362, shows increased bitterness of language; priests are scarcely satisfied with double the old rates and are drowned in an abyss of voluptuousness, costly apparel, and shameless luxury, contrary to their vows and to apostolic doctrine. The maximum annual rates are now carefully specified: for priests with small cures, six marks; with large ones, seven marks; without cures, five marks.⁷⁵

The opening paragraph of the second *Effrenata*, of November, 1362, is identical with that of the first, while the succeeding clauses reveal growing episcopal indignation: the covetous priests of modern times in their passion for voluptuous living refuse cures of souls, preferring to celebrate annals for the quick and the dead; pampered with exorbitant salaries, they discharge their intemperance in vomit and lust, become delirious with licentiousness, and finally drown themselves in an abyss of vice, to the great scandal of ecclesiasts and a most pernicious example to laymen.⁷⁶ The remedies provided for the speedy curing of this "pestilential disease" are almost identical with those of the earlier constitutions, compulsory acceptance of a cure of souls,⁷⁷ and the same maximum annual rates as in the July mandate, except that in the case of a "large cure" discretion is vested in the diocesan. The penalties for excess rates now correspond very closely to those of the wage clause of the ordinance of laborers:⁷⁸ "takers" are to forfeit to the church the amount of the "excess" and ecclesiastical "givers" double the amount; priests are forbidden to leave their diocese without "letters commendatory" from the bishop. Finally, by the parliamentary

⁷⁴ Note 59, *supra*.

⁷⁵ Note 60, *supra*.

⁷⁶ Note 64, *supra*.

⁷⁷ This clause is now more explicit: under threat of suspension, at the discretion of the diocesan or ordinary, non-beneficed chaplains are to be compelled to serve parish churches and chapels with cure of souls, if offered suitable salaries.

⁷⁸ Putnam, *app.*, p. 10.

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enactment, lay "givers" of illegal salaries are to forfeit to the king a sum equal to the entire amount paid.⁷⁹

The third *Effrenata*, of 1378, opens by quoting the second and then after the significant phrase, "taking into consideration the circumstances of the time",⁸⁰ issues a schedule two marks higher than the rates of 1362: for priests with cures, eight marks; for cantarists, seven marks;⁸¹ excommunication is now specified as the penalty.

In turning to the subject of administration of the four measures we find Islip setting an admirable example of promptness in his own diocese of Canterbury by sending to his commissary general for proclamation on Sundays and feast days a copy of the first *Effrenata* on May 29, 1350, the day after its issue.⁸² For the province as distinct from the diocese the normal method is followed: the archbishop sends the *Effrenata* on May 28 to Bishop Stratford of London as dean of the province, with a request to enforce it in his own diocese, to make a list of runaway priests, and to inform the other bishops of its provisions; all reports are due before September 8.⁸³ Bishop Stratford's register is lost⁸⁴ but it appears that he acted with fair speed. The registers of Bath and Wells,⁸⁵ Exeter,⁸⁶ Hereford, Salisbury,⁸⁷ and Winchester contain the full text of the *Effrenata*, accompanied in every case except the last by a letter of Bishop Stratford, dated June 8. Bishop Trilleck of Hereford enrolls his return under date of August 31, and shows his zeal by informing the archbishop that even before the receipt of the *Effrenata*, he had called a synod of his clergy and by their advice and consent had decreed that priests should be satisfied with suitable salaries; he

⁷⁹ Note 65, *supra*.

⁸⁰ Note 69, *supra*. "Leges namque et Constitutiones convenire debent temporibus suis", Lyndwood, pt. I., p. 240, note m.

⁸¹ The rates may be food, with 4 or 3 marks, respectively. Lyndwood considers that the phrase "animabus defunctorum" probably limits the application of the second schedule to cantarists for the dead pt. I., p. 240, note n.

⁸² Wilkins, III. 2: "Ejusdem mandatum aliud pro diocesa Cantuariensi de salariis capellanorum". The diocesan jurisdiction of the archbishop is exercised through a commissary. Stubbs, "Report", p. xxi, quoted note 33, *supra*.

⁸³ Note 59, *supra*.

⁸⁴ Note 41, *supra*; but a later London register contains the complete document, preceded by a statement that a copy had been sent to Bishop Stratford. Reg. Sudbury, f. 142.

⁸⁵ Reg. Ralph of Shrewsbury (Somerset Record Society, X.), pp. 639-640.

⁸⁶ Reg. John de Grandisson, pt. II., pp. 1116-1118: "De stipendiis, presbiterorum". The editor's date of 1352 is clearly an error.

⁸⁷ Reg. Wyvyl, ff. 207-208: "Mandatum archiepiscopi ad compellendum capellanos ad deservendum curis". The year is given as 1351 instead of as 1350.

now promises to compel obedience by ecclesiastical penalties.⁸⁸ Bishop Edendon of Winchester sends copies of the *Effrenata* on July 10 addressed to his official and to his two archdeacons or their officials, with urgent commands for enforcement and with a request for reports by August 15.⁸⁹

The case of Lincoln shows the extreme punctuality demanded by the archbishop; on September 8, according to his register,⁹⁰ the very day after the reports were due, he writes to Bishop Gynwell, charging him with scornful and contemptuous disobedience of the provisions of the *Effrenata* (a copy of which he had received through the medium of the Bishop of London) and with failure in making his report. Islip adds that he will deal mercifully with Gynwell, merely requiring the report at a later date. The result is unfortunately not recorded on the Lincoln register for this year, but it seems probable that the incident is accounted for by the exemption from the jurisdiction of the archbishop secured by the Bishop of Lincoln through a papal bull.⁹¹

Islip's next step is a reproachful letter on February 18, 1352, to Bishop Stratford complaining that priests care more for money than for the safety of their souls and that in the diocese of London there is a particularly large number of runaway clergy, who are under ecclesiastical sentences for disobedience to the *Effrenata*.⁹² Bishop Stratford is therefore urged to enforce the law more vigorously in his own diocese and to see that his fellow-suffragans do likewise in theirs; reports are called for before June 24. The registers of Bath and Wells⁹³ and Salisbury⁹⁴ contain Stratford's letters of April 2, enclosing the archbishop's mandate, dated curiously enough March 6 instead of February 18; while both docu-

⁸⁸ *Reg. Johannis de Trillek*, pp. 157-159: "Ordinacio domini archiepiscopi de stipendiis capellanorum".

⁸⁹ *Reg. Edyndon*, pt. II., f. 23: "Mandatum ad compellendum presbiteros ecclesiis parochialibus et curis animarum deservire".

⁹⁰ Wilkins, III. 8: "Injunctio episcopo Lincolniensi . . . sed vos, spretis mandatis, et injunctionibus nostris hujusmodi vobis traditis, et per vos receptis, nobis in praemissis seu eorum aliquo parere, seu nos de hiis, quae in ea parte duxeritis facere, certificare non curastis, sed contemptibiliter omisistis." A similar letter to Gynwell on November 28 charges him with disobedience to another archiepiscopal command, *ibid.*, pp. 9-10.

⁹¹ *Cal. Papal Letters*, III. 283, 433, 489; Hody, *Hist. English Councils and Convocations*, pt. III., p. 192.

⁹² Wilkins, III. 15: "Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis mandatum ad compellendum presbyteros annualia celebrantes ut deserviant ecclesiis curatis. . . . Dudum propter insatiabilem capellanorum avaritiam." According to Gasquet there was in London a relatively larger number of unbeneficed clergy than elsewhere, *The Black Death*, p. 203, note 1.

⁹³ *Reg. Ralph of Shrewsbury*, p. 693.

⁹⁴ *Reg. Wyvyl*, f. 208: "Mandatum super eodem. . . ."

ments are enrolled on June 18 by the Bishop of Winchester, together with his promise to compel obedience on the part of his chaplains.⁹⁵ Although Bishop Grandisson of Exeter had sent copies to three of his archdeacons and to the official of his "peculiar" jurisdiction in Cornwall,⁹⁶ the result is clearly not satisfactory; on January 12, 1354, the bishop writes a voluminous epistle complaining that in spite of the public proclamations modern priests desert cures of souls for chantries, care more for feasting and taverns than for divine services—a most pernicious example to laymen—and also insist on exorbitant salaries. He bids his chief official and his archdeacons publish the law in their chapters with due solemnity and with threats of the greater excommunication, and send him the names of delinquents before February 22.⁹⁷ Bishop Gynwell of Lincoln still refrains from enrolling Islip's commands, but frames an ordinance of his own for compulscry service of their cures by chaplains at specified rates.⁹⁸ Islip's attempt to enforce his own mandate of 1352 in the diocese of Canterbury is combined with a sumptuary law for clerical clothes issued on October 30, 1353, addressed to his commissary general, to the official of his archdeacon, and to all the deans, and full of the usual complaints of the neglect of the ordinance.⁹⁹

The constitution of July 16, 1362, as has already been stated, is apparently recorded only in Sudbury's London register, which also contains the later edition—the second *Effrenata*, of November 9, sent to the Bishop of London with the usual instructions for promulgation and a request for all reports before February 2, 1363.¹⁰⁰ The Bishop of Bath and Wells apparently did not receive a copy till January 19, and on February 16 forwarded it to the official of the Archdeacon of Wells, with the usual orders for publication.¹⁰¹ Bishop Edendon of Winchester seems to have been

⁹⁵ Reg. Edyndon, pt. II., f. 25: "Certificacio mandati archiepiscopi ad puniendum et compescendum capellanos in exactione salarii excessivi".

⁹⁶ Reg. John de Grandisson, pt. II., pp. 1115-1116: "De capellanis, tam Parochialibus quam Annalibus". The date of Stratford's letter is April 6. For an account of "peculiars", see Stubbs, "Report", pp. xx-xxi.

⁹⁷ Register, pt. II., pp. 1139-1141: "Ad mcnendum Presbiteros stipendiarios ut consuetis stipendiis contentur". Cf. *ibid.*, p. 1150.

⁹⁸ Referred to in his register (vol. VIII., modern numbering), October 15, 1352, f. 23: "Monicio quod capellanus deserviat ecclesie de . . . juxta formam ordinationis nostre alias generaliter super hoc facte . . . pro stipendiis per nos taxatis." A similar entry is enrolled on October 17.

⁹⁹ Wilkins, III. 29-31: "Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis ordinatio super honestate clericorum in apparatu et etiam super salario sacerdotum".

¹⁰⁰ Ff. 143-144; see pp. 18, 19, *supra*.

¹⁰¹ Reg. Ralph of Shrewsbury, pp. 782-783. The date of the *Effrenata* is printed as December 1, 1352.

notified far more promptly; for on November 16 he sends copies to his two archdeacons,¹⁰² ordering public proclamation in chapters and churches before clergy and laity and requesting reports before January 13.¹⁰³ On the Lincoln register there is enrolled in February, 1362—a few months earlier than either of Islip's measures of that year—a mandate of Bishop Gynwell, drawn up "with the advice, deliberation and consent of the chapter of Lincoln and of others learned in the law": Because of the avarice of priests who follow in the footsteps of Baal and by unlawful covenants secure exorbitant salaries—specified maximum rates are to be proclaimed by the official of the Archdeacon of Lincoln in every session of his chapter and in all parish churches, and lists of delinquents are to be reported annually.¹⁰⁴

The see was vacant during the autumn of 1362¹⁰⁵ but Bishop Bokyngham who succeeded Gynwell on June 25, 1363, grants a license early in 1364 permitting a chaplain to receive more than the usual salary "in spite of any constitution on the subject",¹⁰⁶ and some months later obtains the appointment of a royal commission of oyer and terminer to investigate the assault made by chaplains on the parsons¹⁰⁷ who had been deputed to act as the bishop's commissaries in enforcing the second *Effrenata*. The chaplains, bound together by oaths, had broken up the parsons' sessions by horrible words, almost killing them and even lying in wait for the bishop himself.¹⁰⁸

In the promulgation of the third *Effrenata*, there is a delay which I am unable to explain. Framed on November 16, 1378, it was sent ten days later to Bishop Courtenay of London—according to Archbishop Sudbury's register—with a request for a report before the following Easter; ¹⁰⁹ yet the copies enrolled on the registers of

¹⁰² Addressed to the archdeacons or their officials.

¹⁰³ Reg. Edyndon, pt. II., f. 48 (or 58): "Execucio mandati archiepiscopi contra sacerdotes in recipiendis salariis excedentes".

¹⁰⁴ Reg. Gynwell (vol. VIII.), f. 186: "Constitutio de stipendiis capellanorum".

¹⁰⁵ Gynwell had died on August 5.

¹⁰⁶ Reg. Bukynham, f. 15: "Licencia pro salario capellani . . . non obstante constitucione", January 2.

¹⁰⁷ "Parson" is equivalent to "rector", according to Gasquet, *Parish Life*, p. 71.

¹⁰⁸ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-1367, pp. 67-68, September 4. The riot occurred in the archdeaconry of Leicester.

¹⁰⁹ *Supra*, p. 20.

Ely,¹¹⁰ Exeter,¹¹¹ Salisbury,¹¹² and Worcester¹¹³ are dated Lanibeth, September 6, 1379, and the accompanying letters of Bishop Courtenay, September 18, the return being called for before Christmas. Bishop Arundel of Ely reports on November 28 that he has published the *Effrenata* in a full diocesan synod and in other congregations of clergy; Bishop Erghum of Salisbury sends copies on October 8 to his four archdeacons,¹¹⁴ with the usual instructions and a request for reports before November 30. Bishop Brantingham, now treasurer of England, sends a copy from London on October 4 to the Dean of Exeter Cathedral, explaining that difficult public business prevents him from giving his personal attention to the matter; therefore, he bids the dean publish the *Effrenata* in the cathedral with due solemnity, reporting to the bishop, or to his official, or to the president of the consistory court, before November 30, with a list of delinquents. Similar letters are sent to the four archdeacons.¹¹⁵

A summary of the evidence for the fourteen southern dioceses, allowance being made in each instance for missing registers and vacancies of sees, shows attempts at enforcement of the law in a little over half the possible cases:

- (I) The *Effrenata* of 1350—6 out of 11 possible times.¹¹⁶
- (II) The mandate of 1352—6 out of 10 possible times.¹¹⁷
- (III) The *Effrenata* of 1362—5 out of 10 possible times.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁰ Reg. Arundell, f. 88: "Mandatum pro salariis presbiterorum provincie Cantuariensis". It is summarized in *Ely Diocesan Remembrancer*, vols. 1895-1897, p. 160.

¹¹¹ Reg. Thomas de Brantyngham (ed. F. C. Hingeston-Randolph), pt. I., p. 405: "Pro salariis presbiterorum".

¹¹² Reg. Ergham, ff. 39-40: "Mandatum ad publicandum statutum editum a domino S[imone] Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et suffraganeis suis super salariis sive stipendiis presbiterorum percipiendis in provincia Cantuariensi".

¹¹³ The day of the month is not indicated by Mr. Willis-Bund in his reference to a clerical wage-law of 1379 enrolled on Reg. Wakefield, f. 130; *Vict. County Hist., Worcester*, II. 33.

¹¹⁴ Addressed to the archdeacons or their officials.

¹¹⁵ For the references to the last three registers, see notes 110, 112, 111, *supra*.

¹¹⁶ Bath and Wells, Canterbury, Exeter, Hereford, Salisbury, Winchester. Cf. also Sudbury's London register for a later date and Islip's controversy with the Bishop of Lincoln; *supra* p. 22, note 84; p. 23. The Chichester and London registers are missing; Worcester must be excluded.

¹¹⁷ Bath and Wells, Canterbury, Exeter, Salisbury, Winchester, and probably Lincoln. For the missing registers, see note 116, *supra*; Rochester is *sede vacante* from May 4, 1352, to March 10, 1353.

¹¹⁸ Bath and Wells, London, Winchester; for Lincoln, see *supra*, p. 25; for Canterbury, see note 156, *infra*. The Chichester and Ely registers are missing; Worcester must be excluded; the folios for 1362 are lost in the Exeter register (see Reg. Grandisson, pt. II., p. v; pt. III., p. lxxii).

(IV) The *Effrenata* of 1378—4 out of 10 possible times.¹¹⁹

From the administrative point of view the problem is this: Does the absence of a constitution from the folios of a given register prove that a bishop ignored its provisions? Several considerations point to a negative answer. In the first place, there is the merely mechanical detail that from the time of the great plague there was a change for the worse in the fullness of the make-up of registers; in fact, by the end of the Middle Ages registers normally contained little more than ordinations and institutions to benefices.¹²⁰ Secondly, for the fourteenth century, the registers of certain dioceses are far fuller than those of others; at the one extreme for my subject stand the Canterbury,¹²¹ Bath and Wells, and Exeter registers, at the other extreme, come the Lichfield and Coventry¹²² and Norwich registers, the latter being little more than "Institution Books".¹²³ Thirdly, the case of Lincoln shows that the argument *a silentio* is not conclusive.¹²⁴ Finally, since the authorities actually engaged in enforcing provincial constitutions are the bishops' officials, the archdeacons¹²⁵ and their officials, and more rarely the deans, rectors, vicars, etc., the full extent of their activities can be gauged only by a more exhaustive knowledge of the records of their proceedings than is yet at our command.

III. *Conflict of Jurisdiction between the Secular Courts and the Courts Christian.*¹²⁶

The contract clause of the ordinance of 1349, although undoubtedly designed to prevent manual laborers from deserting their masters before the end of their stipulated term, was held by Edward III.'s judges to apply to employees distinctly above the grade of laborers, to bailiffs, merchants, school-teachers, and at first even to

¹¹⁹ Ely, Exeter, Salisbury, and Worcester. The Bath and Wells, Chichester, London, and Rochester registers are missing.

¹²⁰ *Reg. Grandisson*, pt. II., p. vi; pt. III., p. lxxix.

¹²¹ Yet Islip fails to enroll his own mandate of July, 1362 (see *supra*, p. 18), and Wykeham's Winchester register so lauded by Stubbs (*Reg. Sacrum Anglicanum*, p. vii) omits the third *Effrenata*.

¹²² If the printed abstracts are complete; see William Salt Archaeological Society, I., *Reg. Norbury*; VIII., new series, *Reg. Stretton*.

¹²³ The registers of Bateman, Percy, and Spenser.

¹²⁴ *Supra*, p. 23.

¹²⁵ For the relative powers of archdeacons and of the bishops' officials, see Lyndwood, pt. I., p. 239, note e; Ollard and Crosse, pp. 154-159. The president of the consistory court is mentioned once, *supra*, p. 26.

¹²⁶ For conflicts between Church and State in the fourteenth century, see Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, vol. III., ch. XIX., and Holdsworth, *History of English Law*, II. 251-255.

chaplains.¹²⁷ Fitz Herbert, writing in the sixteenth century, states specifically that "gentlemen, chaplains, or carpenters" while not liable under the compulsory service clause can be sued in the king's courts for breach of contract.¹²⁸ He thus completely ignores the striking change of legal opinion as to chaplains that occurred toward the end of Edward's reign. An exceedingly condensed year-book report of 1372 contains the statement that a retainer to chant masses does not come under the ordinance of laborers, while the report and record of another case in the court of common pleas in 1376 fortunately preserve a rather full discussion.¹²⁹ On the one side, it is urged that the ordinance applies only to laborers and artificers and that the chaplain is neither, but a servant of God; he is not, like a laborer, bound to serve but can stop singing masses for a week at a time if he please; jurisdiction over him belongs to his ordinary and not to the king's court, since there is no mention of chaplains in the ordinance of laborers. On the other side, it is pleaded that a parochial chaplain may be considered a laborer, even if other chaplains are not, since he has many duties besides chanting masses, namely, visiting the sick, administering the sacraments to them, and assisting parsons. In spite of this last plea, the judgment is against the jurisdiction of the royal courts¹³⁰ and establishes a precedent that was followed during the next century.¹³¹ If we are to believe the complaints of the Commons, the courts Christian go still further and under the pretext of a right to all cases of *laesio fidei* are dealing with pleas concerning laborers and artificers under the new statute.¹³²

Another topic on debatable ground is clerical extortion: presentments before the king's bench show archdeacons and other ecclesiasts persistently charging enormous sums for wills¹³³ and at least one instance of a vicar refusing to perform marriage ceremonies except for exorbitant fees.¹³⁴ Extortion in this sense how-

¹²⁷ Putnam, pp. 78, 179-199, app., p. 9.

¹²⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 180, note 2, for the full quotation from *New Natura Brevium*.

¹²⁹ Putnam, pp. 188-189, app., pp. 432-437. The record of the latter case is dated Easter term, the report Trinity term.

¹³⁰ "Belknap . . . il nous est avis et a nous compagnons de bank le Roy auxy, que n'est lie per statute, come auter person est." *Ibid.*, app., p. 433.

¹³¹ Reeves, *History of English Law*, II. 247: "Of course it was held that such persons [*i. e.* chaplains] were not within the statute"; cf. also *ibid.*, p. 275, and Putnam, p. 180.

¹³² *Rot. Parl.*, II. 319; cf. Holdsworth, II. 252.

¹³³ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 230, 305, 376; III. 43; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-1354, p. 228; Capes, p. 240. The case of John Evot, archdeacon of Bucks, is well worth study; see my article on "Ancient Indictments" in *Eng. Hist. Review*, XXIX. 499.

¹³⁴ Putnam, app., p. 171.

ever is not strictly a part of my present subject, while extortion in the wider sense of excessive clerical salaries seems clearly to belong to the courts Christian except in the case of the punishment of lay "givers" of excess, apparently reserved to the king's courts by the statute of 1362.¹³⁵ It is therefore a surprise to find clear evidence of the usurpation of jurisdiction by the secular courts both before and after 1362. In 1354 the Chester justices of laborers listen to a presentment of chaplains for receiving "superfluous salary".¹³⁶ During Trinity term, 1363, the justices of the king's bench hear indictments from Bristol, Gloucester, and neighboring places against hundreds of chaplains charged with receiving "excess salaries contrary to the statute". One example must suffice: The great inquest states that all the chaplains celebrating annals and all parochial chaplains in the town of Gloucester are taking excess salaries and that their names are not known. Therefore they are instructed to make inquiries on behalf of the king from the bailiffs of said town and to report on all the names both of givers and of takers. And they say that according to a rough estimate there are sixty chaplains celebrating [annals] in said town.¹³⁷

It seems probable that these Gloucestershire indictments had not gone unchallenged by the courts Christian; for in 1376 the Commons petition that the king's justices shall be impowered to punish all offenders against clerical wage-laws, both "takers" and "givers", and that double the excess shall be forfeited to the king.¹³⁸ In spite of the case in the court of common pleas perhaps being argued at just the same time,¹³⁹ the Commons claim that clerical salaries are a matter of contract and that all contract belongs to the royal courts.¹⁴⁰

In considering the ecclesiastical legislation as a whole the close analogies to the principles of the secular legislation are worthy of

¹³⁵ *Supra*, pp. 21-22.

¹³⁶ Putnam, app., p. 147.

¹³⁷ Ancient Indictments 29, m. 38; there are a number of membranes containing similar presentments. The court of king's bench sits at Gloucester, Bristol, Newport, and Worcester during this term; see my article quoted in note 133, *supra*, p. 503. For the peculiar relation of the mayor of Bristol to the appointment of chantry priests, see Ricart, *The Maire of Bristowe is Kalendar* (ed. L. T. Smith, Camden Soc., new series, V.), pp. 76-77, and *The Little Red Book of Bristol* (ed. F. B. Bickley), I. xxix-xxx, 114, 195-198, 210, 215.

¹³⁸ *Rot. Parl.*, II. 368. Cf. *ibid.*, IV. 121, for a similar petition in the reign of Henry V.

¹³⁹ The Good Parliament sat from April 28 to July 6 (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, fourth ed., II. 448-449) and the case referred to (*supra*, p. 28) was argued in Easter term of that year, that is, between April 30 and May 26.

¹⁴⁰ Unwin records the indictment in a spiritual court of a craftsman for breach of sworn agreement with his fellows, pp. 92, 108.

note. The endeavor to check the mobility of the laborer¹⁴¹ is paralleled by the restriction on the migration of chaplains,¹⁴² the episcopal "letters commendatory" reminding one strongly of the "letters testimonial" devised later for laborers.¹⁴³ Although the secular compulsory service clause was held not to apply to priests,¹⁴⁴ there is an ecclesiastical compulsory service clause for the unbene-ficed clergy,¹⁴⁵ so far-reaching in its consequences as to raise doubts in the mind of the great canonist. Lyndwood finally concludes that in dire need members of religious houses and even the private chaplains of great men may be forced to serve parish churches—provided that a higher or at least an equal salary be offered.¹⁴⁶ The importance of the clause is shown by the fact that in several registers the marginal heading is: "A mandate to compel priests to serve cures of souls", instead of the more usual: "Concerning priests' salaries".¹⁴⁷ The question of contract is of course involved in the maximum wage laws; just as the statutory rates technically prohibited masters and servants from entering into contracts to raise wages,¹⁴⁸ so the canonical rates prevented chaplains from bargaining for increased salaries.¹⁴⁹

As for the equity of the clerical wage-laws and for their probable effectiveness, the problem is in my judgment even more complex than that of the secular wage-laws and can by no means be solved at present; but a few points may be emphasized. In accordance with the prevailing orthodox economic theory of reasonable or just price—itself the creation of churchmen¹⁵⁰—the Church

¹⁴¹ Putnam, pp. 74, 154-157, 160, 181, 222.

¹⁴² *Supra*, p. 21. Although the statutes of laborers do not interfere with the movements of chaplains (*cf.* Holdsworth, II. 384), it is clear that the latter are by no means free to migrate without permission.

¹⁴³ *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 56; 12 R. II., c. 3.

¹⁴⁴ *Supra*, p. 28.

¹⁴⁵ *Supra*, p. 21.

¹⁴⁶ Pt. I., p. 239, note c. Johnson claims that Lyndwood proves his thesis from canon law which he says is of greater authority than provincial councils and adds that though Lyndwood's references do not prove it, yet his opinion prevailed. *A Collection of the Laws and Canons of the Church of England*, I. 423.

¹⁴⁷ For the first type, see notes 87, 89, 92, 98; for the second, see notes 64, 69, 82, 86, 88, 95, 97, 103, 104, *supra*. Occasionally the two are combined, note 59.

¹⁴⁸ Putnam, pp. 75, 154-163, 177-179, 189-199.

¹⁴⁹ "Nullatenus ex pacto ultra id percipituri", *Effrenata* of 1378, Wilkins; III. 135; "ultra septem marcas nullo modo conveniat", Islip's mandate of 1353, *ibid.*, p. 29. *Cf.* Bishop Langham's prohibition against agreements to increase salaries by extra fees, *Acta Synodi a Simone Langham episcopo Eliensi habitae*, *ibid.*, III. 60. Lyndwood's phraseology shows that previously clerical salaries had often been regulated by agreement: "ex pacto", "ex conventionione sive pacto", pt. I., p. 238, note a, p. 240, note q.

¹⁵⁰ A convenient summary is given by Ashley, *English Economic History*, vol. I., ch. III.

had endeavored some years before the plague to secure a minimum wage for the clergy, in order that they should not beg, to the disgrace of their order, or be forced to be clad in unsuitable garb.¹⁵¹ Then came the economic crisis after the Black Death: instead of the customary salaries of 5 marks (or even 4) for a chaplain with cure of souls or of 60 shillings or less for a cantarist, the rates demanded varied from 7 to 12 marks, occasionally even 10 pounds, or to put it roughly, were often more than double the old rates.¹⁵² Just how much the rise was justified by the increased cost of living remains to be proved;¹⁵³ as does the chronicler's statement that the enforcement of the lower rates compelled priests to steal.¹⁵⁴ As an argument for the futility of the restriction may be cited the fact of the increased rates legalized by Sudbury's *Effrenata*¹⁵⁵ or of the issue of licenses by bishops, even by Archbishop Islip, sanctioning higher rates in special instances.¹⁵⁶ The threatened departure of an Oxford chaplain in 1350 unless he could secure the amount demanded may prove the necessity of such licenses.¹⁵⁷ It is well also to note that the ecclesiasts by their phraseology often show a full recognition of the exigencies of the situation and that the Bishop of Ely in 1364 records his anxiety for the suitable payment of priests.¹⁵⁸ Only a statistical study can help us to decide whether we should join Islip and Sudbury, Gower,¹⁵⁹ and the author of *Piers the Plowman*.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵¹ At the council of Oxford, 1222, Wilkins, I. 587; at the synod of Exeter, 1287, *ibid.*, II. 147. Cf. Richardson, pp. 89, 91, 113-115, and Lyndwood, pt. I, pp. 64, 65.

¹⁵² For figures see Knighton (Rolls Series), II. 63; *Reg. Grandisson*, I. 1139; *Reg. Gynwell* (vol. VIII.), f. 186; mandate of July, 1362, p. 21, *supra*; Rogers, *Hist. of Agriculture and Prices*, II. 576, 579; Richardson, p. 89, note 1; Capes, p. 29; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 271.

¹⁵³ Cf. Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (ed. Petit Dutaillis, app. on "Causes du Soulèvement de 1381"), II. 867-868; also Tait's edition of John of Reading, pp. xi, 302.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 154: "Quod plures furari coegit ac praedari"; cf. also Walsingham, *Hist. Anglicana* (Rolls Series), I. 297.

¹⁵⁵ *Supra*, p. 22.

¹⁵⁶ Islip sanctioned higher rates in his own diocese than elsewhere in the southern province, note 99, *supra*. His first license was issued on November 27, 1362, just after the framing of the second *Effrenata*: Register, f. 189. Cf. *Reg. Edyndon*, pt. I., ff. 128-130; *Reg. Archbishop Whittlesey*, ff. 87-90. In the diocese of London, there is evidence for obedience to the constitution of 1362, *Calendar of the Letter Books of the City of London, Letter Book G*, p. 151.

¹⁵⁷ Rogers, II. 615, quoted by Richardson, p. 116; cf. *ibid.*, p. 112.

¹⁵⁸ *Reg. Islip*, f. 189: "Tamen post ordinacionem predictam tanta victualium caristia et raritas supervenit . . . ac precipue in civitate Londonie [ut] de summa predicta capellani predicti . . . nequeunt commode sustentari"; *Reg. Bukynham*, quoted in note 106, *supra*: "Attendentes iustum esse et conforme rationi quod illi qui plus laborant plus de mercede recipere mereantur"; Richardson, p. 116.

¹⁵⁹ The denunciations of the prelates and of the poets are extraordinarily similar. The third book of *Vox Clamantis* contains serious charges against the

in denouncing the avarice of the unbeneficed clergy, especially the chantry priests, or whether in a century in which the wealth of the higher clergy has been attacked by reformers,¹⁶¹ we should find it somewhat ironic that pluralist¹⁶² princes of the church should preach apostolic poverty to their chaplains.¹⁶³

My concluding word is a suggestion in regard to the Great Revolt. It seems possible that the irritation caused in the minds of multitudes of the lower clergy by the restrictive measures imposed on them arbitrarily by their wealthy superiors may account in part at least for the presence of so many of them among the rebels.¹⁶⁴ Was Archbishop Sudbury's fate retribution for the last *Effrenata*?

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secular clergy. One example must suffice: "Postquam dictum est de errore illorum qui in ecclesia beneficiati existunt, iam dicendum est de presbiteris stipendiariis . . .

Hos velut artifices cerno peditare per urbem,
Conductos precio sicut asella foro".

Latin Works (ed. Macaulay), p. 149.

¹⁶⁰ Text A (ed. Skeat), "Prologue", lines 80-83:

"Persones and parisch prestes playneth to heore Bisschops,
That heore parisch hath ben pore seth the Pestilence tyme,
And asketh leue and lycence at Londun to dwelle,
To singe ther for Simonye for seluer is swete."

Cf. Chaucer, Prologue to *Canterbury Tales*, lines 507-510 (ed. Gilman):

"He sette nat his benefice to hyre,
And leet his sheepe encombred in the myre,
And ran to Londoun un-to Saint Poules
To seken hym a chauntrie for soules."

¹⁶¹ Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, II. 440-442; Hunt, *The English Church in the Middle Ages*, p. 209.

¹⁶² See papal mandates to Archbishop Langham, *Cal. Papal Letters*, IV. 12, 25, and Reg. Langham, *passim*.

¹⁶³ The attempts at restriction did not end with the fourteenth century, cf. *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 51-52, 121; *Statutes of the Realm*, II. 188, 2 Henry V., st. 2, c. 2; Wilkins, III. 213-214, 402-403.

¹⁶⁴ See Petit Dutailis, *ubi supra*, note 153.

THE FRENCH OBJECTIVE IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION¹

THE majority of authorities would to-day, I believe, concede that but for our alliance with France the War of Independence would have ended without independence; and that but for the aid which France lent us secretly in the months preceding Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga we should hardly have become allies of His Most Christian Majesty, at least on anything like terms of equality. To emphasize the efficacy and indispensability of French aid in the Revolution is however only to throw into higher light its aspects of paradox: the oldest and most despotic monarchy of Europe making common cause with rebels against a sister monarchy; a government on the verge of bankruptcy deliberately inviting a war that, to all appearances certainly, it might have easily avoided! Ignorance of the risks involved might conceivably afford a partial explanation of the course taken by the French government in the years between 1776 and 1783, but in fact the explanation is little available. The possibility of peril in promoting rebellion, albeit in another's dominions, was clearly present to Louis's mind, while the unfitness of the royal exchequer for the burdens of war was pressed upon him by Turgot with all possible insistence.

I.

Bancroft explains French championship of American independence thus:

Many causes combined to produce the alliance of France and the American republic; but the force which brought all influences harmoniously together, overruling the timorous levity of Maurepas and the dull reluctance of Louis XVI., was the movement of intellectual freedom.²

The important element of truth in this theory is unquestionable. The direction and momentum of French popular sentiment established, to some extent certainly, the possibilities and limitations of French official action, and this sentiment was in turn to no inconsiderable extent the product of the liberalism of the age. Yet it

¹ The following article comprises the opening section of the writer's volume entitled *French Policy and the American Alliance*, which is about to be issued from the Princeton University Press.

² *History of the United States* (author's last revision), V. 256; see also pp. 264 ff.

seems clear that the idea that France ought to intervene, if opportunity offered, between England and her North American colonies, in behalf of the latter, came in the first instance not from the *salon* but from the Foreign Office. And it is not less clear that the precise policy pursued by the French government toward the United States from 1776 on was shaped not by philosophers but by professional diplomatists.³

Confining then our attention from the outset to the question of what were the *official* motives of French intervention, we have naturally to consider in the first instance the Count de Vergennes's attempt to represent his programme, which eventually became that of his government, as essentially defensive. Thus in his "Considérations" of March, 1776, which led directly to the policy of secret aid to the Americans, Vergennes urged upon the king and his associates the argument that, whether England subjugated her rebellious colonies or lost them, she would probably attack the French West Indies—in the one case in order to use the large forces she would have assembled, in the other, in order to indemnify herself.⁴ And in his "Mémoire" of July 23, 1777, urging an early alliance with the Americans, he took much the same line: The policy of secret aid had been well enough in its day, but it had not secured the Americans for France and Spain. If England could not speedily crush the American revolt she must make terms with it. Those whom she had failed to retain as subjects she would make allies, in a joint assault upon the riches of Peru and Mexico and the French Sugar Islands.⁵

That there were facts tending to give this line of argument a certain plausibility may be admitted: the known hatred of Chatham for the House of Bourbon, the supposed possibility (actually *nil*) that Chatham would be called to power by George III. if Lord North failed, the lack of scruple that had been shown by England in beginning the Seven Years' War without warning while negotiations were pending, the dissatisfaction of a section of English opinion with the terms of the peace of Paris.⁶ Also it may be admitted that the argument truly represented considerations that had measurable weight with its author. For Vergennes was a cautious, even though ambitious, statesman, and for'd accordingly of that line of

³ See *infra*, §§ V. and VI.

⁴ Henri Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris, 1886-1892), I. 273-275.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 460, 462-463.

⁶ Expressions of Vergennes's distrust of Chatham will be found in Doniol, I. 61-62, 67-72. At the same time he admits in effect the unlikelihood of George III.'s calling him to power, *ibid.*, p. 62.

persuasion to action which emphasizes the countervailing risks of inaction. When, however, the question is fairly posed whether this argument throws any considerable light upon the real *objective* of French intervention in the Revolution, the answer is "no".

To begin with, there is, to say the least, something of an inconsistency in Vergennes's building an argument for an alliance with the Americans to protect French interests in the Caribbean upon the increment of danger resulting to those interests from his own policy of secret aid. And this inconsistency affords clue to a yet more striking one. In the summer of 1776, when he thought that France could count on the active assistance of Spain, Vergennes definitely proposed war with England and the proposition was tentatively ratified by the king and council.⁷ A little later, however, came the news of the fiasco on Long Island and Vergennes beat a precipitate retreat from his own programme.⁸ In other words, it would seem that the danger which, by the argument in the "Considérations", would menace France if England should subjugate her rebellious colonies was one that could be safely awaited in quiet, but that the one threatening from the contrary contingency was one that must be met half-way. Yet it was the latter contingency precisely which the policy of secret aid was designed to make sure!⁹

But again, while a British attack upon the Caribbean possessions would, of course, have forced France to come to their defense, it may be gravely doubted whether French official opinion held these possessions after 1763 in sufficient esteem to have warranted a policy that materially increased the likelihood of a serious war of which their security would be the main objective.¹⁰ Indeed, Vergennes himself declared on one occasion that the French West Indies could

⁷ "Considérations sur le parti qu'il convient à la France de prendre vis-à-vis de l'Angleterre dans la circonstance actuelle", August 31, 1776. *Ibid.*, pp. 567-575.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 613-621. A parallel case is furnished by the French secretary's change of front on the question of the Englishman Forth's mission to Paris in the late summer of 1777. At first Vergennes found this episode to be portentous of war at an early date. When, however, shortly after, the news arrived of Burgoyne's capture of Ticonderoga and of other disasters to the American arms, his alarm diminished perceptibly. *Ibid.*, II. 526-529, 534-536, 539, 551-555.

⁹ See the "Réflexions", *ibid.*, I. 247-248.

¹⁰ See the remarks of M. Abeille, quoted *infra*, § V. In the same connection one should also recall the pacifist attitude of the French government early in 1777 toward the question of defending Santo Domingo, the obvious explanation of it being the fear of arousing suspicion on the part of Great Britain that would prejudice the policy of secret aid. Doniol, II. 234-241, 253, 264-265, 272-275. Still more to the point is the fact that during the peace negotiations of 1782, the French government was ready and willing to surrender two of its most valuable possessions in the West Indies, Guadeloupe and Dominica, to Great Britain in order to obtain Gibraltar for Spain. *Ibid.*, V. 220.

offer but slight temptation to English cupidity, that England already had enough such possessions.¹¹ But finally, there is every reason to believe that both France and Spain could at any time before 1778 have obtained from England, in return for a pledge of neutrality, a specific guaranty of their American holdings, and in fact the programme proposed by the Spanish government in 1777 incorporated this very idea. Nor can there be any question that England would have hesitated to violate such a guaranty so long as peace continued on the Continent of Europe. None the less, Vergennes from the first consistently repelled all such propositions.¹²

To no small extent certainly, Vergennes's attempt to give his programme a defensive mask is to be accounted for by purely propagandist reasons. He had before him from the beginning the two-fold necessity of winning his own king and the king of Spain to his side. It is, therefore, a circumstance of no little significance that in the first formulation of his position toward the American revolt, in the "Réflexions" prepared by his secretary Gérard de Rayneval in December, 1775, the notion of danger threatening from England is distinctly subordinated to what is throughout essentially a programme of aggression. But for this tone the king, despite the missionary work of Beaumarchais,¹³ was, it would seem, hardly prepared; and in the "Considérations" a few weeks later the conscientious scruples of His Most Christian Majesty and His Catholic Majesty are pointed to with some ostentation.¹⁴ Moreover, in the "Considérations" Vergennes was confronted with the task of demonstrating the superior urgency of his diplomatic programme to that of Turgot's programme of financial retrenchment, and this task could *only* be performed by representing war with England as virtually inevitable.¹⁵

And unquestionably it must be conceded that this sort of propa-

¹¹ *Doniol*, II. 643-644.

¹² Both at the end of 1776 and in the spring of 1777, the British government suggested tentatively a common disarmament on the part of England, France, and Spain. *Doniol*, II. 145-154, 232. Vergennes however had from the first been averse to seeking any sort of understanding with England, *ibid.*, I. 51-52. For Floridablanca's programme and Vergennes's attitude toward it, see *ibid.*, II. 264, 293-295. See also Vergennes's argument against accepting the offer, apparently made by Forth, in August, 1777, of a British guaranty of French and Spanish possessions, *ibid.*, pp. 528-529.

¹³ See John Durand, *New Materials for the History of the American Revolution* (New York, 1889), pp. 44-86.

¹⁴ "Si les dispositions de ces deux princes étaient guerrières, s'ils étaient disposés à se livrer à l'impulsion de leurs intérêts." *Doniol*, I. 275.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 280-284.

ganda proved, at critical junctures, extremely effective with Louis;¹⁶ but that this circumstance, on the other hand, is not to be accorded undue weight is proved by the countervailing one that the Spanish government, to whom the argument was also addressed, treated it, once the danger that had at first threatened of war with Portugal was removed, with conspicuous levity—and this notwithstanding Vergennes's insistence that Spain's empire in America furnished England tenfold the temptation that the meagre remnants of French holdings did.¹⁷ In short, while the argument that England designed to attack her Caribbean possessions assisted materially in bringing France into the Revolution by tending to minimize the weightiest argument against such a project, it does not follow that the defense of these possessions furnished the principal purpose of French action. The central core of Vergennes's programme from the first was *aid* to the Americans in the achievement of their *independence*; and the prospect of American independence necessarily brought into view objectives which far overshadowed the security of the French West Indies, either momentary or permanent.

French intervention in the Revolution was in short determined by motives of "aggression" rather than of "defense"—at any rate in what used to be the accepted significance of these terms, before the present war had obliterated so many distinctions. That is to say, France's main purpose was the upsetting of the *status quo* in certain particulars rather than its preservation in certain others. But in what particulars? That is to say, was her objective territory or commerce, or was it something less tangible than either of these?

II.

The possibility that it was territory is raised by the contention of Professor Turner that France hoped in the Revolution to replace England in Canada and Spain in Louisiana. In support of this thesis Professor Turner adduces, first, the testimony of Godoy, "the

¹⁶ Especially after Saratoga. For the data which Vergennes brought to bear upon the king to procure his decision for an alliance with the United States at this juncture, see Doniol, II. 625 ff., 717 ff. Rumors of impending negotiations between the American commissioners and the British representatives and utterances of British parliamentary orators of the Opposition (see *Parliamentary History*, XIX. 662 ff.) were the principal items. Vergennes's manipulation of this evidence is palpably disingenuous, as I shall show elsewhere. The reaction of the king to ministerial alarmism, which was effectively supplemented by the similar efforts of Beaumarchais, is indicated by Vergennes in a despatch to Montmorin dated January 8, 1778, after the alliance had been determined upon: "Ce n'est point l'influence de ses ministres qui a décidé le roi, c'est l'évidence des faits, c'est la certitude morale du péril." Doniol, II. 734.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 643. Spain's attitude is shown by her course.

Prince of Peace", that after the war was over, Vergennes, counting upon the close union between France and Spain, sought to induce the latter, "already so rich in possessions beyond the sea, to give to France her ancient colony"; secondly, the fact that during the war Vergennes appeared anxious "to protect the interests of Spain in the country between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi"; and thirdly, a document published in Paris in 1802 under the caption *Mémoire Historique et Politique sur la Louisiane par M. de Vergennes*.¹⁸

Upon closer scrutiny each item of this evidence must for one reason or other be disallowed. The reliability of the testimony of Godoy, who did not come into power until six years after Vergennes's death, is in itself dubious, but even if it be accepted at face value it says nothing of Vergennes's intentions *before* and *during* the Revolution. Vergennes's attitude *during* that period toward Spain's claims to the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi is sufficiently accounted for by his feeling that it was necessary to harmonize the conflicting interests of the United States and Spain, each of whom was in alliance with France against England. The document published in 1802, though it may *possibly* date from the Revolution, was not the work of Vergennes nor of any one who spoke for him. Not only does the programme that it proposes directly traverse, in its reference to Canada, the pledge of His Most Christian Majesty in article VI. of the treaty of alliance, renouncing "forever the possession . . . of any part of the continent" that had lately belonged to Great Britain, but it materially conflicts with the policy which Professor Turner himself attributes to Vergennes of supporting Spain's claims in the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi. The latter policy was clearly designed to allay Spain's alarm at the prospects of American independence. The programme urged in the *Mémoire* of 1802 proposed the deliberate aggravation of this alarm as the easiest means of inducing Spain to relinquish Louisiana to the stronger hands of France.¹⁹

¹⁸ *American Historical Review*, X. 249 ff.

¹⁹ See the *Mémoire*, pp. 25-30. Other considerations that forbid the attribution of this document to Vergennes or official associates of his are the following: It is to be noted that while the anonymous editor of the *Mémoire* assumes to vouch for "the style, the thoughts" of the document as being those of the French secretary, he says nothing of a signature, nor does any appear in the published form. The *Mémoire* is also devoid of certain distinctive marks of a French official document addressed to royalty, the most obvious consisting in the failure of the writer (or compiler) ever to refer to France and Spain by the titles of their Bourbon rulers.

If we are to rely upon the silence of the *Inventaire Sommaire*, no memoir

But if France's objective was not territory, perhaps it was commerce. Unquestionably there was a wide-spread belief in France early in the Revolution, which was appealed to not only by the American envoys but by Vergennes himself on occasion, that if France assisted the United States to their independence, American on Louisiana exists in the French archives of the date to which the *Mémoire* published in 1802 is assigned by its editor, though several are to be found there of an earlier date from which this one might have been fabricated, and to one of these the editor makes specific reference in a foot-note. Furthermore, the fact that the *Mémoire* of 1802 was, if at this point we are to follow the editor, found among Vergennes's own papers, of itself casts doubt on its ever having been presented to the king.

In connection with his statement that "both French and American bibliographers have accepted" the "genuineness" of the *Mémoire*, Professor Turner cites only the *Voyage à la Louisiane* of Baudry des Lozières. Yet Baudry, while praising the *Mémoire* for "plusieurs de ses vues qui sont très-sages", directly challenges the assertion that it was the work of Vergennes. "If", says he, "M. de Vergennes has any part in these mémoires, it is only a very small part." But perhaps the most remarkable feature of the document under consideration is (assuming it to date from before 1783) the ignorance it discloses on the part of its author that by the treaty of 1763 Florida belonged to Great Britain (see pp. 26 and 30). The Duke of Newcastle is reported to have once addressed a despatch to "the Governor of the Island of Massachusetts". But Vergennes was neither a British peer nor a spoilsman in office, but a man noted among his contemporaries for the range and accuracy of his information in the field of diplomacy. It may be safely assumed, therefore, that he was fully aware that France's closest ally had lost an extensive province by the peace of Paris and had been compensated by France herself with a still more extensive one. Besides, as is shown below, the *Mémoire* of 1802, considered as an entity, must by any assumption date from a period later than early January, 1778. Before this, however, Holker, in instructions dated November 25, 1777, was informed by the French Foreign Office that his government wished to see England left in possession of Florida, Nova Scotia, and Canada. Doniol, II. 616. Upon careful examination of it I am convinced that the *Mémoire* of 1802 comprises two earlier documents loosely joined together by the author of the short address "Au Roi", chapter I., and certain paragraphs of chapter X., of the published document. The first of these two earlier documents comprises most of chapters II.-X. of the *Mémoire* of 1802 and was written before the outbreak of the Seven Years' War, to refute Great Britain's claim to the region then in dispute between France and Great Britain. It closed with a plan of compromise in the form of a proposed treaty between the two nations, which plan is touched up at points by the compiler of the 1802 document. The second of the earlier documents was written after the events described in pages 162 to 169 of the published volume—i. e., about 1769—to protest against the then recent cession of Louisiana to Spain. The entire separateness of the two documents is attested by the words with which the second one opens ("Ce mémoire a pour but", etc., p. 115), by the vastly different styles of the two documents, and by diverse spellings of certain proper names. (In the latter connection compare pp. 57 and 150-151; also pp. 61 and 172.) When, then, was this compilation made? Dismissing the editor's assertion that the document was the work of Vergennes, but taking the document itself at face value, it was brought together after the outbreak of the War of Independence (chapters I. and X.), but before the treaty of alliance recognizing American independence was known (the United States are always referred to as "colonies")

trade would turn forthwith to French ports.²⁰ Yet squarely confronted with the theory that this belief had been material in determining his programme, Vergennes unqualifiedly rejected the notion. "They perhaps think at Madrid", he wrote after the alliance had been determined upon, "that the interest of acquiring a new trade had principally decided us." But he repelled the suggestion thus:

This motive, assessed at its true worth, can be only a very feeble accessory. American trade, *viewed in its entirety and subject to the monopoly of the mother-country, was undoubtedly a great object of interest to the latter and an important source of the growth of her industry and power.* But American trade, thrown open as it is to be henceforth to the avidity of all nations, will be for France a very petty consideration.²¹

These words of Vergennes have, however, something more than their merely negative value; they bring us in fact to the very threshold of the subject of our quest. Official thinking about trade was moulded in the eighteenth century, in vast part, by the categories of what is called "the mercantile system", and it is the significance of the words just quoted that they prove Vergennes to have been of this school. The salient features of mercantilism mark it at once as a system of *state-craft* rather than of *economics*, at least in any modern sense of these terms. In the first place, wealth was identified with that form of it in which, in a period when the machinery of public credit was rudimentary and the usual cement of international alliances was provided by cash subsidies, it was most available for political purposes. Again, the welfare of the subject was assessed for its contribution to the power of the state. Finally, the power of the state was evaluated in terms fur- and "provinces" and on p. 180 the compiler speaks of "strengthening the peace" between France and Great Britain); also during a warlike situation on the Continent (pp. 27 and 103, by the compiler). But this last condition can be satisfied, for the period between 1775 and 1781, only by supposing the references just cited to have been to the events leading up to the so-called War of the Bavarian Succession. If, then, the *Mémoire* of 1802 is to be assigned, as a whole, to the period of the American Revolution, it must be placed between late January and the middle of March, 1778. We know that, in the months preceding France's intervention, numerous memoirs were transmitted to the Foreign Office, and the *Mémoire* of 1802 may therefore represent one from a sheaf of similar productions. Doniol, I, 242, foot-note. Mr. Paul C. Phillips, on the other hand, conjectures plausibly that the document published in 1802 owes its existence to an effort to bolster up Napoleon's then recent acquisition of Louisiana. *The West in the Diplomacy of the American Revolution* (Univ. of Ill., 1914), pp. 30-32, foot-note. For Vergennes's appreciation that France must attempt no conquests on the North American continent, see Doniol, III, 570.

²⁰ *Deane Papers* (N. Y. Hist. Soc. Colls., 1886), I, 181, 184 ff., 207; Doniol, I, 244.

²¹ Doniol, III, 140. Madrid received its impression from Aranda. Aranda to Floridablanca, January 31, 1778, the Sparks MSS., Harvard University Library.

nished by the doctrine of the "balance of power". But granting these premises and it followed, first, that the principal advantage to be sought from trade was a balance payable in coin or bullion, and secondly, that the most desirable branch of trade was that which was most susceptible of manipulation to produce such a balance—in other words, *colonial trade*. For subject as it was, within the laws of nature, to the unlimited control of the mother-country, the colony could be compelled to obtain all its manufactures from the mother-country and to return therefor raw materials and a cash balance. At the very least, by furnishing the mother-country raw materials which she would otherwise have to purchase from her political rivals, the colony could be made to contribute directly to the maintenance of a favorable *balance of trade* and, *pro tanto*, to that of a favorable *balance of power* against those rivals.²²

²² A good general account of the rise of mercantilism and of its principles is to be found in C. F. Bastable's *Commerce of Nations* (1899), ch. IV. For an admirable statement of the connection which mercantilist theory and policy established between colonies and commerce, see Professor C. M. Andrews, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 43 ff. "During the greater part of our colonial period commerce and the colonies were correlative terms, unthinkable each without the other", *ibid.*, p. 43. See also the same writer's article in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XX. 539 ff., entitled "Anglo-French Commercial Rivalry, 1700-1750". "France and England were fairly matched rivals, in that their policies were the same, to acquire colonies in the interest of trade, shipping, and manufactures, to exclude the foreigner from the colonial market, and to make the welfare and wealth of the mother state the first and chief object of the efforts of all, colonies and mother-country alike." *Ibid.*, p. 546. It will be noted that Professor Andrews makes *welfare* the objective of the mercantile policy, but *power* would perhaps be the better word even for English mercantilism. Note the following passage quoted by Professor Andrews from Otis Little's *The State of the Trade of the Northern Colonies Considered* (1748), pp. 8-9: "As every state in Europe seems desirous of increasing its Trade, and the Acquisition of Wealth enlarges the Means of power, it is necessary, in order to preserve an Equality with them, that this Kingdom extends its Commerce in proportion; but to acquire a Superiority, due Encouragement ought to be given to such of its Branches, as will most effectually enrich its Inhabitants. As trade enables the Subject to support the Administration of Government, the lessening or destroying that of a Rival, has the same effect, as if this Kingdom had enlarged the Sources of its own Wealth. . . . But, as an Ascendancy is to be gained by checking the Growth of theirs, as well as by the Increase of our own, whenever one of these happens to be the Consequence of the other to this Nation, its Figure and Reputation will rise to a greater Height than ever." *Ibid.*, p. 543, foot-note. In other words, the mercantilist looked beyond the *welfare* of the subject to the *power* and reputation of the state, and these he measured by the standard set by the doctrine of the balance of power. The same point is also brought out by a passage from Postlethwayt's *Britain's Commercial Interest Explained and Improved* (1757): "I next enter upon the general principles, whereon the balance of trade is founded . . . the consideration of which is earnestly recommended to the public regard, in order to throw the balance of trade so effectually into the hands of Great Britain, as to put the constant balance of power in Europe into her hands." *Ibid.*, II. 551. See also the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII. 589 (November 1742): "Now, that Money is the

Applying, however, these considerations to the case of French intervention in the American Revolution, we have at once to note that by the treaty of amity and commerce all privileges of trade were to be "mutual" and none given France but what the United States were left at liberty to grant to any other nation, while by the treaty of alliance, its "essential and direct end" was stated to be the achievement of American *independence* not only in *matters of government* but of *commerce also*.²³ In other words, we discover that the *real* commercial motive underlying the alliance was not the hope of *building up French trade*—which it was supposed could hardly be done effectively or advantageously without the machinery of monopoly—but the *breaking down of British trade at the point at which, by mercantilist premises, it most immediately supported British power*. The commercial motive merges itself with a larger political motive: the *enfeeblement of England*.

The lesson drawn by Englishmen from their magnificent triumph in the Seven Years' War is to be found in the famous lament of Chatham on the news of Saratoga: America "was, indeed, the fountain of our wealth, the nerve of our strength, the nursery and basis of our naval power".²⁴ But what should be especially noted about these words is that they refer to the part of America then in revolt, that is to *continental* America. The circumstance is one that would have been quite impossible before 1760, when the emphasis was still on colonies as sources of supply and when, consequently, British opinion, in appraising the two portions of British America, gave the invariable preference to the island and tropical portion. The treaty of Paris, however, signalizes a new point of view. Not only had

Sinews of War, is become a proverbial Expression; and, with Respect to Great Britain, it is notorious we can do nothing without it. Almost all we did in the last Struggle with the Grand Monarch, was by the Dint of Money. If we had Numbers of Allies, we were obliged to pay them all; and whereas every other Power in the Confederacy run into Arrears with their Engagements, we not only made good our Proportions, but often exceeded them. . . . But, to suppose, what is impossible, that we still roll in Riches, who is to join with us in this mighty Enterprise, of wresting the *Balance of Europe* out of the strong Hand that hath lately held it?" See further the index of this same periodical under titles, "Balance of Power" and "France", for other instructive passages along the same lines, especially in the volumes covering the years from 1737 to 1742. Naturally in France, where the dynastic principle was the exclusive basis of the state, the political aspect of mercantilism was predominant; see *infra*.

²³ Treaty of amity and commerce, preamble; treaty of alliance, art. II. See also the American commissioners' letter of February 8, 1778, to the President of Congress, Wharton (1889), II. 490-491.

²⁴ Speech of November 18, 1777, *Parliamentary History*, XIX. 365, foot-note. See to the same effect Burke's speech of November 27, 1781, *ibid.*, XXII. 721-722. See also the opening paragraph of Deane's memoir on the Commerce of America and its Importance to Europe, cited above, *Deane Papers*, I. 184.

continental America made direct contributions to the military forces of the mother-country in the course of the war just closed, but its increasing importation of British manufactures in exchange for raw materials now netted a favorable balance that quite eclipsed the calculable benefits from the West Indian trade. Furthermore, inasmuch as the colonial trade had always been regarded as the essential matrix of British naval strength, popular esteem naturally turned increasingly to that branch of this trade which promised a progressive extension. The upshot of these developments is to be seen in the decision of the British government, registered in the treaty of Paris, to retain Canada instead of Guadeloupe and Martinique from its French conquests. No doubt the decision was in part motivated by a desire to meet the demands of New England; but the discussion that attended it proves that it is also to be regarded as a deliberate re-appraisal by England of the relative value of the two sections of her western empire.²⁵

The reaction of France, in turn, to the lesson of the treaty of Paris was conditioned in the first instance by the plain impossibility of further competition with Great Britain in the field of colonization, at least so long as British naval strength remained predominant. On the other hand, however, the doctrine of the balance of power which, as I have already pointed out, was the political obverse of mercantilism, emphasized the notion that the grand desideratum for a state was not so much a certain absolute quantum of power as a certain rank of power in relation to other states; and particularly those states which it counted its usual rivals—that, in short, *power was relative*. But this premise assumed, the opportunity presented France by the American revolt was a deduction at once inevitable and irresistible. Choiseul's early perception of it, we shall note presently. At this juncture our interest is in the point of view of Vergennes, the official sponsor of French intervention. Fortunately it is attested both in his despatches and in his more formal memoirs again and again: England was France's ancient and hereditary enemy. The essential basis of English power was English commerce and English naval strength. The most important source of these, in turn, was England's colonial empire, and especially her holdings in North America. The disseverance once and for all time of the connection between England and her rebellious provinces would deprive her of the greatest single source of power and, by the same token, elevate the power of the House of Bourbon against its most dangerous and unscrupulous rival. To achieve that

²⁵ For the matter of this paragraph, see George Louis Beer, *British Colonial Policy, 1754-1765* (New York, 1907), ch. IV.

would be worth a war otherwise "somewhat disadvantageous".²⁶

Moreover there would also be certain collateral benefits. For one thing, from being an ever-available base of operations against the French West Indies, the new nation would be converted into their joint protector "forever".²⁷ Again, from being a beneficiary and so a prop to those rules of naval warfare by which Great Britain bore so hard upon the commercial interests both of her enemies and of neutrals, the new nation would be pledged to a more liberal system.²⁸ Yet again, by leaving England her non-rebellious provinces in North America, a certain portion of her strength and attention would be permanently diverted from the European balance to the maintenance of a minor balance in the Western Hemisphere.²⁹ However, these considerations too connect themselves, and rather directly, with the logic of the doctrine of the balance of power. Thus the real question raised by our search for the main objective of French intervention in the Revolution becomes the question of *the main objective in the thinking of French statesmen of a balance of power favorable to France*. The answer to that question reveals the third dimension of French diplomacy of the Old Régime—a certain dynastic tradition.

III.

The diplomatic object of this crown has been and will always be to enjoy in Europe that rôle of leadership which accords with its antiquity, its worth, and its greatness; to abase every power which shall attempt to become superior to it, whether by endeavoring to usurp its possessions, or by arrogating to itself an unwarranted pre-eminence, or finally by seeking to diminish its influence and credit in the affairs of the world at large.³⁰

In these words of the French Foreign Office, penned in 1756 to justify the Diplomatic Revolution, is sketched the picture that dominated French diplomacy throughout the declining years of the Old Régime. In "the fair days of Louis XIV." the picture had been a reality, which, however, that monarch's later aggressions had gone far to shatter. Then Cardinal Fleury had come forward with his

²⁶ See especially the following passages: the "Réflexions" of December, 1775, Doniol, I. 243-244; the "Considérations" of November 5, 1776, *ibid.*, pp. 686-687; the "Mémoire" of January 7, 1777, referred to briefly in the text, *ibid.*, II. 118; the despatch of March 11, 1777, *ibid.*, II. 239; the despatch of May 23, 1777, *ibid.*, p. 295; the "Mémoire" of July 23, 1777, *ibid.*, p. 461; the despatch of December 13, 1777, *ibid.*, pp. 643-644.

²⁷ Treaty of alliance, art. XI.

²⁸ Treaty of amity and commerce, arts. XV. ff.

²⁹ Doniol, III. 156-157; IV. 74.

³⁰ *Recueil des Instructions données aux Ambassadeurs et Ministres de France depuis les Traités de Westphalie jusqu'à la Révolution Française*, I., Autriche, p. 356; see also p. 383.

Système de Conservation by which France pledged Europe that in return for *influence* she would forego extension of *dominion* and that she would devote the influence vouchsafed her on these terms to the cause of Europe's peace.³¹

The success of the System for France's diplomatic position was astonishing. On the eve of the War of the Austrian Succession the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, the protector of Christian interests in the East, of Poland, Sweden, Turkey, Saxony, Sardinia, the German princes, of Don Carlos of Naples, of the emperor himself, and the ally of the maritime powers and of Spain, was the nodal point of every combination of powers in Europe. At the same time His Most Christian Majesty's services as mediator were sought, now by Austria and Spain, now by Russia and Turkey, now by Austria and Russia, now by Spain and Portugal, now by England and Spain.³² "Thanks to Cardinal Fleury", exclaimed the advocate Barbier, "the king is the master and arbiter of Europe".³³ The aged Fleury himself complacently compared the position of France to what it had been "at the most brilliant epoch of Louis XIV.'s reign".³⁴ Frederick II., just ascending the throne of Prussia, found "the Courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Stockholm in a sort of tutelage" to Versailles.³⁵ The Sultan's ambassador at the coronation of Charles VII. apostrophized Louis XV. as "Grand Monarque", "King of Christian Kings", "Emperor of the Franks".³⁶ The enemies of Walpole, who, in return for commercial favors to England, had willingly connived in the extension of French influence, declared that England had been made a cat's-paw of, that the House of Bourbon was at the summit of power, that the balance of power was at an end.³⁷

³¹ M. de Flanagan, *Histoire Générale et Raisonnée de la Diplomatie Française depuis la Fondation de la Monarchie jusqu'à la Fin du Règne de Louis XVI.* (second ed., Paris, 1811, 7 vols.), V. 167 ff. On the general principles and outlook of French diplomacy following the death of Louis XIV. and the orientation of Vergennes's policy in these, see Albert Sorel, *L'Europe et la Révolution Française*, pt. I., *Les Mœurs Politiques et les Traditions* (third ed., Paris, 1893), pp. 331-336, 297-304. For some excellent eighteenth-century expressions of the "Tradition of Grandeur", dating from Louis XIV., see Abbé Raynal's *Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements*, etc. (trans. by Justament, London, 1777), IV. 506 ff.; V. 457 ff.; also Anquetil's *Motifs des Guerres et des Traités de Paix de la France* (Paris, 1797), pp. 187 ff.

³² For these data see Lavisse and Rambaud, *Histoire Générale*, VII. 119-160.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

³⁴ *Recueil des Instructions*, I. 246.

³⁵ *Posthumous Works of Frederick II.* (trans. by Holcroft, London, 1789), I. 16.

³⁶ *Gentleman's Magazine*, XII. 54 (1742).

³⁷ See the "Debate in the Lords on Carteret's Motion for the Removal of Sir Robert Walpole", especially Carteret's own speeches. *Parl. Hist.*, XI. 1047 ff.

Nor did the War of the Austrian Succession, rising like a drama to its climax in the stage-triumph of Fontenoy,³⁸ though obviously a defeat for salient principles of Fleury's System,³⁹ signify any lessening of France's influence on the Continent in the estimate of those who then guided her destinies. Foremost of these was the Marquis d'Argenson, who became in 1744 the king's secretary of state for foreign affairs on a platform, so to say, interpreting the rôle of France among nations in the light of the rising philosophy of the age. The period of conquests, Argenson declared—though unhappily not of war—was at an end, and France especially had reason to be content with her greatness. Those therefore who spoke of perfecting the boundaries of France or forming leagues for her defense were ill advised. "Our neighbors have everything to fear from us—we nothing from them." The only alliances which France should form should be "for the purpose of repressing the ambitious", and should be made only with lesser states, "such as Portugal, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Venice, Modena, Switzerland, Bavaria, Prussia, Saxony, etc." In brief, France was in the position to give the law to Europe, so it be a just law. Let her, then, "sustain the feeble and oppressed" and in her part as "paternal protector", "arrest disorders for many centuries".⁴⁰ In 1748 France, by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, restored her conquests of the war just closed. Sinful Paris pronounced it "a beastly peace". The royal ministers, on the other hand, contrasting His Most Christian Majesty with those rulers who were forced by necessity to seek only their own aggrandizement and were ever masking selfish designs with a pretended solicitude for the balance of power, defended the treaty as marking precisely France's station and magnanimity.⁴¹

³⁸ See Voltaire's description in his "Précis du Siècle de Louis XV.", *Oeuvres Complètes* (Paris, 1792), XXI. 129-148. Note especially his words on p. 148: "Ce qui est aussi remarquable que cette victoire, c'est que le premier soin du roi de France fût de faire écrire le jour même à l'abbé de la Ville . . . qu'il ne demandait pour prix de ses conquêtes que la pacification de l'Europe."

³⁹ For the policy of a friendly understanding with the maritime powers and Austria. In his instructions of December 11, 1737, to the Marquis de Mirepoix, Fleury suggests definitely a *rapprochement* between the Houses of Bourbon and Hapsburg. *Recueil des Instructions*, I. 245-246.

⁴⁰ *Journal et Mémoires du Marquis d'Argenson* (ed. Ratheray, Paris, 1859), I. 325-326, 371-372; IV. 131 ff. See also Sainte-Beuve, "Argenson", *Causeries du Lundi*. The idealistic, not to say sentimental, character of Argenson's point of view is illustrated by his "maxim", "le roi aime mieux être trompé que de tromper".

⁴¹ For the Parisian estimate of the peace, see Lavissee and Rambaud, *op. cit.*, VII. 204. Argenson testifies to the popular criticism evoked by the peace, thus: "Le français aime la gloire et l'honneur, de sorte qu'après les premiers moments.

And thus much for the successful aspect of Fleury's System: it gave France for the time being the preponderance in Europe and it accustomed her statesmen to claim for her in relation to the minor states of the Continent in general the rôle which the treaty of Westphalia had conferred upon her in terms, in relation to the lesser members of the Germanic body.⁴² Unfortunately the System had its Achilles's heel, to wit, its indifference to the decline of French sea-power and to the rise of English sea-power. The earliest protest against an attitude so obviously defiant of the tenets of mercantilism came from Fleury's own associate, the young Count de Maurepas, who between 1730 and 1740 headed the Department of the Marine. Now in an official report on the state of the marine, now in a letter purporting to emanate from the shade of Louis XIV., now in a memoir on the condition of French commerce abroad, Maurepas reiterated again and again the favorite premises of his school and their obvious deductions for France: Commerce that kept gold at home and drew it from abroad was a source of public greatness. Foreign trade was the essential root of naval strength. Against no two states in the world could France so profitably turn her arms as against Holland and England. The latter moreover was an active menace to Bourbon interests in all parts of the world. It behooved His Most Christian Majesty "to put to flight this usurping race" and to curtail the commerce which already rendered "these ancient enemies of his crown almost the masters of the fate of Europe".⁴³ It is not impertinent to recall that at the outbreak of the American Revolution the author of these words was His Most Christian Majesty's chief minister.

The warning thus sounded was soon re-echoed by others. In a council of ministers shortly before France's entrance into the War of the Austrian Succession, the Duke de Noailles opposed this step with vigor and insight. England's system, said he, is obvious. "It is to arrive at supreme power by superiority of wealth, and America alone can make smooth the road for her." It could be predicted at the outset that His Britannic Majesty would not waste his substance in Germany, but would seize the opportunity afforded by a war on the Continent to wage war for his own purposes in America. France's real concern should be for her colonies, and only motives of vainglory could distract her attention to the empire.⁴⁴ Two years

de joie de la paix conclue, tout le public est tombé dans la consternation de la médiocrité des conditions." For the ministerial view-point, see *Recueil des Instructions*, I. 286 ff., 310 ff.

⁴² On France's guaranteeship of the treaty of Westphalia, see *ibid.*, p. 208.

⁴³ Maurepas, *Mémoires* (ed. Soulavie, Paris, 1792), III. 93 ff., 161 ff., 194 ff., especially 205-206 and 241.

⁴⁴ Anquetil, *Motifs des Guerres*, p. 376.

later Deslandes's *Essai sur la Marine et le Commerce* appeared, addressed to "those at the Helm". In these pages one will find proclaimed the theory to be made familiar to us a hundred and fifty years later through Admiral Mahan's famous work, that from the beginnings of history the marine has been a decisive factor in the rise and fall of states. And particularly, Deslandes went on to argue, had the greatness of France always rested on a strong navy. The restoration of the marine was therefore the first duty of French statesmen. Its neglect could lead only to calamity.⁴⁵

The mercantilist propaganda, aptly confirmed by the events of the War of the Austrian Succession, began moreover in time to show promise of fruition. Even Argenson, despite his general complacency, yet gave warning that English ambition, fraud, and aggressiveness in the way of trade, and the prosperity of the English colonies, menaced Europe with the prospect of British dominion "of the seas and of all the commerce in the world".⁴⁶ Saint-Contest, who became secretary of state for foreign affairs in 1751, was of like opinion, holding that, on account of her naval strength, England even then exerted a greater influence in European concerns than France. At the same time he contended that naval strength was a highly vulnerable sort of strength, and that, with prudent measures, it would be easy for France to reduce Great Britain to her proper rank.⁴⁷ Meantime in 1749 Rouillé had become minister of the marine. Under his administration and that of his successor Machault the navy was brought to comparative efficiency, as was attested by the capture of Minorca in June, 1756.

Unfortunately the Seven Years' War, thus auspiciously begun for France, was not long to remain predominantly a war with England, to be waged on the sea for commerce and colonies. The simple fact is that with the *haute noblesse* the army was popular and the navy, for all the zeal of the mercantilists, was not. The prejudices of the nobles moreover fell in with the pique of the king at what he considered the ingratitude and faithlessness of his *protégé*, the King of Prussia, in making a defensive alliance with England. In vain was it urged upon Louis that the treaty of Westminster, far from implying hostility on Frederick's part toward His Most Christian Majesty, was really a matter for thanksgiving, in that it guaranteed peace on the Continent and, by the same sign, a

⁴⁵ *Op. cit.*, *passim*. See also the same writer's *Essai sur la Marine des Anciens et Particulièrement sur leurs Vaisseaux de Guerre* (Paris, 1748). Curiously enough Admiral Mahan seems not to have been aware of Deslandes's works.

⁴⁶ *Journal et Mémoires*, I. 372.

⁴⁷ Flissan, *op. cit.*, VI. 14-16; *Recueil des Instructions*, XII.² (*Espagne*, pt. III.), pp. 298 ff.

free hand for France in India and America. By the first treaty of Versailles, of May 1, 1756, the famous Diplomatic Revolution was effected by a defensive alliance between France and Austria. Even so, the general opinion at first was that this arrangement also was calculated to conserve the peace of Europe. On August 29, 1756, however, Frederick invaded Saxony and the war thus precipitated speedily became general. By the second treaty of Versailles, May 1, 1757, the resources of France were placed at the disposal of the House of Austria.⁴⁸

IV.

The fortunes of the ensuing war it is, of course, unnecessary for us to follow further than to note that for France they were *misfortunes*. These were the days when Mme. du Deffand rechristened France "Madame Job". Cardinal Bernis, minister of foreign affairs and so official sponsor for the Austrian alliance, was soon in the depths. "Everything is going to pieces", he wrote. "No sooner does one succeed in propping the building at one corner than it crumbles at another." France "touches the very last period of decay". She "has neither generals nor ministers". "Ah that God would send us a directing will or some one who had one! I would be his valet if he wished it, and gladly!"⁴⁹

In Choiseul, who succeeded Bernis in November, 1758, the directing will was found and the mercantilist point of view again assured utterance in the royal council. It is true that Choiseul's first official act was to renew with the empress the onerous engagements of his predecessor, but to this he was fairly committed by the circumstances in which he had taken office.⁵⁰ Presently we find him declaring to the Austrian court with entire candor that the war with England involved French power and honor more directly than did the struggle on the Continent. Indeed, he proceeded, the interest of Austria herself demanded the preservation of France's sea-power. For "this it is", said he, "which enables His Majesty to sustain numerous armies for the defense of his allies, as it is the maritime power of England which to-day arms so many enemies against them and against France".⁵¹ And the same point of view again found expression in his despatch of March 21, 1759, to Havrin-court, the king's ambassador at Stockholm.

⁴⁸ Lavissee and Rambaud, *op. cit.*, VII. 217-220; Richard Waddington, *Louis XV. et le Renversement des Alliances* (Paris, 1896), pp. 249-262, 358-517.

⁴⁹ Lavissee and Rambaud, *op. cit.*, VII. 244-245; Richard Waddington, *La Guerre de Sept Ans*, II. 432-433; Sainte-Beuve, "Bernis", *Causeries du Lundi*.

⁵⁰ Waddington, *op. cit.*, vol. II., ch. VIII., and III. 452-454.

⁵¹ "Instructions to the Count de Choiseul", June, 1759, *Recueil des Instructions*, I. 386.

We must not deceive ourselves. *The true balance of power really resides in commerce and in America.* The war in Germany, even though it should be waged with better success than at present, will not prevent the evils that are to be feared from the great superiority of the English on the sea. The king will take up arms in vain. For if he does not have a care, he will see his allies forced to become, not the paid auxiliaries of England, but her tributaries, and France will need many a Richelieu and Colbert to recover, in the face of her enemies, the equality which she is in peril of losing.⁵²

In October came the news of the fall of Quebec. "The balance of power", wrote Choiseul to Ossun, the king's ambassador at Madrid, "is destroyed in America, and we shall presently possess there only Santo Domingo. France, in the actual posture of affairs, cannot be regarded as a commercial power, which is to say that she cannot be regarded as a power of the first order."⁵³

Choiseul now set himself the task, failing a peace with England on reasonable terms, of restoring to the war its original character of a contest with that power for commerce, colonies, and naval supremacy. Auspiciously for his purpose, Don Carlos, a much better Bourbon than Ferdinand VI. had ever been, was now Charles III. of Spain. In negotiations during the summer of 1761 between France and England Choiseul seized the opportunity of championing certain claims of Spain against His Britannic Majesty, which however were rejected by Pitt in terms that aroused not only Charles's indignation but positive apprehensions for his own colonial empire.⁵⁴ The result was that on August 15, 1761, the second Family Compact, making France and Spain practically one power for all warlike purposes, was signed at Paris.

The intention [runs the preamble of this document] of His Most Christian Majesty and of His Catholic Majesty, in contracting the engagements which they assume by this treaty, is to perpetuate in their descendants the sentiments of Louis XIV. of glorious memory, their common august ancestor, and to establish forever a solemn monument of reciprocal interest which should be the basis of the desires of their courts and of the prosperity of their royal families.

The treaty itself announced its basic principle to be that "whoever attacked one crown, attacked the other". Thus, when at war against the same enemy, both crowns were to act in concert. When either was at war, offensively or defensively, it was to call upon the other for certain forces—Spain, upon France for 18,000 infantry, 6000 cavalry, 20 ships of the line, and 6 frigates; France

⁵² Flissan, *op. cit.*, VI. 160.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 279.

⁵⁴ Waddington, *op. cit.*, III. 427-442, and IV. 428-437, 555-572. See also *Recueil des Instructions*, XII.² (*Espagne*, pt. III.), p. 338.

upon Spain, for the same naval forces, 10,000 infantry, and 2000 cavalry. The Bourbon holdings in Italy were guaranteed absolutely. On the other hand, Spain was excused from assisting France in the guaranty of the peace of Westphalia unless a maritime power should take arms against the latter. Each power extended to the subjects of the other the commercial privileges of its own subjects in its European dominions.⁵⁵

The renewal of the Family Compact was Choiseul's greatest achievement and is to be regarded, moreover, as the starting point of the restoration of France's position in Europe. At the outset, however, it brought only fresh calamities and new losses. In October Pitt fell from power for urging a declaration of war upon Spain. None the less, the declaration followed in January. The English and provincial forces now turned from the capture of France's West Indian islands to that of Havana, which fell in July. But Choiseul, his eyes fixed on remoter developments, was determined that Spain should not suffer for her devotion to the Bourbon cause. On November 3, 1762, accordingly, France ceded to Spain New Orleans and all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi, an arrangement which permitted the latter to exchange the Floridas for Havana. The ensuing February 10 the peace of Paris was signed. By it France ceded to England the vast part territorially of what was still left of her colonies. Of the great empire that had once comprised half of North America and the richest of the American islands, and that had given fair promise to include eventually India and the West African coast, she retained Goree on the African coast; Santo Domingo, which, thanks to English diversion against Havana, her forces still held; Guiana, Martinique, Guadeloupe, Saint Lucia, and their dependencies; the small fishing islands St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland; and a few factories in India, together with the islands of France and Bourbon, which she must not fortify, as also she must not the fishing stations.⁵⁶

Nevertheless, we must be on our guard against exaggerating the merely material aspect of the losses wrought France by the Seven Years' War. On the map, no doubt, Canada and Louisiana comprised an impressive domain, but regarded from the point of view of commerce and trade balances they were essentially worthless, Louisiana being practically uninhabited and Canada hardly returning the cost of administration. On the other hand, Guadeloupe and Martinique, in place of which England had finally and somewhat

⁵⁵ G. F. de Martens, *Recueil de Traités . . . des Puissances et États de l'Europe . . . depuis 1761 jusqu'à Présent* (Göttingen, 1817), I. 16-28.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 104-120; Lavissee and Rambaud, *op. cit.*, VII. 256-257.

reluctantly consented to take Canada, were commercially of great value.⁵⁷ France's real loss, apart from the enormous outlay of the war, was in prestige. Her armies had been defeated, her fleets annihilated, her allies disappointed and disgruntled. The treaty of peace itself signalized her humiliation most graphically by renewing the defunct provisions of the treaty of Utrecht against the fortification of Dunkirk, to which was later added provision for an English commissioner at that port, "without whose consent not a pier could be erected, not a stone turned". And not less ominous was the sort of demand that now began to be made by His Britannic Majesty's diplomatic representatives at various courts, that in view of the outcome of the war they were entitled to the precedence over His Most Christian Majesty's representatives. French pride could not have been more directly flouted.⁵⁸

How then was France to recover her prestige and the influence that this assured her upon Continental affairs? This was the question that addressed itself, and in terms ever more poignant, to the guardians of her diplomacy in the period between the treaty of Paris and the death of Louis XV. And the answers returned to this question by all schools of opinion on questions diplomatic carried with them the implication at least that before France could hope to regain her station in Europe, English power must be diminished. The story however is one that should be told in more detail, and in connection with it I desire to draw particular attention to two highly important documents: Choiseul's *Mémoire* of February, 1765, which comprises a general defense of his policy,⁵⁹ and Broglie's *Conjectures Raisonnées* of 1773, which voices the views at that date of an adherent of the more narrowly Continental point of view.⁶⁰

V.

Choiseul begins his exposition of the fundamentals of French diplomacy by tracing the calamities of the late war to one cause: the fact that the Austrian alliance was allowed to convert "the war on the sea and in America, which was the true war", to a purely

⁵⁷ On these points, see Flassan, *op. cit.*, VI. 480 ff.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, VI. 183-187; VII. 26-27.

⁵⁹ Soulange-Bodin, *La Diplomatie de Louis XV. et le Pacte de Famille* (Paris, 1894), pp. 236-253.

⁶⁰ "Conjectures Raisonnées sur la Situation actuelle de la France dans le Système Politique", etc., "Oeuvre dirigé par De Broglie et exécuté par M. Favier", dated April 16, 1773, and comprising the latter third of volume I. and all of volume II. of Ségur's *Politique de Tous les Cabinets* (third ed., Paris, 1801, 3 vols.). "C'est Favier critiqué par un disciple de Vergennes", Sorel, I. 308, foot-note. The "Conjectures" are also to be found in Boutaric's *Correspondance Secrète de Louis XV.* (Paris, 1866).

land war. Also it is admitted that the Austrian connection was always bound to be a precarious one. Nevertheless, it is insisted, it was of value as tending to conserve the peace on the Continent, for which reason it should be continued so long as it exacted no further material sacrifices by France. And the historical connections with the princes of the Empire should be viewed in the same light. The old policy of paying subsidies in advance should be discontinued. The English system was to pay for services rendered and this had proved much more effectual. But the one indispensable alliance of His Most Christian Majesty was with His Catholic Majesty. The foremost precept of His Majesty's policy henceforth must be, accordingly, "to manage with the most scrupulous attention his system of alliance with Spain, to regard the Spanish power as a power necessary to France". Nor would this be difficult, for the King of Spain was "just, firm, and one upon whom you can count even beyond the point at which France herself would fail you". The *Mémoire* concludes thus: "It remains for me to speak to Your Majesty of the maritime powers. England is the declared enemy of your power and of your state, and she will be so always." Many ages must elapse "before a durable peace can be established with this state, which looks forward to the supremacy in the four quarters of the globe. *Only the revolution which will occur some day in America, though we shall probably not see it, will put England back to that state of weakness in which Europe will have no more to fear of her.*"

Thus the *Mémoire* closed on something like a note of despair. Despair, however, was not Choiseul's normal attitude. Even a year before this, he had sent an agent named Pontleroy to British North America to report upon its resources and the strength of the lines connecting it with the mother-country,⁶¹ and now in 1766, with the news of the American outbreak against the Stamp Act at hand, the results of Pontleroy's investigation and their significance for France became the subject of active correspondence between Choiseul and His Most Christian Majesty's representatives at the court of St. James.

Judging from the small number of arrangements with reference to colonial possessions in America [Durand wrote Choiseul in August, 1767], Europe has only lately begun to sense their importance. England herself has discovered with surprise that they are the sources of the power which she enjoys and that these great objects of power and am-

⁶¹ C. De Witt, *Thomas Jefferson: Etude Historique sur la Démocratie Américaine* (third ed., Paris, 1861), p. 407. Most of the citations to this work are to the documents in the appendixes, pp. 393-559. See also F. Kapp, *Life of Kalb* (New York, 1870), pp. 43-44.

bition draw in their wake the balance of power in Europe. In brief, money has become so necessary to the sustenance of a government that without commerce no state has the wherewithal to uphold its dignity and independence; and commerce would dry up if it were not sustained by that branch of it which traffics in the products of America. It is there that England finds the outlet for her manufactures, and to what dimensions would these be reduced if they supplied only the markets of Europe at a time when every nation is endeavoring to make its own resources suffice and to prevent the departure of specie from its territory.⁶²

This, of course, is all in the best strain of the extremest mercantilism. Nevertheless, professing to fear the American colonies more than England herself, Durand advised against fomenting revolution among them, since to do so "might have the result of handing over the other colonies of Europe to those who by their excessive energy and strength had detached themselves from the parent stem".⁶³ Durand's successor, Châtelet, on the other hand, was strongly of the opinion that France ought to seize the first opportunity of intervening in America.

In the case of a rupture [he inquired of Choiseul early in December, 1767], even were it an open and premature one, between the colonies and Great Britain, could France and Spain remain idle spectators of an opportunity which in probability would never occur again? . . . Before six months have elapsed America will be on fire at every point. The question then is whether the colonists have the means of feeding it without the aid of a foreign war, and whether France and Spain should run the risk of taking an active part in fomenting the conflict and making it inextinguishable or whether it would be more their policy to leave it to itself at the risk of its going out for want of fuel and the means of spreading.⁶⁴

As a matter of fact, Choiseul had already taken a definite step toward interesting his government in the American situation. On April 22, 1767, he had despatched Kalb, who was later to distinguish himself as a major-general in Washington's army, to Amsterdam, there to inquire into "the rumors in circulation about the English colonies" and, should these be well founded, to "make preparations for a journey to America". In conformity with these and further instructions, Kalb finally sailed for America from Gravesend on October 4, arriving in Philadelphia January 2, 1768.⁶⁵ In essence, the deductions he arrived at from his inquiries into the

⁶² De Witt, pp. 420-421. See also to same effect pp. 427-428. Choiseul's viewpoint was precisely the same, *ibid.*, pp. 47-51.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 52. See also, to same effect, pp. 432-433.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-57, foot-note. Choiseul regarded these views as "profound", *ibid.* For further correspondence to the same effect, see *ibid.*, pp. 433-455.

⁶⁵ F. Kapp, *Life of Kalb*, pp. 45-51.

American situation were: that the moment had not yet arrived for France to embroil herself with her neighbors; that while the remoteness of the American population from their central government made them "free and enterprising", at bottom they were "but little inclined to shake off the English supremacy with the aid of foreign powers"; that "such an alliance would appear to them to be fraught with danger to their liberties"; that "a war with us would only hasten their reconciliation", so that "on the footing of restored privileges, the English court could even direct all the troops, resources and ships of this part of the world against our islands and the Spanish Main".⁶⁶

There can be little doubt that these observations, in the general assessment they made of American sentiment, squared with the facts, but that was small consolation to Choiseul, who in his disappointment petulantly charged Kalb with superficiality and pronounced his labors useless.⁶⁷ The result however was that now, abandoning any idea of actually interfering in America, the French minister began to formulate a plan whereby France and Spain should indirectly foster discontent in the English colonies by throwing open the ports of their own colonies to the products of North America.⁶⁸ This was on the basis of the theory that while the English colonies augmented the strength of England, those of France weakened her. "The thing to be aimed at", therefore, in the words of M. Abeille, Choiseul's secretary-general of commerce, was "to diminish the artificial strength of England and to relieve France of the burdens that obstruct the development of her native strength".⁶⁹ Indeed M. Abeille was for granting the French colonies their independence. But these views naturally encountered some opposition at Madrid; and in 1770 Choiseul fell from power.

VI.

Two years later occurred the first partition of Poland, all things considered, the most humiliating episode from the French point of view in the history of French diplomacy. Poland had been for centuries, with a fair degree of constancy, the ally and protégé of France. Since 1745 moreover Louis himself had been endeavoring, through the subterranean channels of the *Secret du Roi*, which indeed he had created for the purpose, to secure the succession of the House of Conti to the Polish throne.⁷⁰ The project of the

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53-70 *passim*.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

⁶⁸ De Witt, *op. cit.*, pp. 60-63.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 61-62.

⁷⁰ Lavissee and Rambaud, *op. cit.*, VII. 212-214.

royal brigands however was never known to His Most Christian Majesty's agents till it was *fait accompli*, and thus the most important transfer of territory since the peace of Westphalia, involving ultimately the extinction of the greatest state territorially in western Europe, was effected not only without the consent but without the knowledge of France. But worst of all, France's own ally Austria was *particeps criminis* to the act, even though a reluctant one at first. "She wept but she took", was the adequate account that Frederick gave of the empress's part in the transaction. Her course published to the world at large, in a way that tears more copious and more sincere than hers could not obliterate, that the desires of France no longer greatly counted in Europe.⁷¹

"The Tragedy of the North" it was that incited Broglie, the principal agent of the *Secret du Roi*, to the composition, in collaboration with the versatile Favier, of his elaborate *Conjectures Raisonnées*, referred to above.

"One would wish in vain", this document begins, "to conceal the rapid degradation of the credit of France in the courts of Europe, not only in consideration but even in dignity. From the primacy among great powers she has been forced to descend to a passive rôle or that of an inferior."⁷² Putting then the question as to the cause or causes of this unhappy transformation, Broglie first assailed "the change of system produced by the treaty of Versailles".⁷³ The preponderance in Europe was the rightful patrimony of the French crown: this was a dogma consecrated by a thousand years.⁷⁴ But the treaty of Versailles had accustomed Europe "to regard France as . . . subject to orders from Austria". To the same cause was it due that France had abandoned her ancient allies Sweden, Poland, Turkey, and the German princes; and worse still, that she had been made to fill the rôle of dupe in the recent developments in Poland and Turkey, the result of which was her own reduction to the fourth grade of powers.⁷⁵ The Family Compact of 1762, too, had had the worst possible effect upon European opinion, since by it Spain was admitted to virtual equality with France. "France for the first time admitted the equality of another power."⁷⁶

Thus far spoke the critic and rival of Choiseul. The longest section of the *Conjectures* however deals with England and the tone

⁷¹ Lavissee and Rambaud, VII. 503-511.

⁷² Ségur, *Politique de Tous les Cabinets*, I. 212.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, pp. 212-213.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 213, 258-264, 303-304; II. 33-34, 64, 88-92.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, I. 229-230.

here is significantly harmonious with that of Choiseul's *Mémoire*. The attitude of England toward France was that of ancient Rome toward Carthage. England of course did not expect to wipe out the French monarchy; her inferiority on land forbade the idea. But she had adopted the principle of keeping the French marine reduced, "of watching our ports, of surveying our dockyards and arsenals, of spoiling our projects, our preparations, our least movements". Her policy in this respect was to be explained in part by that spirit of rapine native to the English people, but also in part by the knowledge of the English ministers that the edifice of English power was still supported by factitious resources and forced means and that its natural tendency, in face of the approaching danger of a schism between the mother-country and her colonies, would be to crumble and dissolve. In short, it was *fear* that determined England's policy toward France, though a fear that knew how to choose its weapons. In view of this fact, France should know her real strength, should know that her industry, resources, patriotism, and intelligence were sufficient to overturn "the colossus of English power", could she once restore her marine. She should know too that the feeble line of conduct taken with England in the immediate past had but nourished English pride and disdain and that what was needed was a firm line of conduct. France's military system and her diplomatic policy alike must sustain the dignity and pre-eminence of the crown of France on sea as well as on land.⁷⁷

The influence of the *Conjectures Raisonnées* upon those who were interested in France's diplomatic position is beyond all question, and the same is true of Abbé Raynal's contemporaneous *Histoire des Indes*.⁷⁸ "The marine", declared this writer, "is a new kind of power which has given, in some sort, the universe to Europe. This part of the globe, which is so limited, has acquired, by means of its fleet, an unlimited empire over the rest so extended." Yet the benefit of this control had passed, in effect, to one nation alone, England, and with it had passed the balance of power. Such had not always been the case. In the days of Louis XIV. France had given the law to Europe, and the basis of her greatness had been her marine. Unfortunately, the excesses of this monarch, while cementing the alliance of the maritime states against France, had also turned the martial energies of the latter from the fleet to the army; and so French power had been doubly undermined.⁷⁹ The

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 165-197.

⁷⁸ Sorel, *op. cit.*, I. 304-310. "La doctrine de Favier se ramène à une proposition essentielle: l'anéantissement de l'Angleterre", *ibid.*, p. 306.

⁷⁹ *Histoire des Indes* (Paris edition, 1781), V. 203; VII. 208 ff.; IX. 88 ff., 219 ff.; and especially, X. 136 ff.

connection between England's greatness as a colonial power and her influence among the states of the world and the memory of France's greatness under Louis XIV. are constantly reiterated thoughts in Raynal's pages, and the course to which they incited French sentiment, both official and unofficial, is plain. "Favier", writes Sorel, "made disciples and Raynal proselytes."⁸⁰

Finally, we recur once more to the point of view of the real architect of French intervention in the American Revolution. Able, ambitious, conservative, of vast experience, yet not a little pedantic, Vergennes was thoroughly indoctrinated in the traditional objectives of French diplomacy and thoroughly trained in its traditional methods. Needless to say, he shared the resentment of all Frenchmen at the position of France in 1774.

Condescend, Sire, [he wrote the king in 1782] to consider the situation of France relative to the other powers of Europe when Your Majesty took the reins of government and did me the honor of putting me in charge of the Department of Foreign Affairs. The deplorable peace of 1763, the partition of Poland, and yet other causes equally unfortunate had impaired the consideration due Your Crown most deeply. France, but lately the object of the fear and jealousy of other powers, excited now quite the opposite sentiment: reputed the first power in Europe, one could scarcely assign her a place even among the second-rate.⁸¹

But these words are valuable not only as reminiscence but because they indicate Vergennes's appraisal of the results of the Revolution from the point of view of the French crown; for the inference is clear that the hour of humiliation was now regarded as having passed. Vergennes's theory of the rightful position of the French crown in Europe is stated in the *Mémoire* which he presented to Louis in April, 1778, on the approach of the emperor's visit to Paris, with a view to instructing the young king as to his proper demeanor on the occasion.

"France, placed in the centre of Europe", he wrote, "has the right to influence all great affairs. Her King, comparable to a supreme judge, is entitled to regard his throne as a tribunal set up by Providence in order to make respected the rights and properties of sovereigns."⁸²

⁸⁰ Sorel, *op. cit.*, I. 309.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 300. To like effect but couched in somewhat stronger terms is the minute on which the *Mémoire* of 1782 is based, Doniol, I. 2-3. See also Vergennes's *Mémoire* of March, 1784, Ségur, *La Politique de Tous les Cabinets*, III. 196 ff. "La France . . . n'a besoin ni d'agrandissement, ni de conquêtes. Toutes ses vues et toute son influence doivent donc être dirigées au maintien de l'ordre public et à prévenir que les différens pouvoirs qui composent l'équilibre de l'Europe, ne soient point détruits." *Ibid.*, pp. 200-201.

⁸² Flassan, *op. cit.*, VII. 140.

His more systematic expositions of his system at the outset of his taking office show Vergennes to have been something of an eclectic. From the *Système de Conservation* he inherited the idea that France had no need of further expansion but could well remain content with her existing resources of wealth and population. From Argenson he derived, by way of Broglie and Favier, the idea that France's Continental rôle was primarily that of defender of the smaller fry. From Choiseul he derived the belief that the Austrian alliance was to be cherished as making for Continental peace so long as it exacted no further sacrifices on the part of France and that the Family Compact with Spain was France's most valuable asset abroad. From all sources he took the conviction that the greatest menace to France's dignity and even security was English sea-power.⁸³ From the very beginning of his tenure Vergennes exerted an ever increasing influence over the king, who, ignorant and at bottom indifferent to France's internal condition, was well informed and intensely interested in diplomatic affairs, which, he judged, touched the honor of his house. Nor was this attitude without some justification in fact. Among a people so fond of glory as the French the very security of the Crown demanded that the dishonor which it had suffered abroad in the detested latter years of Louis XV. should be wiped away as speedily as possible.⁸⁴

France's intervention in the American Revolution is often described as an act of revenge. The description is less erroneous than incomplete, for while it calls to mind the fact that France had humiliations to be redressed, it fails to indicate the even more important fact that she had also a rôle to be retrieved. Furthermore it leaves entirely out of account the logic by which, in an Age of Reason, the purpose of either revenge or restoration was brought into relation with a concrete situation. The line of reasoning by which France was brought into the American Revolution comprised for the most part the following ideas: that France was en-

⁸³ The documents supporting these deductions are Vergennes's "Exposé succinct sur la Situation Politique de la France", etc., of 1774, Doniol, I. 14-21, and his elaborate "Instructions" to Baron de Breteuil of December 28 of the same year, *Recueil des Instructions*, I., *Autriche*, pp. 456-522. See also note 81.

⁸⁴ "Or la France, passionnée comme elle était pour la gloire, et qui aurait excusé bien des fautes du gouvernement intérieur, ne pardonna pas au Roi . . . son humiliation." Lavissee, *Histoire de France*, VIII.² 411. It is interesting to note that as early as November, 1775, Burke had predicted French intervention. "He observed, that from being the first, she was, with regard to effective military power, only the fifth state in Europe. That she was fallen below her former rank solely from the advantages we had obtained over her; and that if she could humble us, she would certainly recover her situation." *Parl. Hist.*, XVIII. 967.

titled by her wealth, power, and history, to the preponderating influence in Continental affairs; that she had lost this position of influence largely on account of Great Britain's intermeddling; that Great Britain had been enabled to mingle in Continental concerns by virtue of her great naval strength, her commercial prosperity, and her preparedness to maintain Continental subsidiaries; that these in turn were due in great part to her American colonial empire and especially to the policies controlling her trade therewith; that America, become independent, would be an almost total loss from the point of view of British interests; that this loss would mean a corresponding diminution of British power; that since the two were rivals, whatever abased the power of Great Britain would elevate the power of France. This, from the point of view of France's chief objective in intervening in the Revolution, from the point of view of the greatest advantage which she hoped to obtain from such a course, was the main chain of reasoning, but there were also supporting ideas that should not be lost to view. For one thing, it was by no means impossible that whether she intervened or not in behalf of the American rebels, France would find herself, sooner or later, at war with Great Britain in defense of the French West Indies. Again, it had for centuries been France's rôle to back the smaller fry against her greater rivals. Again, it was generally felt that, formidable as it was at the moment, British power was in reality more or less spurious. Yet again, recent diplomatic developments had most miraculously paved the way for French intervention in North America. The withdrawal of France from Canada had left America no reason to fear her; the Family Compact guaranteed the assistance of the Spanish marine; the Austrian alliance constituted a reasonable guaranty of peace on the Continent. Finally, it was felt to be not only allowable but right for France to seize so auspicious an opportunity to tear down a power that had been used so outrageously as England had used her power on the sea. In the end, the project did not lack some of the aspects of a crusade.

The primary requisite to a real understanding of Louis XVI's espousal of the cause of American independence is that due weight be given the fact that Europe was still organized on the dynastic principle, and to the further fact, especially noteworthy in the case of the elder branch of the House of Bourbon, that position and influence were the essential objectives of diplomacy, even in the age of "Benevolent Monarchy". To-day, with the voice of the common man dominant in the direction of society, historical investi-

gators are apt to give too slighting attention to all but bread-and-butter interests as interpretative of the conduct of states. But this is plain anachronism. The doctrine of the equality of men was indeed a tenet of the schools in 1776, but it had made little headway among the professional diplomatists, who still assessed the general welfare in terms furnished by the competition for station of rival reigning houses.

EDWARD S. CORWIN

THE EARLIER RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND BELGIUM¹

I do not know whether the speeches of Charles Sumner are still read in the United States with the admiration which they inspired fifty years ago. In fact I do not know whether they are read at all. But from early boyhood I have recalled, at intervals, the purple patch with which Sumner closes his oration on *The True Grandeur of Nations*:

It is a beautiful picture in Grecian story, that there was at least one spot, the small island of Delos, dedicated to the gods, and kept at all times sacred from War. No hostile foot ever pressed this kindly soil, and citizens met here in common worship, beneath the aegis of inviolable Peace. So let us dedicate our beloved country. . . . The Temple of Honor shall be enclosed by the Temple of Concord, that it may never more be entered through any portal of War; the horn of Abundance shall overflow at its gates; the angel of Religion shall be the guide over its steps of flashing adamant; while within . . . Justice, returned to the earth from long exile in the skies . . . shall rear her serene and majestic front.

It is now rather more than two generations since the great powers of Europe tried the experiment of converting the old Austrian Netherlands into a modern Delos. To transform this cockpit into the neutralized Belgium was an ambitious effort, involving the recognition of public law as a real force in modern life. Apparently mankind is less virtuous than it was assumed to be, or else new doctrines regarding the nature of the state have consigned to the scrap-heap ideas which were deemed fundamental in 1831. At any rate we have been witnesses of a grim fiasco. The Belgian Delos has been destroyed, and it follows that the Swiss Delos exists on sufferance. Henceforth the Happy Island of the Aegean must be classed with the Happy Valley of Abyssinia among the figments of the imagination. In fact Delos would be forgotten were it not for the American Historical Association. Here its memory, its ideal survives, and far be it from me to disturb this haven of peace by introducing matters of controversy. The present subject would not have occurred to me but for the fact that I was asked to treat of English history in recent times. Then came events which brought Belgium into the centre of the stage. Hence it seemed that a few remarks

¹A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Chicago, December 30, 1914.

upon the past contact of England with Belgium might not be without interest.

Those who revel in origins and study the past *ab ovo* will doubtless remember that the Netherlands (or at least the northern part thereof) were rescued from paganism by the English—that is to say by Wilfrid and Willibrord of Northumbria; and by St. Boniface, the West Saxon, who also converted the Germans. Willibrord likewise had a double sphere of activity, inasmuch as he converted the heathen of Heligoland. But these events happened long ago, and have little more bearing upon Belgium than the Bull of Alexander VI. has on the Monroe Doctrine. The same may be said regarding the export of English wool to Bruges in the fourteenth century; Chaucer's statement that the Wife of Bath was more accomplished at the loom than the weavers of Ypres and Ghent; the marriage of Edward III. to Philippa of Hainault; the profanity of the troops in Flanders; and *Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre*.

We come, however, to something like modern relations between England and Belgium, in the period of the younger Pitt. This pacific son of a warlike sire was eventually dragged from his orbit by the strifes of the French Revolution, but his troubles had begun several years before the Jacobins decided to behead their king. With Oczakov, Nootka Sound, and the revolt of Belgium all going on at the same time, Pitt was fully occupied in 1789 and 1790.

Nootka Sound we may at once eliminate, but Oczakov and Belgium became very completely entangled with each other and with all the complications of European state-craft at this time. It was just as well that the British Foreign Office, under the Duke of Leeds, should have had something to stir it up. Sir Robert Keith, the ambassador at Vienna, stated that he had sent home fifty-two consecutive despatches without receiving a single reply, and that on the average he received one reply to forty despatches. But in the summer of 1789 Pitt evidently took over the writing of despatches himself, for their quality at once leaps to a high level and business receives attention.

Looking back at the tangled skein of European diplomacy as it was on the eve of the French Revolution, there are certain things which catch the eye instantly. The first of these is the league of England and Prussia—with whom, in the Triple Alliance of 1788, Holland also is grouped. England had issued from the War of the American Revolution without credit, cash, or friends. Her dream of imperialism seemed shattered, and for a time the task was that of picking up the pieces—a task in which much useful assistance was rendered by the Industrial Revolution. However, after the

lapse of a few years, the Continent began to realize that England had not disappeared from the map altogether. Indeed, this fact was grasped quite quickly by Prussia when, in 1787, Catherine II. and Joseph II. went off on their picturesque, though not romantic, excursion to the Crimea.

The Belgian uprising of 1789-1790 occurred in the midst of the war which Catherine and Joseph were conducting against the Porte—with more advantage to Russia than to Austria. It may be worthy of mention that the immediate trouble between the Belgians and their Austrian rulers was caused by disputes regarding the University of Louvain—which would appear to be a storm centre. What at first was a zephyr, soon became a hurricane. Before the close of 1789 the rule of the Hapsburgs at Brussels seemed to be overthrown. Early in January, 1790, a federal republic was declared—the United States of Belgium. Then Joseph died, Leopold came in, and Belgian freedom was put down by Austria after an existence of rather less than twelve months. But the incident lasted long enough to leave a striking record in the archives of the British Foreign Office. Above all, English despatches to Berlin show how seriously the issue was considered by Pitt, and how large an element Belgium grew to be in the relations of England and Prussia.

The desire of Frederick William II. to injure Austria by encouraging revolt in Belgium was closely bound up with his desire to enlarge his own kingdom in another quarter. Prussia still lacked Thorn and Danzig. If through the help of Frederick William, Poland could regain Galicia, she might be willing to let Prussia have Thorn and Danzig. With this enterprise the Belgian question became involved, since the success of the Polish project depended largely on the degree of England's friendship, which, in turn, was conditioned appreciably by the unfolding of the situation in Belgium.

As the face of the world was so soon afterwards transformed by the French Revolution, we need not pause to conjecture how Belgian affairs would have developed but for the collapse of the Old Régime. It is enough to note that on the very eve of the deluge Belgium was a danger spot which gave England grave concern, helping her to crystallize very definite views regarding the future of this region to which fate has denied the boon of natural frontiers. Charles Emmanuel of Savoy said that he was prevented by geography from being an honest man, but to no state has geography been so cruel as to Belgium. Pitt recognized with perfect clearness all the physiological elements in the case, as affecting England, and acted accordingly. When the United States of Belgium cut loose from Austria they had no trouble in getting countenance from Prussia.

England and Holland, however, were by no means ready to recognize and support the Belgian republic. On the one hand, Pitt wished to keep friends with Prussia; on the other, he strongly objected to the creation of a Belgium so weak as to invite inroads which might embarrass and endanger England. While he and the Prussian Foreign Office exchanged despatches, the Austrians settled the matter by upsetting the new Belgian commonwealth.

Thus a Belgian crisis arose at the moment when the National Assembly of France was beginning to shape its famous constitution. The outstanding features of the incident are these. England and Prussia as allies face Austria and Russia in a balance-of-power rivalry which discovers clashing interests from the Black Sea to Ostend. Pitt wants Belgium to be in safe hands—that is, in the hands of those who will not use their sea-coast as a menace to England. His whole action shows that he is much more interested in compassing this end than in helping Prussia to gain Thorn and Danzig. Finally, the Belgium of 1790 was mixed up with Oczakov, as the Belgium of July, 1914, was mixed up with the ultimatum to Servia. Lowell said that the devil always has his finger in the Irish pie. The Eastern Question, with a more complete ubiquity, seems subject to the same malevolence.

But, after all, Pitt's connection with Belgium is a matter of academic interest when measured by the part which Palmerston took in the Belgian Revolution of 1830. To give its due perspective to this phase of England's relations with Belgium would be to trace the rise and persistence of the Canning tradition in Downing Street. Omitting the perspective, let us come to that very pretty interplay of English Whigs with July Monarchists, of the downright Palmerston with the astute, experienced Talleyrand. Even after the Belgians had driven out the Dutch, Belgium lay at the mercy of the Five Powers. As Nothomb, the Belgian patriot, himself said: "We are only four millions. We cannot expect to give the law to the rest of Europe." In these circumstances the problems of Belgian independence and neutrality were solved by the powers, notably by France and England.

Raymond Guyot has written an excellent account of Talleyrand's part in the negotiations which led up to the creation of Belgium as a separate kingdom. Approaching the same subject from the English side, special attention must be called to Palmerston's despatches and private correspondence. His letters to Lord Granville, then British ambassador at Paris, are particularly graphic—though Palmerston never excelled his great exemplar, Canning, in mere raciness.

The Belgian Question which confronted Talleyrand and Pal-

merston might just as well, in degree of complexity, have been the Macedonian Question. The Congress of Vienna gave Belgium to Holland, not because it loved the Dutch or the House of Orange, but because the Allies of Chaumont were resolved that the cockpit should not belong to France. On this point no one at Vienna had been more convinced than Castlereagh. After Castlereagh's death, Canning developed sympathy for oppressed nationalities, and in 1830 the Belgians seemed to come under this rule. Moreover if oppressed nationalities had appealed to a Tory like Canning, *a fortiori* they deserved to appeal to a Whig administration like that of Lord Grey.

Thus England in shaping her Belgian policy at the moment when Wellington gave place to Grey, was compelled, first of all, to clarify her own thought on the subject. Self-protection had led her at Vienna to see that Antwerp, Zeebrugge, and Ostend should not be used against herself. In 1830 there was a distinct risk that if Belgium cut loose from Holland she would not be strong enough to resist powerful neighbors who coveted her soil and her ports. On the other hand, Belgium's plea for independence appeared reasonable, and was manifestly supported by the desire of four million people. Lord Grey himself would have been glad to settle the matter on the basis of Belgian autonomy, with a cadet of the House of Orange for sovereign. And in the first stage of the Revolution the Belgians might have listened to a compromise of this sort. But the affair advanced rapidly and King William of Holland was so unpopular at Brussels that the whole House of Orange soon fell under condemnation. The first problem for England was whether to join Russia and Austria in enforcing the arrangements made at Vienna, or frankly to acknowledge Belgian independence.

Presented as a sharp choice of alternatives there was but one course for the Whigs to take. They were the party of freedom, whose recent advent to power after immemorial years in opposition placed them under the necessity of supporting their principles. Their own Reform Bill, then being drafted, was a measure of emancipation. They approved of the July Revolution in Paris and had been helped by it. France and England had never been so close in sympathy, and through their co-operation Belgium was established as a sovereign, neutral state.

But even with the help of a good understanding between the July Monarchists and the Whigs, the path was thorny. It would have been thornier still but for the revolution in Poland, which kept Nicholas occupied at home during the critical months of the Belgian crisis, and for the risings in Italy which made the winter of 1831 a

busy time for Metternich. Thus favored by fortune Talleyrand and Palmerston managed to work Belgium out of her worst troubles before the close of 1831. Their difficulties were caused less by interference from the three autocrats than by the restlessness of the war party at Paris.

Talleyrand, the most sagacious adviser of Louis Philippe, desired above all things that the Citizen King should keep the peace, and this was also the wish of Louis Philippe himself. But Laffitte and General Sebastiani had also to be reckoned with, and Palmerston was deeply concerned lest they should do things which he not only could not support but must openly oppose. The fact, of course, was that at home the July Monarchy rested on a very insecure foundation and the chauvinist faction among its supporters was anxious that foreign affairs should yield a little *réclame* which could be used in the elections. Charles X., during the last days of the Bourbon monarchy, had worked out a promising foreign policy in alliance with Russia. But the July Revolution turned Nicholas from a friend into an enemy. Laffitte and his supporters were hungry for a little glory—if not real glory, at least electoral glory—and it was hoped by them that Palmerston would be good-natured enough to assist their little game with the French voters. They did not ask for the dismemberment of Belgium. A slight rectification of the southern frontier would answer quite well.

To blandishments of this kind Palmerston turned a deaf ear. Not an inch of Belgian soil should be taken by anyone, on any pretext, except over England's dead body. Once suffer the wedge to enter, even by a razor's breadth, and then all the neighbors, including Prussia, would clamor for their share. This issue, once raised, meant a general war, for Louis Philippe had said to Pozzo di Borgo that under no circumstances must Prussia enter Belgium, "for we will not permit it".

The Conference of London was the agency employed to settle Belgian affairs without war. It had been proposed by Wellington that the powers should exchange views on Belgium as well as on Greece; but in November, 1830, the Tories were driven from office, and it became Palmerston's task to carry on the pacification which the duke had begun. Towards both Holland and Belgium the Conference of London was very firm. Its first act was to declare that there must be an armistice between these belligerents while the powers were settling their affairs for them: and an armistice was accordingly declared.

Little trouble arose over Belgian autonomy. Even Russia was willing to concede this, if a federal connection with Holland were

maintained and a Prince of Orange made king over Belgium and Luxembourg. But the Belgians would listen to no proposals which made them ancillary to the Dutch, and on November 24 their first legislature excluded the House of Orange from the throne. Under ordinary circumstances Nicholas might not have taken this quietly. The Polish revolution tied his hands. Talleyrand then hurried business on so fast that by December 18 the Conference of London decided Belgium should be a separate kingdom, after which it only remained to select the king and agree on the frontiers. Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg was Palmerston's choice for king,² and to this Talleyrand agreed; though Sebastiani, then French minister of foreign affairs, was carrying on an intrigue behind Talleyrand's back in favor of the Duc de Nemours.

The selection of a sovereign and the apportionment of the debt were both important, but the territorial aspects to the case constituted the greatest menace to a peaceful solution. It was in January, 1831, that Talleyrand began vigorously to advocate the principle of neutralization. No one knew better than he that France would be unable to secure any part of Belgium for herself, and

² It is not necessary to recite the intricate story of the negotiations which preceded the nomination of Belgium's first king. Wellington, Aberdeen, and Grey would all have preferred to see a prince of the House of Orange on the Belgian throne, and Leopold was only taken as a result of elimination. Against him were his rather equivocal record with regard to the candidature for the Greek throne, and, in certain quarters, his English affiliations. When, during the spring of 1831, it became a question between Leopold and the Duc de Nemours, Palmerston took the ground that the Duc de Nemours was not to be thought of, whereas Leopold would prove a loyal king of the Belgians, not subservient to England or any other power. The most striking passage which bears on this subject will be found in a letter of Palmerston to Granville, dated April 1, 1831.

"Talleyrand read me two days ago a despatch from Sebastiani, saying that France would support Leopold; and that he had no doubt that England, for the sake of an arrangement so advantageous to her, would agree to all the French wishes about Bouillon and Luxembourg and Maestricht, etc. Talleyrand, before I could say anything, said that the answer he meant to give was, that the election of Leopold was an object of comparative indifference to us, and that we were not disposed to make any sacrifices to obtain it.

"I said he was quite right, and begged him also to say that, even if we looked upon Leopold's election as a matter of English interest, still we were bound by engagements to other Powers, and that we should preserve our good faith in preference to consulting our selfish interests; that consequently the election of Leopold would make no change whatever in our opinions and determinations, and that we should not be a whit more inclined to support the unreasonable pretensions of the Belgians with Leopold than without him. But I said the reason we wished for Leopold, next after a member of the family of Orange, was that we think he would become a good *Belgian king*; that he would be no more English than French, but would look to his own interests, and to those of the State which he governed." Bulwer, *Life of Palmerston*, II. 61-62.

neutralization would at least prevent an enemy from getting too close to Lille and Maubeuge. Here again Talleyrand was opposed to Sebastiani, but he had his way and the protocol of January 28, 1831, accepts the principle of Belgian neutrality, coupling there-with a noble statement as to the complete and perpetual disinterestedness of the powers.

So far Palmerston and Talleyrand worked harmoniously, and, indeed, throughout the transaction, Palmerston's chief anxieties were caused by Sebastiani rather than by Talleyrand. In August, 1831, a French army, invited by King Leopold, crossed the frontier and gave aid to the Belgians in resisting an invasion by the Dutch. Ample assurance had been given by Talleyrand that the French troops would withdraw on the completion of their task. None the less, Palmerston was clearly nervous, and on August 11 he wrote Granville a very strong letter to describe the excitement of Parliament on hearing the news of this expedition. The closing words ran as follows:

The French Government are perpetually telling us that certain things must, or must not, be done, in order to satisfy public opinion in France; but they must remember that there is a public feeling in England as well as in France; and that although that feeling is not as excitable upon small matters as the public mind in France, yet there are points (and Belgium is one) upon which it is keenly sensitive, and upon which, if once aroused, it would not easily be appeased.³

As the French withdrew in due course, nothing happened; but the incident is eloquent. Palmerston's despatch shows that however friendly the Whigs were with the Orleanists, they were not disposed to leave Belgian affairs at loose ends. Talleyrand, at Sebastiani's instance, wheedled skillfully for Philippeville and Marienbourg, but he did not get them.

Palmerston said that Belgium was one of the points upon which English public opinion was keenly sensitive, and upon which, if once aroused, it would not easily be appeased. This is a statement which requires some comment, both in the light of conditions which existed in 1831, and in the light of those which have come to exist since then. It obviously is impossible to cite the evidence here, but my own opinion is that England was more sensitive about Belgium in 1870 than in 1831, and that the same feeling has gathered strength ever since 1870.

At the outset England was drawn towards the Netherlands by considerations which affected her own safety. This is clear from the policy which Pitt pursued in 1790. To justify his solicitude,

³ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

France soon seized Belgium and conquered Holland, with the result that for twenty years English statesmen did not enjoy their normal amount of sleep. With this recent experience it is not strange that in 1814 the instinct of self-protection should have determined the attitude of England towards Belgium. The same attitude of mind existed in 1831, and it is to this that Palmerston alludes in the words which have been quoted.

But when the new Kingdom of Belgium began its career under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the feeling of England towards her small neighbor across the Channel ceased to be determined by self-interest alone. For one thing, she felt that the existence of Belgium was largely due to her. Though all the Five Powers joined in the final guaranty of neutrality, the actual work of construction had been done by France and England. As between these two states England had prevailed when Sebastiani insisted that France should at least receive some portion of Belgian soil. Thus England had favored Belgian independence and Belgian neutrality, had supported Leopold against the Duc de Nemours, had prevented France from snapping up any of the border fortresses. England, in short, was ready from the outset to feel a maternal interest in the fortunes of that Belgium with the creation of which she had been so intimately connected.

This sentiment was strengthened by the excellent account which the Belgians gave of themselves. Their independence had been conceded under the condition of perpetual neutrality. Not only did they fulfill their part of the bargain by abstaining from plots of ambition, they held up to Europe an example of the quiet, industrious community which seeks nothing better than to do its work in peace. Naturally England watched this unfolding of events with great satisfaction. Thirty-two years after the Belgian Revolution the *Quarterly Review* is finding that the people of the two countries are linked by an identity of taste and temper. "An ardent love of liberty", it says, "a taste for natural scenery, an enthusiastic attachment to agriculture, an appreciation of domestic comfort and love of country life characterize alike the people of Belgium and England."

It is true that for some years the English did not like the Belgian tariff, which discriminated against them to the advantage of the French, but presently this grievance disappeared. When England went in for free trade the imports from Belgium increased enormously. In 1846 they were 9,000,000 francs; in 1862 they had reached 100,000,000. More important, though, than the commercial tie was the feeling that the Belgian experiment had proved a

success. In 1830 Belgian aspirations were a nuisance because they disturbed the settled order and introduced dangerous complications. Forty years later Belgium had so far justified her existence that to most Englishmen the conquest of her territory by foreign force would have seemed a worse crime than the partition of Poland—worse because Belgium was much more orderly and well behaved than Poland had ever been.

Burke was unwilling to indict a whole people, and it is equally illegitimate to ascribe to a whole people the nobler ideals which are as a lamp to the elect. With this express limitation it may be said that English sentiment regarding Belgian neutrality has become less selfish with the growth of the conviction that great powers should recognize those express covenants which guarantee the existence of small, unambitious states. The corollary of this conviction is the belief that a breach of public law may become a *casus belli*. Cobden believed so completely in moral force that he advised the Belgians to do away with their army altogether. During the crisis of the Franco-Prussian War, Parliament was deeply stirred by the publication of the arrangement discussed by Bismarck and Benedetti under which France was to take Belgium with the connivance of Prussia. Gladstone thought it would be quixotic for England to oppose France and Germany if they united to dismember Belgium, but, lover of peace though he was, decided that England should join with either to prevent the other from breaking its covenant. His special treaty of 1870 was designed to enforce in a specific instance the principles of the 1831 protocol, as finally embodied in the treaty of 1839. Gladstone, Disraeli, and the *Times* were at one in recognizing that while England had every reason for standing outside the war if Belgium were unmolested, she must use every effort to secure the validity of the mutual guaranty.

Here the two most significant utterances are those of Gladstone in his correspondence with Bright. On August 1, 1870, he writes: "We do not think it would be right, even if it were safe, to announce that we would in any case stand by with folded arms, and see actions done which would amount to a total extinction of public right in Europe." On August 4, after stating the view of the Cabinet, he continues:

I add for myself this confession of faith. If the Belgian people desire, on their own account, to join France or any other country, I for one will be no party to taking up arms to prevent it. But that the Belgians, whether they would or not, should go "plump" down the maw of another country to satisfy dynastic greed, is another matter. The accomplishment of such a crime as this implies, would come near to an extinction

of public right in Europe, and I do not think we could look on while the sacrifice of freedom and independence was in course of consummation.⁴

There are moralists who seem to maintain that where one's interest is served by the discharge of one's duty, it is discreditable—and, indeed, hypocritical—to discharge the duty. Not being an expert in ethics I am unable to say. But I do believe that on the fourth day of August last many people in England considered the Belgian question first from the standpoint of duty, and were willing that their country should discharge important obligations because it was the *right* thing to do.

CHARLES W. COLBY

⁴ Morley, *Life of Gladstone*, II. 342.

A THEORY OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

IN biography the scientific element, the colorless objectivity of pure investigation, is not the most potent. Personality is too elusive to arise from the dead through a mere array of facts. Let us be frank with ourselves and admit that as biographers we are always theorists, always working out of the facts we have observed some containing theory that shall cause them to cohere, to accept an inner illumination from a central source, to strike our sensibilities, to evoke a person. All attempts at biography, however modest, are attempts at art. They can never fully escape impressionism. The present brief study is no more than an impression of what it is that appears to one observer to be shining through from the back of the facts of Davis's life and revealing their unity.

The basis of this impression is his youth and in that youth the central fact is this: he was a boy without a country. Consider the calendar of his wanderings: born in Kentucky, 1808; taken to Mississippi while a little child; sent back to Kentucky at the age of seven; back to Mississippi at nine; to Kentucky again, to enter Transylvania University, when he was but fourteen; removed from Transylvania direct to West Point; thence after a short visit to Mississippi removed to the far Northwest, where he saw nine years of military service among the Indians.¹ From fourteen to twenty-seven his associations were all outside the state in which his family was settled. Nor did he have an opportunity to acquire the sense that he *belonged* in any of the communities where temporarily he resided. He was a bird of passage. In reflecting upon the basis of his nature, the part that was laid before maturity, we should always remember that it was not the product of a single soil. His was a migratory growth, frequently transplanted.

Furthermore, there was not in the history of his family that traditional attachment to some abandoned locality, or that memory of a lost social status, either of which has at times, in the imagination of a youth of genius, proved the ruling power. The same roving note which was the tonic of his own early life had long been the tonic of his family history. His grandfather, Evan Davis, a

¹ *Jefferson Davis: a Memoir*, by his wife, I. 1-160, contains the classic story of his youth. Professor Dodd's recent biography is, of course, the standard modern work.

Welsh immigrant, passed from Pennsylvania to Georgia; his father, Samuel Davis, a soldier of the Revolution, fought in the service of South Carolina and there still exists a land patent issued after the war by the state of South Carolina to Samuel Davis. In the East the family never rose above the middle rank in life—if, indeed, they quite reached it.² And this, it may be, partly explains why Samuel Davis about 1800 migrated to Kentucky; why he roved on to Mississippi, where—chiefly, it would seem, through the abilities of his eldest son, Joseph Emory Davis—the family at last emerged into prominence. A roving past, the absence in Jefferson Davis of any strong flavor of the soil, and about him ever the atmosphere of the new man risen from the ranks: these are basal facts generally ignored.

Of his childhood and early youth little has been preserved or, at least, revealed. But even thus we make out at the opening some of the salient features of his character. Sensibility of a romantic sort informs that charming episode narrated by Mrs. Davis³ of the priests who taught little Jefferson, when the lad was at school, at Bardstown, for whom he formed so great an attachment that he wished for a time to become a member of the Church of Rome. His intrepid courage appears in the anecdote of his composure during an accident in a magazine of explosives at West Point while a class was being instructed in the making of fire balls. A ball became ignited. While every one else, including the professor, ran for his life, young Davis took the ball in his hands and threw it out of a window.⁴ The affair of his first marriage, with its valiant pursuit of affection even at great sacrifice, falls in with these other details of a bold and romantic nature. He had fallen in love with the daughter of his commanding officer, Colonel Zachary Taylor, who opposed the match. Young Davis found himself assigned to a remote post, Fort Gibson, on the edge of the Indian country,⁵ far, far, from the vicinity of his beloved. The fiery young officer endured

² Mrs. Davis, in her *Memoir*, I. 3-7, touches lightly on the matter of origin. Between the lines we read a plain record of frontier conditions.

³ *Memoir*, I. 13-15. See also W. L. Fleming, "The Religious Life of Jefferson Davis", *Methodist Review*, April, 1910.

⁴ *Memoir*, I. 53. See also Fleming, "Jefferson at West Point", *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, X. 247-267.

⁵ The inference that Taylor caused his removal for personal reasons is too plausible to be combatted without more definite proof to the contrary than has yet been produced. See Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 41. The entire episode is in the *Memoir*, I. 93-162, but with no mention of the cause of his assignment to Fort Gibson. For much interesting detail, including his effort to fight a duel with his prospective father-in-law, see Fleming, "Jefferson Davis' First Marriage", *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, XII. 21-36.

his exile more than a year, then threw up his commission, went to Lexington where Miss Taylor was visiting a sympathetic aunt and with the good lady's connivance carried off the maiden in triumph. The personal recollections of him in this early time are all in the same key, allowing for the difference in age, as that best description of him we have, the one given by Carl Schurz of the Davis of his happiest time, when he was secretary of war:

I had in my imagination formed a high idea of what a grand personage the War Minister of this great Republic must be. I was not disappointed. He received me graciously. His slender, tall, erect figure, his spare face, keen eyes, and fine forehead, not broad, but high and well-shaped, presented the well-known strong American type. There was in his bearing a dignity that seemed entirely natural and unaffected—that kind of dignity which does not invite familiar approach, but will not render one uneasy by lofty assumption. His courtesy was without any condescending air. . . . His conversation ran in . . . easy . . . well-chosen and sometimes even elegant phrase, and the timbre of his voice had something peculiarly agreeable. . . . I heard him deliver a speech in the Senate and again I was struck by the dignity of his bearing, the grace of his diction, and the rare charm of his voice—things which greatly distinguished him from many of his colleagues.⁶

One cannot escape the idea that in its effect upon Davis's brilliant and impressionable youth the army must to a considerable extent have been his country. Of what part of earth, in those early days, could he have felt that it was truly his own? Not Kentucky, surely, in spite of his birthplace, since so few of his years were passed there; still less Mississippi, which he had known but as a small child and again, for a few years, while preparing for college, a third time as a cadet on vacation, and where as yet his family was without associations. Only in the army, in its perfect system, its pageantry, its large designs, its powerful effects, could the youth have found that basis for the kindling imagination, which, in the usual case of the gifted youth, is supplied by a vivid sense of his immediate community. And in this connection it is well to anticipate the rivalries of his later years. Long afterward, in his final crisis, Davis failed to appreciate a certain type of man. It was a type in which love of one's community had become a passion. To that type he appeared, in those stern days, a monster. To him, apparently, the crushing of that type seemed a matter of course. Have we not here the solution of one at least of the many problems

⁶ *Reminiscences*, II. 21. Mrs. Davis speaks of his "beautiful blue eyes". *Memoir*, I. 51. Her account of his character has a flavor of Sir Galahad. She quotes George W. Jones, his classmate at Transylvania, to the effect that he was "always gay and of buoyant spirits but without the slightest tendency toward vice or immorality . . . never . . . under the influence of liquor and never gambled". *Memoir*, I. 28.

of his career? Was there not at the bottom of his mind, so far as the sense of community was concerned, a neutral ground? Surely this youth, determined so largely by an association, the army, lacked the special sort of mental color which is furnished only by early responsiveness to a distinctive environment, and had in place of it a sense of efficiency, of the sacrifice of the means to the end—*esprit du corps* in distinction from patriotism—overwhelmingly military.

At twenty-seven this confident young officer, who was practically a stranger in Mississippi, began his belated attachment to a community. The next eight years form, to the psychological observer, the most interesting chapter in his life. They were years of intense inward experience amid outward calm. The death of his wife; a collapse in health and spirits and an eventual recovery; the acquisition of wealth or its beginning; his preparation for politics: such is the obvious part of the record of these eight years. But that was not all. He underwent a transformation. The question how complete it was—whether it made any approach to being complete—is the central problem that challenges his biographers. Between the age of twenty-seven and the age of thirty-five, he changed outwardly from a stranger, a military man whose country was the army, to a prosperous Southern planter, a local Mississippi politician. But, again, how real was the change? Had the member of the army, the man whose basal idea was faithfulness to a chance association of comrades, become in truth the citizen of a state, the man whose course henceforth should base itself on that far more abstract idea, the idea of a predestined continuity in the life of the commonwealth? It is futile to attempt to answer this question without estimating the effect upon him, during these eight years of readjustment, of the community in which he received politically his determining bent.

In 1835 the state of Mississippi was eighteen years old. Even as a territory its history went back only thirty-seven years. As late as 1800 it was still a wilderness that Spain had but recently renounced to the United States. In 1835 there was not one man of middle life who had been born either in the state or the territory of Mississippi. The census of 1800 had given the territory less than 5000 inhabitants; the census of 1830 gave the state 136,000; that of 1840, 375,651.⁷

Necessarily the new state had a cosmopolitan flavor. How inevitably this was the case one significant fact will show. If one were to name half a dozen Mississippians who were the chief figures of their state previous to 1850, common consent would cer-

⁷ *Abstract of Twelfth Census*, tables 35 and 36.

tainly name Jacob Thompson, John A. Quitman, Henry S. Foote, Robert J. Walker, Sargent S. Prentiss, and Jefferson Davis. The clew to the early history of Mississippi is revealed by the recital of their birthplaces. Thompson was born in North Carolina; Quitman in New York; Foote in Virginia; Walker in Pennsylvania; Prentiss in Maine; Davis in Kentucky. A patriotic Mississippian might have paraphrased the boast of that remote New Englander centuries before and declare that God had "sifted a whole Nation" to make possible the western world.

The virtues of such a community are optimism and flexibility. The variety of their inherited points of view imposes upon its citizens a spirit of give-and-take as the necessary basis of society; and by making all their traditions equally respectable prevents any one from becoming dominant. A free, even careless, attitude toward the past is a natural result. Out of this grows a fine opportunism with regard to the chief bequest of the past, the process of government. Ends rather than means are the great concern of such a community. And the temper in which their ends are conceived is sure to be large, audacious, hopeful, imaginative. In the lordliness of their self-confidence their hearts are already at the end of the rainbow. They have perfect faith that somehow they will cross that bridge, when the time comes—just how they do not care.

However, in the vision of the future that possessed Mississippi in 1835 there were certain definite lines. The list of birthplaces of the six chief ones might, in one respect, induce a false impression. Though those six were half of them Northern, half Southern, in origin, that division did not apply to the population generally. It was overwhelmingly Southern.⁸ From Georgia, round a great

⁸ The statistics of the increase of slaves tell the tale, thus: 1800-1810, 384.9 per cent.; 1810-1820, 125.9; 1820-1830, 100.1; 1830-1840, 197.3; 1840-1850, 58.7. *Century of Population Growth*, p. 134. The statistics of the total increase of population are closely similar; for the corresponding decades the percentages are: 356.0; 87.0; 81.0; 175.0; 61.5; 30.5. The corresponding statistics for the Northwest show that the two sections were receiving settlers in about the proportion that might be expected. In the crucial decade, 1830-1840, population increased according to the following percentages: Ohio, 62.0; Indiana, 99.9; Illinois, 202.4; Michigan, 570.9. *Abstract of Twelfth Census*, p. 36.

Another determining bit of evidence is the comment of the High Court of Errors and Appeals on the act of the Mississippi legislature, passed in 1833, prohibiting the introduction of slaves from the border states: "There was fear that if the border States were permitted to sell us their slaves, and thus localize the institution, they, too, would unite in the wild fanaticism of the day and render the institution of slavery, thus reduced to a few Southern States, an easy prey to its wicked spirit." *Mitchell v. Wells, Mississippi Reports*, VII. 89, quoted in *Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society*, IV. 89.

In connection with this interesting revelation of a legislative purpose, there

crescent, embracing all the seaboard, Kentucky, and Tennessee, Southern streams of migration had converged upon Mississippi. Consequently the new community was a composite picture of the whole South; and like all composite pictures it emphasized only the common factors of all its components. What all the South had in common, what made a man a Southerner in the general sense—in distinction from a Northerner, on the one hand, or a Virginian, Carolinian, Georgian, on the other—could have been observed in Mississippi, in 1835 and 1840, as nowhere else. Consequently, an image of Southern life in general terms was the vision of things hoped for by the ardent new men of the Southwest. The elements of that vision were common to them all—country life, the broad acres, generous hospitality, an aristocratic system.⁹ Their tempera-

is another contemporaneous statement that seems to me, in the light of the former, to strike the true Mississippi note. In 1834 the Democratic state convention resolved unanimously "that a constitutional right of Secession from the Union on the part of a single state, as asserted by the nullifying leaders of South Carolina, is utterly unsanctioned by the Constitution which was framed to establish not destroy the Union". It was also resolved to sustain the President in the full exercise of his powers to "restore peace and harmony to our distracted country and to maintain unsullied and unimpaired the honor, the independence and the integrity of our Union". See speech of J. A. Wilcox, March 9, 1852, *Congressional Globe*, 32 Cong., 1 sess., app., p. 284. Is not this union of the Southern social ideal with a phase of nationalism a keynote that has not been sufficiently considered? And may there not be something symptomatic in the fact that three of the six Mississippi leaders—Foote, Walker, and Davis—closed their careers ambiguously, distrusted, to say the least, by the genuine states' right men. The end of Walker is of course known to everyone. But a work as near to standard as Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography* does not mention the fact that Foote was at last expelled from the Confederate Congress, following his arrest by the military authorities while attempting to pass through the lines on some sort of private negotiation with Washington. *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, VII. 454, 455, 465-467, 490-492, 659, 660. In the entry of January 16, 1865, a flaming quotation from the *Richmond Sentinel* headed "Treason" seems to be an attack on Foote.

⁹The aristocratic tendency of the new commonwealth may be seen in the ratio of slaves to population as this was established when society became well settled upon the new soil. In 1850 the order of the states in respect to the proportion of their population connected with slave ownership was as follows: South Carolina, 53.1; Louisiana, 45.1; Mississippi, 44.6; Florida, 42.5; Georgia, 42.0; Alabama, 39.2; Virginia, 35.1. That these were, with one exception, the more distinctly aristocratic states is borne out by their general attitude in social and political history. Georgia, it should be remembered, was practically two states, socially, and it was the eastern, aristocratic section which brought Georgia into the list above. The more democratic states—North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Texas—show percentages ranging from 29.0 downward. *Century of Population Growth*, p. 138. As to the proportion of slaves to whites in 1850, Mississippi stood second with 105 slaves to every 100 whites. Only South Carolina exceeded this ratio with 140 to the hundred. *Ibid.*, p. 140. The census of 1850 showed that in Mississippi one-half the non-urban population held slaves. In only three other states—South Carolina, Louisiana, and Alabama—was this the case. *Compendium of the Seventh Census*, p. 94.

ments were sufficiently buoyant to enable them to apprehend it, as if an actual experience of the sensibilities, even before it had materialized. Their own emotions when at last they should occupy such an estate was what in advance they vividly anticipated, what constituted to their romantic minds the end of the rainbow.

Their temper is best appreciated, perhaps, by contrasting it with that of an illustrious community farther to the eastward. South Carolina in 1835 had long since emerged from the plastic but indeterminate wealth of opportunity in which Mississippi then revelled. In contrast with the new state where no one had had time to forget he had originated elsewhere, South Carolina had acquired that sense of being the fruit of its own soil which is the gift of a ripened civic life. In South Carolina the conservative impulse had had time to appear and become established. To preserve what was already there, far more than to attain what was yet to be, was the typical mood of the East. Therefore, not only ends but means appeared to it vital. Knowing just what it had and just what it wished to preserve, the keynote of South Carolina's thinking was conservation. In Mississippi, careless of the means, they centred their thought upon the golden end and the keynote was expansion. Disillusioned South Carolina had long since ceased dreaming of fairy gold at the rainbow's end. Mississippi knew that under the sunset it was a fact.

It was in this elastic young community that Davis passed almost the whole of the eight years between his withdrawal from the army and his entrance into politics. He had inherited some property which appears to have been skillfully handled and increased by his elder brother, Joseph Emory Davis. By this able man the family fortunes were established and a recognized place secured in the forming aristocracy of the state. As far back as 1824, his influence probably had secured for his younger brother the cadetship at West Point.¹⁰ In 1835 he was important, a commanding figure. Though a Democrat he had gone over, in the bud of his fortunes, to that new phase of democracy which retained Jeffersonian theories while practising aristocracy. A risen man, he was a born "founder", the type England invariably seizes to "reinforce" the House of Lords. The same may be said of his brother, Jefferson. Their plantations—Hurricane, the home of the elder brother, and the more noted Brierfield, the seat of the younger—witnessed during those peaceful years a gracious round of life not lacking in cultivation. Both men were lovers of books. Jefferson had real training of the mind, the fruit of Transylvania and West Point. Joseph had

¹⁰ See Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 24.

read law, had the lawyer's aptitude for reason, and was by nature a thinker if not a student. In spite of the newness of their surroundings, their lives had a savor of learning. In the houses which they built, in the régime which they established, was a generalized reflection of the corresponding conditions in the southern East; a shadow of the classic revival of that day in their architecture; a wealthy repetition of what was esteemed luxurious in their appointments.¹¹

Just at the opening of these eight years of Davis's readjustment occurred the first of that series of calamities which made his career as a whole tragic. His first wife died suddenly, less than three months subsequent to their marriage. The impressionable nature of her husband was for a time deeply overclouded. His peace was not recovered without much internal struggle. His only foreign journey previous to his greatness was a West Indian visit in the period of his depression. By degrees, however, the natural buoyancy of his nature returned to him. Probably the happiest portion of his life was still to come; and in the joint fact of the depth of his despair and the completeness of his recovery there is a light on his character. Later witnesses, in the hour of his greatest woe, have left unsympathetic observation of his nervousness.¹² How different all this from the splendid war minister described by Schurz! It is different, too, from the inflexible dreamer of his last phase. And yet in his emotional history between twenty-seven and thirty-five surely there are discernible those conflicting traits which later were to develop into discords.¹³ For the moment they

¹¹ Mrs. Davis gives a really charming picture of life at Brierfield and Hurricane in the *Memoir*, I. 171-180 and 191-195. Professor Fleming adds some delightful details of relations with inferiors in "Jefferson Davis, the Negroes, and the Negro Problem", *Sewanee Review*, XVI 406-427 (October, 1908). Among them is the following letter to an old slave written almost at the close of Davis's life and published after his death in the *Jacksonville Times-Union*, January 9, 1890: "Both Mr. and Mrs. Davis are thankful to their friend, Milo Cooper, for the lemons and for his congratulations. Mr. Davis passed his eightieth birthday in good health and spirits for one of his age, and is cheered by the kind spirit evinced by so many friends. Your Friends, Jefferson and V. H. Davis."

¹² Sympathetic observers have left similar testimony. Mrs. Davis, describing the effects on him of nervous dyspepsia and neuralgia, says he would come home from his office "fasting, a mere mass of throbbing nerves, and perfectly exhausted". Quoted in Butler, *Judah P. Benjamin*, I. 332.

¹³ Two features that still await complete observation are his religious responsiveness and the influence of women. Professor Fleming ascribes to him the same trust in a special Providence that Jackson had. "The Religious Life of Jefferson Davis", *Methodist Review*, April, 1910. Though no scandal has ever been hinted in connection with Davis, his enemies have accused him of excessive response to feminine influence. For example, there is Pollard and his ever-ready malice.

were harmonized and serenity recovered, perhaps, in part, through his second marriage, though this did not occur until after the close of the eight-year period, not until 1845. Miss Varina Howell, who became the Mrs. Davis of history, was one more instance of the cosmopolitan cast of Mississippi life. She sprang from a great family of New Jersey; her father was a cousin of Aaron Burr.

In 1843, at the age of thirty-five, Davis entered politics. He was tried out, so to speak, by the Democratic management in a forlorn hope against a popular Whig candidate for the legislature. Though Davis lost—as apparently he was expected to do—he showed his mettle. Two years later his party rewarded him with a seat in Congress. Only an extreme partizan of Davis would claim for him a commanding position in the Twenty-ninth Congress.¹⁴ In the main he followed creditably the lead of Calhoun. It is noteworthy that in his first term of Congress he became associated with Rhett and Yancey; from that time date the rivalries of these three, all so gifted, all predestined to despair.

By a curiously dramatic stroke of fate, the three were intimately associated fifteen years later at Davis's inauguration as President of the Confederacy. Yancey made the public address of welcome when Davis arrived at Montgomery¹⁵ and Rhett was on the committee appointed by the provisional Senate to inform him officially of his election.¹⁶ But this was almost their last act together; and almost immediately the bitterness of their later jealousies appeared. Even before the inauguration Rhett had criticized Davis and before the end of the month his organ, the *Charleston Mercury*, had begun its career of opposition.¹⁷ We are now on the brink of the time when Yancey was to crystallize his anti-Davis reaction by saying in the Confederate Senate that he preferred a Northern conquest to the Davis "despotism".¹⁸ What had made possible after fifteen years of political comradeship this sudden and staggering reaction?

That Davis and Rhett were foredoomed to their final bitterness is undeniable if they and their states had the contrasting signifi-

¹⁴ Well summarized in Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, pp. 70-78.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 223.

¹⁶ *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, I, 40. "The President . . . leaning on the arm of Mr. Rhett . . . proceeded amidst the enthusiastic greetings of the assembled multitude . . . to the hall of Congress. Mr. Davis was then introduced by Mr. Rhett to the Congress." *Charleston Mercury*, February 22, 1861.

¹⁷ In announcing the Confederate cabinet, the correspondent of the *Mercury* was outspoken in his condemnation of Davis for not giving the State Department to South Carolina. He went so far as to name Rhett as the one man of all others entitled to the office. *Mercury*, February 26, 1861; see also Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, pp. 221-222.

¹⁸ Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 283.

cance I have assumed. And when we consider the history of the Democratic party the long delay in revealing a difference wholly irreconcilable ceases to be strange. During all those fifteen years they were leaders of a party of opposition. Their issues were determined by their opponents. The conception of a nationalized government minus slavery was as deadly to the social system of Mississippi as to the political theories of South Carolina. To Davis, no less than to Rhett, the discrediting of that conception was the ruling impulse during the long and brilliant chapter which includes both his terms in the Senate and between them his tenure of the Secretaryship of War. Their common aim being to defeat an enemy, what need for them to develop the incompatible ideals which at the backs of their minds animated their endeavors? Rhett, and his course in the Confederacy—the course of the ultra states' rights men—still awaits a biographer both sympathetic and analytical.¹⁹ But that Rhett's ideal could never really harmonize with Davis's more broadly sectional, less sophisticated ideal becomes more and more plain.

Those fifteen years of his career as a statesman of opposition reveal to us something which the previous eight years of his reorganization left uncertain. That earlier period, if my theory is true, revealed his character, massing the image upon five great lines: sensibility, courage, reaction to a generalized environment, the new man's preoccupation with a vision essentially social, the militarist's preoccupation with ends rather than means. The chapter between 1845 and 1860 shows us his cast of mind. One faces the question: was he genuinely intellectual?

It might serve as the issue in a long and interesting debate. Two points are as much as one may consider in so brief a discussion as this. Professor Dodd, always sympathetic, but always detached, calls him incidentally "something of a martinet".²⁰ Mr. Bradford, whose attitude may be described as gracious rather than sympa-

¹⁹ No figure of the Confederacy is a finer challenge to the student, but his manuscripts are still, unfortunately, unavailable for study; and though several people are known to be at work upon his life, nothing of importance has appeared. He is the very type of the thoroughgoing states' rights man who was animated by a real love for his particular state—as real as a Bulgarian's for Bulgaria—who was as resolute not to have his state submerged in the Confederacy as is the modern Bulgarian not to have his own country submerged in, say, a united Byzantine Empire. Very able students have failed to comprehend that South Carolina, in 1861, felt that same idealizing passion for the "little country" which these same students find easy to comprehend in the Balkans.

²⁰ *Jefferson Davis*, p. 26. Professor Phillips, perhaps with this phrase in mind, makes him "the unapproachable martinet". *Life of Robert Toombs*, p. 226.

thetic, uses various anecdotes, also incidentally, with a like effect.²¹ It is to be feared their impression is correct. And if it is, here is one damaging conclusion as to the quality of his mind. Though he is capable of surprising us with his occasional magnanimity and largeness of view, as in some of his letters to Lee,²² more often, as in certain tart messages to Congress,²³ and in the rebukes he was capable of administering to his generals,²⁴ he reminds one unpleasantly of the schoolmaster. Let us go further and say, the drill-master. Needless to insist that a soldier of this type is never a first-class mind. Davis's fixed belief that he was fit for the highest place in war²⁵ was surely an illusion. It prepares us for the pathetic illusions of his last phase.

But there is another point, intellectually. Davis at the outset of his career accepted the political theories, the political phraseology, of the states' rights party. In innumerable utterances—speeches, letters, messages—he rang the changes on that phraseology. But did he ever assimilate the ideas which it involved, did he ever see where his political philosophy must inevitably lead him? Other men of the time saw. Calhoun, with his vast logic, perceived, through sheer lucidity of mind, where his theory pointed, and strove with all the force of his nature to keep from travelling the inevitable road. Webster, with his powerful imagination, saw. Even such lesser men as Rhett and Yancey, once the die was cast and the Southern states were committed to a joint struggle against military power, saw what was likely to happen, saw that their theory might be slain in the house of its friends,²⁶ and they turned desperate.

²¹ See his chapter on Lee and Davis, in his delightful *Lee, the American*, pp. 48-73.

²² For example, his refusal to accept Lee's resignation following Gettysburg: "Suppose, my dear friend, that I were to admit with all their implications the points which you present, where am I to find that new commander who is to possess the greater ability which you believe to be required? . . . To ask me to substitute you by some one in my judgment more fit to command, or who would possess more of the confidence of the army, or of reflecting men in the country, is to demand an impossibility." *Memoirs*, II. 398.

²³ As when, at an acute crisis, he irritated the Senate by telling them with regard to a bill just passed, "much benefit is expected from this measure though far less than would have resulted from its adoption at an earlier date". *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, IV. 704.

²⁴ He once replied to J. E. Johnston that the language of a letter "is, as you say, unusual; its arguments and statements utterly one-sided, and its insinuations as unfounded as they are unbecoming". Rhodes, *United States*, III. 459.

²⁵ "The President was a prey to the acutest anxiety during this period, and again and again said, 'If I could take one wing and Lee the other, I think we could between us wrest a victory from those people'." *Memoir*, II. 392.

²⁶ These fears made their appearance even in 1861 but do not seem to have come to a focus until the passage of the first act to suspend habeas corpus in

We can imagine a man of immense humor—that quality so conspicuously lacking in American statesmen—placed as Davis was, and winking with a gust of laughter to the fact that for fifteen years he had talked one thing while he meant another, talked the constitutional rights of the individual states while what he really meant was the economic interests of a consolidated South. Such a man, winking thus, would have admitted that in the interests of the South as a whole—that generalized social ideal of a certain manner of living which was his real inspiration—he would destroy an individual Southern state as ruthlessly as, in the interests of the Union as a whole, Webster might have done so. But Davis contrasts with each of these types, with all. He clung to the phraseology of states' rights as stubbornly even as Rhett, or Stephens, who genuinely believed it. And yet when occasion finally tested him, behind his words, striking through his words, appears something quite different—the Southern Nationalist.²⁷ With this clew afforded by

February, 1862. "The Congress of the Confederate States of America do enact that during the present invasion of the Confederate States the President shall have power to suspend the writ of Habeas Corpus in such cities, towns, and military districts, as shall, in his judgment, be in such danger of attack by the enemy as to require the declaration of martial law for their effective defence." *Digest of the Military and Naval Laws of the Confederate States of America*, paragraph 396. The friction between the Richmond government and the state of Georgia dates from that time. See Fieder, *Life of Joseph E. Brown*. In July Governor Brown wrote to Stephens: "I deeply regret that the President, whom I have regarded as a leading State Rights man, should have given in his adhesion to the doctrines of unlimited congressional powers." *Report*, American Historical Association, 1911, II. 597. Stephens, in his speech at Crawfordsville in November of the same year, which is reported in Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens in Public and Private*, pp. 749-760, squarely asserted that independence was not worth having at the price of constitutional liberty and that the idea of getting independence first and constitutional rights afterward was false, because "our liberties once lost may be lost forever". There is an enormous mass of protest in this same vein. It grows in bitterness as well as in volume during the next two years, until, in 1864, what had become a widely popular view was expressed by a member of the North Carolina senate who declared that "instead of a confederacy of free and sovereign States, we have established a most powerful consolidated military despotism". *North Carolina Standard*, June 10, 1864, quoted by Schwab, *The Confederate States of America*, p. 192. Even more extreme is the passage which the *Charleston Mercury*, a few months later, thought worthy of reproduction from the *Montgomery Mail*: "The tendency of the age, the march of the American people, is toward monarchy; and unless the tide is stopped we shall reach something worse than monarchy. Every step we have taken in the last four years has been in the direction of military despotism. Half our laws are unconstitutional." *Charleston Mercury*, November 16, 1864.

²⁷ One of his most interesting papers is the short message of January 22, 1862, vetoing a bill which provided for "a regiment of volunteers . . . to be raised by the State of Texas . . . the Secretary of War shall incorporate it into the Provisional Army of the Confederate States" but with the control of the regiment remaining in the Texan executive. Davis rejected the bill because con-

the actions of his later career we pick our way among the utterances of 1845-1860, while an impression of disappointment grows. This man, who is so confident in his assertion of states' rights, whose lofty courage is so unfaltering, does not really understand himself. His political philosophy is not a true vehicle for his basal impulses—as Calhoun's was, as Webster's was—but a mere weapon caught ready to his hand from the hands of its makers, the men whom it genuinely expressed. Behind stands ironically the shadow of the coming events that are to expose his self-deception, that are to reveal him as a thinker at second hand.²⁸

trol over all troops should be "vested in the Executive of the Confederate States", and because of "other objections which are mainly important because they disturb the uniformity and complicate the system of military administration". *Messages and Papers of the Confederacy*, I, 160. This promptness to consider the South as a whole appeared to Davis himself as mere soldierly common-sense. But was not the real mainspring deeper laid? His enemies thought so. Witness the long and even vindictive contentions between the Richmond government and those of Georgia and North Carolina. The quantity of data in this connection is bewilderingly great. Though none of these inner movements of the Confederacy have yet been adequately studied it is plain that the conscription laws, the suspension of the habeas corpus, the seizure of supplies, and the cotton policy of the government, were all causes of bitter resentment and distrust. It is well to note the difference of tone between real states' rights men, reluctantly accepting these measures as the dictates of necessity, and the tone of Davis. For example, Toombs, in a private letter of June 10, 1863, wrote with regard to Georgia: "We can do nothing now in establishing any state polity whatever, we must wait for that until after the war. The necessities of war control the entire industry of the country and I fear is greatly endangering public liberty." *Report*, Am. Hist. Assn., 1911, II, 619. In Davis's utterances, on the other hand, there is never a tentative or doubtful note. A most significant symptom is the rhetorical cast of all such utterances. He offsets the objections to his centralizing measures by lofty reiterations of the abstract idea of states' rights, or by denunciations of the enemy for violating them. This falls in with the fact that his fame was made in opposition. It is in opposition that a rhetorical statesman shines. Innumerable passages in his letters and messages deal with this dilemma of the states' rights cause in the positive tone appropriate to a simple situation, and in a rhetorical style. As in the message of February 3, 1864, calling for another act to suspend habeas corpus: "It has been our cherished hope—and hitherto justified by the generous self-devotion of our citizens—that . . . we might exhibit . . . the proud spectacle of a people . . . achieving their liberty and independence after the bloodiest war of modern times without the necessity of a single sacrifice of civil rights to military necessity. But . . . discontent, disaffection, and disloyalty are manifested among those who, through the sacrifices of others, have enjoyed quiet and safety at home." *Messages and Papers*, I, 396.

A most interesting comment on this lack of mutual comprehension between President and people is that of Professor Schwab, who, however, for all his diligence and acuteness, remains always external in sympathy: "Such exercise of arbitrary power by the military and central government necessarily . . . opened the eyes of even the States rights *doctrinaires* to the possibilities of a centralized military despotism." *The Confederate States of America*, p. 208. That word "*doctrinaire*" in this comment might focus a debate upon the historical imagination.

²⁸ The rhetorical element in Davis seems to precipitate a tendency in which

The lack of an underlying intellectual unity predestined him to an appearance of inconsistency as the leader of a movement for states' rights²⁹ and yet closed his mind to that analytic faculty which was the one thing—unless it had been the sense of humor, which

some of us find the characteristic note of nineteenth-century American history. Did not theoreticity appear in the early part of the century and become very soon a dominant note in our political thinking? A few great figures escaped it. Lincoln takes much of his strong color as a statesman because of the powerful contrast between his deeply realistic mind and the more formal, more deductive intelligences that were massed for his background. But could any statesman for whom politics, fundamentally, were "a condition not a theory" have ignored the reality of ideas as Davis ignored the states' rights idea whenever it got in his way? To suppose that ideas are not part of the "condition" which great statesmen set themselves to solve is to err profoundly. Surely, a dim perception of ambiguity was one cause of the opposition to Davis of so many hard-headed, practical people. Said Representative Leach of North Carolina: "What was loyalty in one man three years ago, in advocating the dissolution of the old Union, is treason in another now; and if there be any reconstructionists they certainly have the precedent of the secessionists by which to prove their loyalty." *North Carolina Standard*, September 8, 1863; quoted in *The Confederate States of America*, p. 223. Leach had in mind the agitation then in progress to persuade North Carolina to withdraw from the Confederacy and make a separate peace with the Union. About the same time Jonathan Worth wrote of the editor of the *Standard*: "The 'last dollar and last man' men abuse Holden's peace articles, but the fact that he has the largest and most rapidly increasing circulation of any other journal in the State, indicates the current of public opinion." *Correspondence of Jonathan Worth*, I. 249.

²⁹ The question of inconsistency involves both parties, and modern students as a rule have found it easier to understand Davis than to enter into the minds of his opponents. The world has travelled far in the last fifty years and the historic imagination has not always, by every one, been kept in use. But without it one cannot gauge accurately the motives of the out-and-out states' rights men who found Davis inconsistent, and worse. That the "revolution", in their eyes, was a movement not only for independence but also for a definite system of government, cannot be insisted on, to-day, too emphatically. Again (as in note 19) the Balkan situation helps us to think of the matter correctly. Rhett and Stephens were as far from being *doctrinaires* as is the modern Bulgarian, the modern Montenegrin. Their position was stated over and over, not only with passion, but also in the most temperate language. For example, ex-Governor Manning in declining to be a candidate for governor of South Carolina said: "To establish the independence of the Confederate States among the nations of the earth, and at the same time to preserve the sovereignty of each State, free from the encroachments of either legislative or executive power, are, it appears to me, the great ends for which the patriotic mind of the country should contend." *Charleston Mercury*, November 12, 1864.

Still earlier Stephens, in that manner which his apologists think detached and some others think sly, wrote "confidentially" that his views on Davis were "much more akin to suspicion and jealousy than of animosity or hate. . . . I have regarded him as a man of good intentions, weak and vacillating, timid, petulant, peevish, obstinate, but not firm. Am now beginning to doubt his good intentions. . . . His whole policy on the organization and discipline of the Army is perfectly consistent with the hypothesis that he is aiming at absolute power." *Official Records*, fourth series, III. 279-280.

he seems entirely to have lacked—that might have saved him. It was this mental—though not moral—inconsistency that led his enemies to see in him, the moment they had crossed the line from opposition to construction, an unscrupulous opportunist.³⁰ The same thing, in that new constructive situation, led Davis, his thought concentrated on ends and indifferent to the means, caring everything for the South but very little for any particular state, to regard Rhett and Stephens, and the passionate loyalty of each to the one state, as mere details of political obstruction.³¹

The internal history of the Confederacy is largely the battle of these irreconcilable ideals. And the attitude of Davis, when assailed by the true states' rights men, further demonstrates his basal failure intellectually. He could not co-ordinate his own mind, could not realize that his note from their point of view rang false. They understood him better than he understood himself. His states' rights phraseology and his long series of centralizing measures³²

³⁰ The antagonism to Davis ranges through all degrees of expression from the smooth regret of Stephens to the fierce bluster of Toombs. Of the latter Professor Phillips's *Correspondence of Robert Toombs, Alexander H. Stephens and Howell Cobb* (Report, Am. Hist. Assn., 1911, II.) contains some amazing specimens. Here is a choice bit dated May 17, 1862: "Davis's incapacity is lamentable, and the very thought of the baseness of Congress in the impressment act makes me sick. I feel but little like fighting for a people base enough to submit to such despotism from such contemptible sources." In the more dignified tone of the Rhett faction, "we distrust . . . all executive power under the constitution . . . but above all we distrust all arbitrary power sought for an Executive in the midst of public troubles". *Charleston Mercury*, November 15, 1864. It is not strange there were schemes to depose him. Said the administration paper, at Charleston: "We have been reliably informed that men of high official position . . . are . . . preaching a crusade against President Davis and calling for a general convention of the Confederate States to depose him and create a military dictator in his place." *Charleston Daily Courier*, May 2, 1862. In January, 1865, it was proposed to censure him in Congress and Bockock of Virginia wrote him confidentially that if the proposal came before the House it would pass by a three-fourths vote. *Official Records*, first series, vol. XLVI., pt. II., p. 1118.

³¹ How little Davis allowed for average human feeling appears in connection with the Georgian situation, autumn, 1864. With Sherman victorious in the midst of the state, citizen soldiers might be expected to insist on going home to protect their families. To Davis, who seems not to have distinguished between the citizen soldier and the professional soldier, such action was commonplace desertion. Nor could he make allowances for the willingness of Georgians to treat with Sherman direct. On October 12, 1864, Governor Brown wrote to Stephens: "I see Mr. Davis in his speech at Columbia refers to the traitorous conduct of states that would attempt to negotiate", etc. *Report*, Am. Hist. Assn., 1911, II. 653. One is reminded of the comment: "Gifted with some of the highest attributes of a statesman, he lacked the pliancy which enables a man to adapt his measures to the crisis." Reuben Davis, quoted in Bradford, *Lee, the American*, pp. 69-70.

³² Here is Stephens's recital of them: "That policy does not meet with my

appeared to them irreconcilable. He, on the other hand, genuinely unconscious of inconsistency, the politician in him and the soldier dwelling apart in watertight compartments, never appreciated that those others, for all their limitations, were but pitilessly logical; that they were the natural product of the situation; that anyone who would lead the Southern movement must be equal to convincing them; must, to their full satisfaction, harmonize his own course dictated by necessity with their logical desperation, the last stand of an ideal. But he never realized this intellectual obligation. Their opposition hardened him. Even as the base of his political feeling may have been a neutral ground of indifference to local forms, so at the base of his political thought there seems to have been a spot of callous. Ideas penetrated him only to a certain depth, then glanced off and disappeared. Consequently his position as president, ironic from the first—ironic because no one appears wholly to have desired him for the place, because of the pitiable fact that a revolutionary movement compromised on its administration³³—became steadily more and more ironic. In his own mind the possibility of appreciating the situation, if it ever existed, soon vanished. He became the prisoner of an illusion. The more desperate his situation, the more stubborn his illusion. His course subsequent to the taking of Atlanta³⁴—his futile plan for a “people’s

approval, as developed either in military, financial, legislative, or diplomatic departments of government. Its conscription, its ignoring State sovereignty and the rights of the citizen soldiers in the appointment of officers, its impressments and seizures, its system of passports and provost-m Marshals—its continued issues of paper money, without timely taxation or other steps to prevent depreciation, and its utter neglect of cotton, our greatest element of power, when it could have been of incalculable value to us—to say nothing of other matters—are all wrong, radically wrong in my judgment, both in principle and policy.” Cleveland, *Alexander H. Stephens in Public and Private*, p. 174.

³³ The mystery of the Confederate election is still unsolved. Professor Dodd holds to the view that Toombs had been definitely agreed upon, but that for some reason not yet discovered, there was a reconsideration at the last moment and a compromise upon Davis. *Jefferson Davis*, pp. 219–222. Professor Phillips has a different version according to which there never was an agreement upon Toombs and very little if any concert of action previous to the election. *The Life of Robert Toombs*, pp. 222–225. Mrs. Davis’s *Memoir* reveals no secrets. There was but one ballot for President and the vote was unanimous. *Journals of the Confederate Congress*, I, 40. Contemporaneous accounts by Stephens, T. R. R. Cobb, and Pollard leave the matter in confusion. It is well known that Davis did not desire the office. His ambition was to command the army. *Memoir*, II, 19.

³⁴ From this time forward the psychology of Davis presents some of those problems that make dramatic the last phase of more than one leader who has ended unsuccessfully. His view of the situation becomes so complete an illusion that we might say it had crystallized into fatuousness. See his message of November 7, 1864, with its amazing confidence that Sherman was at the end

war" against Sherman; his unflagging confidence in eventual success; such infatuations as his speech at the African Church, after the failure of the Hampton Roads Conference, with its promise that "before another summer solstice falls upon us, it will be the enemy who will be asking us for conferences and occasions in which to make known our demands";³⁵ the still more tragic infatuation of the "Address to the People of the Confederate States"³⁶ issued after his flight from Richmond to Danville—all this forms the greatest instance of illusion in American history.

And yet—crowning irony of all—his very stubbornness, his very completeness of illusion, led him at the end into what appeared to be the boldest possible elasticity of thought, his audacious scheme of the winter of 1864–1865 to arm the slaves, and even, in large numbers, to set them free.³⁷ But if the theory of him here indicated will hold, that last astounding move was but the final evidence

of his rope, and its conclusion: "There are no vital points on the preservation of which the continued existence of the Confederacy depends. There is no military success of the enemy which can accomplish its destruction." *Messages and Papers*, I. 485. Previously, in a speech at Macon, he had said: "Our cause is not lost. Sherman cannot keep up his long line of communication; and retreat, sooner or later he must. And when that day comes the fate that befell the army of the French Empire in its retreat from Moscow will be re-enacted." (Richmond *Enquirer*, September 28, 1864; quoted in Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 334.) Again, the rhetorician! Promising a Moscow without an army in Napoleon's front and with no "General January" to bring up against him. In fact, if the Napoleonic allusion is to be used at all, it works the other way. Davis, after Atlanta, in the stubbornness of his illusion, reminds one, in a way, of Napoleon after Leipzig.

³⁵ Richmond *Examiner*, February 7, 1865; quoted in Dodd, *Jefferson Davis*, p. 353.

³⁶ "Animated by the confidence in your spirit and fortitude, which never yet has failed me, I announce to you, fellow-countrymen, that it is my purpose to maintain your cause with my whole heart and soul; that I will never consent to abandon to the enemy one foot of the soil of any one of the States of the Confederacy; that Virginia, noble State, whose ancient renown has been eclipsed by her still more glorious recent history, whose bosom has been bared to receive the main shock of this war, whose sons and daughters have exhibited heroism so sublime as to render her illustrious in all times to come—that Virginia, with the help of her people, and by the blessing of Providence, shall be held and defended, and no peace ever be made with the infamous invaders of her homes by the sacrifice of any of her rights or territory. If by stress of numbers we should ever be compelled to a temporary withdrawal from her limits, or those of any other border State, again and again will we return, until the baffled and exhausted enemy shall abandon in despair his endless and impossible task of making slaves of a people resolved to be free.

"Let us not, then, despond, my countrymen; but, relying on the never-failing mercies and protecting care of our God, let us meet the foe with fresh defiance, with unconquered and unconquerable hearts." *Messages and Papers*, I. 569–570.

Is it possible not to think of Napoleon refusing the Rhine as a boundary?

³⁷ The episode is traced from the sources in the *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 295–308.

of his rigidity, of his generalized sense of things, his desire for a Southern nation, his carelessness of the special forms, the local feelings of the various states. Just as his peculiar intellectual qualities came at last to their inevitable fruition in the stern illusions of his closing winter, so, in that same time, his distinctive political impulses, which had taken their bent so long before in that fluid community of the changeful West, culminated as we should expect them to culminate in a bold stroke of magnificent opportunism.

And thus he closed, misunderstanding himself and misunderstood by his time. A strange, proud, immensely tragic figure!

N. W. STEPHENSON.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE KING'S COUNTY COURT

THE extracts which are printed below have a special interest in one way for the exactness with which they illustrate a passage in Glanvill by a case occurring some years before the probable date of that book. The case coming before the court is that described in Glanvill, IX. 4. The lord refused to accept the relief of his tenant's heir and withheld his father's lands. The heir then got the king's writ, that given in Glanvill, IX. 5, and under that writ, *per breve domini regis*, the expression so frequent in Glanvill, he obtained possession of his inheritance *ex iudicio totius comitatus*. Out of gratitude for the assistance of the monks, possibly financial assistance, and perhaps by a bargain made in advance, he made them the donation of land which gave rise to the charter. This charter is undated but the confirmation charter of the immediate overlord is dated by Mr. Round 1162-1170 (*u. i.*, p. 5), and that of William de Mandeville is dated 27 Henry II. (1181). It adds greatly to the interest of the two charters in another way that the court which makes what is called a *iudicium totius comitatus* in the first is called, by an identification not common in the documents, *curia regis* in the second. See my *Origin of the English Constitution*, p. 70, note 17, and "The Local King's Court in the Reign of William I.", *Yale Law Journal*, April, 1914, note 7. These charters were first printed by John Nichols, *The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester* (1795), vol. II., pt. I., app., p. 134, and again by J. Horace Round, *The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland*, IV. 3-7 (Hist. MSS. Comm., 1905). The two editors differ in a number of readings, but I have adopted those of Mr. Round, except in reading *dominus* instead of *deus* in the phrase *quam reddidit michi dominus*.

Universis Sancte Ecclesie filiis Radulfus Pincerna, filius Willelmi de Etona, salutem. Sciatis quod ego Radulfus postquam relevavi terram meam, assensu matris mee et Hugonis fratris mei, dedi et concessi et hac carta confirmavi deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie Geroudon et monachis ibidem deo servientibus . . . quatuor carrucatas terre in Estwella ex hereditate mea quam reddidit michi dominus per breve domini Regis ex iudicio totius comitatus. . . . Hanc autem donationem fideliter et firmiter tenendam ego Radulfus affidavi pro me et pro heredibus meis et monachi me adiuverunt ad relevandam terram meam.

Willelmus de Mandevilla, comes Essexie, omnibus hominibus suis Francis et Anglis clericis et laicis presentibus et futuris, salutem: Sciatis me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse in puram et perpetuam elemosinam Deo et ecclesie Sancte Marie Geroldon' et monachis ibidem deo servientibus quatuor carrucas terre in Estwelle videlicet illas quatuor carrucas quas monachi habuerunt ex donatione Radulfi Pincerne postquam idem Radulfus dirrationavit terram illam in curia domini Regis.

G. B. ADAMS.

CATHERINE II. AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

THE part played by Catherine the Great in the American Revolution has not yet been fully worked out. The Russian archives are bringing to light much new material on the subject. From the official papers and her private correspondence, examined for the present purpose, one sees that the empress, from the very beginning, had clearly defined views on the rights and wrongs of the American question and on the final outcome of the struggle, as well as a determined policy not to interfere in a hostile manner.

Catherine neither liked nor disliked the Americans. She probably knew none of them personally, and cared little about their theories of government. She took an interest in the American Revolution because it affected English and European politics. As early as June 30, 1775, she predicted that America would become independent of Europe "even in my life-time", and a year later she wrote to a friend, "The colonies have told England good-bye forever". During the years of conflict she never for a moment doubted that complete separation from the mother-country was the only solution. In her private correspondence she does not hesitate to say that the colonies are in the right, that England has provoked a useless quarrel, and that the best thing for her to do is to become reconciled with her former subjects.

Although the empress had a high regard for England she had a very low opinion of the men who were at the head of the English government during this period. In her view, the King of England was a good, fatherly sort of man, but not a statesman, and his ministers were petty, lost in small politics, and quite incapable of taking large views. During the time that they were in office the empress treated them with much contempt.

The first humiliation suffered was when they asked her for troops to go to Canada. Lord Suffolk, on June 30, 1775, wrote to Gunning, the English minister, requesting him to ascertain in an indirect and delicate manner whether Russia would be willing to let England have infantry for America. Gunning had a talk with Panin and the empress and put the question to them in a rather vague way and they

answered in a similar manner; but Gunning felt that they understood him, and replied to Suffolk that troops would be granted. On the strength of this the king addressed an autograph letter to the empress, making a formal request for soldiers to go to America; and at the same time Suffolk sent instructions for the arranging of the details, and a contract which stipulated the pay to be granted to the troops and the amount of subsidy for the empress. This brought the matter to the front, and the request was refused. Both Catherine and Panin assured Gunning that he had misunderstood them; they supposed that he asked for soldiers to go to Spain, but it was quite out of the question to send them to America. Catherine dictated a letter to George III. giving her reasons for the refusal and offering him some uncalled-for advice on the subject which must have made him blush with shame. Gunning first threatened, then pleaded, but it did him no good; the matter was ended; England was humiliated and disgraced.

Through her ministers at London and Paris, as well as through Baron Grimm, who had a regular correspondent in Philadelphia and in addition saw much of Franklin, the empress kept closely in touch with the political situation as between Europe and America. In January, 1778, Harris, afterward the first earl of Malmesbury, who represented England in Russia, was instructed to make an offensive and defensive alliance between Great Britain and Russia. Panin and Catherine drew him on to commit himself more and more. At first they objected to the term "offensive", and demanded fuller explanations. The European political situation at the time being something like this—that England was at war with the colonies and France was about to come out openly against her, while Russia expected to enter into a conflict with Turkey—Harris proposed that England and Russia should attack France, but that Russia should not be obliged to fight the Americans nor England the Turks. Harris, apparently, intended these terms merely as a basis for further discussion, but Catherine had learned what she desired and refused without any qualifications to have anything to do with the alliance on any terms.

When, in June, 1779, Spain also declared against Great Britain, Harris was once more urged to secure assistance from Russia. With the help of Prince Potemkin he obtained a private interview with the empress and pleaded with her to assist England with her navy. She declined and told him that if England desired peace she could have it by renouncing the struggle with the colonies. He begged that she should reconsider her stand, and she yielded so far as to request him to write out his propositions and submit them.

This was done and she paid no attention to them. Harris felt that Great Britain had humbled herself enough, but he was obliged to stoop even lower. On November 26 he wrote to Count Panin that England was eager for peace, that the combination against her was very powerful, that she was willing to commit her interests to the hands of the empress, that if England's enemies should refuse to do likewise Russia might use her forces to end the war, and, finally, that England desired to make an alliance with Russia on any terms whatsoever. For three months the offer was ignored and then it was rejected. To add to England's troubles, Catherine announced her famous Declaration of Neutrality and partly on the strength of this Holland, who had become an enemy of Great Britain, claimed Russia's support in her fight.

During the year 1779 there was some talk of mediation. Harris asked for it and Grimm urged Catherine to offer it, but she felt that the time had not yet come. England was not sufficiently humbled, she was not ready to reconcile herself with the colonies and until that was done it was idle to talk of peace. In September, 1780, she wrote to Grimm to the effect that the time had now come to put a stop to the war. On October 27 she drew up a formal offer and sent it to her representatives at the courts of the belligerent powers. Simolin, her minister at London, read the paper to Lord Stormont, who in turn reported its contents to the king. A few days later Stormont returned and announced that England was ready to accept mediation and that peace could easily be arranged if France and Spain would desist from helping the rebels. At the same time he said that, as Austria had offered to mediate the year before, the king would prefer that the mediation should be carried on by the empress and emperor conjointly. The Austrian court was notified by England of the new development and the offer to mediate was accepted. A messenger was sent from Vienna to St. Petersburg with a request that the Austrian capital be designated as the place for the negotiations. In her letter to the emperor on February 4, 1781, the empress agreed to this and appointed Prince Dimitri Galitzin her minister to represent her. She also outlined the problems before the mediators and suggested a solution. England, she said, will not make peace if the colonies are included in the negotiations, France will not lay down her arms if they are excluded, and under the circumstances they will continue to fight. It was for the mediators to find some way out of this tangle. Her plan of procedure would be this: (1) An armistice for two or three years to include every part of the world where fighting was going on. During the interval the belligerents should have an opportunity

to settle their quarrels without, however, discussing the American question. (2) In this armistice the Americans should be included, but the matter would have to be handled very delicately, because England might suspect that the armistice was merely a trap to force her to recognize the independence of the colonies. To meet this difficulty it should be stated in the act of armistice that Great Britain, desirous of bringing about peace, promised to suspend hostilities in the colonies while she was negotiating with the European powers. Some arrangement must however be made so that England should make peace with the colonies, either separately or collectively. France must be made to promise not to take up arms during the time while England was treating with the colonies, so long as the negotiation was carried on in a pacific manner. (3) France would probably desire to come out with glory and honor from her engagements with the colonies. This could be managed by having her assume the guaranty of the agreements made by England and the colonies.

The proposals submitted to the belligerents were in substance as outlined above. Neither side accepted them; they pleased no one; the point of contention was whether the colonies were free and independent or not. The mediation came to an end. Catherine's pride was hurt and she blamed England for her obstinacy in refusing to give up the colonies and for the stupid declaration that she would rather lose all than give in on this point.

While the mediation proposals were being discussed, the English ministry made an unpardonable blunder in attempting to bribe the empress and influence her course as mediator. On October 28, 1780, Lord Stormont inquired of Harris whether Russia's alliance against England's enemies, including the colonies, could not be purchased for a piece of territory. Harris took up the matter with Potemkin and suggested that England might be willing to part with some territory in America or in the Indies. Potemkin replied that England could gain her point by offering the island of Minorca. Harris advised that the alliance was worth the price, especially because the island in question would serve the additional purpose of embroiling France with Russia. To have carried out the bargain on this basis might raise suspicion. Stormont, in his reply, indicated that Russia need not even help in the war, but that if the empress would use her influence to have France withdraw from the colonies and leave the rebels to their fate, Russia might have Minorca. After peace should have been made, then the alliance could be concluded and no one would be the wiser. Catherine made the most of this opportunity to disgrace the ministry. She told

the story to the emperor, who told it to the King of France, and soon Europe was enjoying the situation.

The coming of Fox into power and the recognition of the independence of the colonies paved the way for peace. Before it was finally concluded the empress was invited twice more to intervene, once conjointly with the King of Prussia, but in the end there was no need of her services.

In refusing to recognize an American diplomatic agent before a definitive treaty of peace was made, Russia meant no offense to the United States. During the whole time that Dana was at St. Petersburg the empress was still regarded as a mediatrix. To have received him officially would have compromised Russia, and wounded the pride of England without in the least advancing the interest of the United States. Whatever could be granted unofficially was offered. American ships and merchants were invited to come, and were assured of as much protection and as many opportunities as those of any other nation. Russia demanded that Dana's credentials should bear a date posterior to the recognition of independence of the colonies by England. This point America could not concede, and out of regard for England and her position as mediatrix the empress could not do otherwise but insist. It was best to put off official relations until some future time.

FRANK A. GOLDER.

OFFICIAL MILITARY REPORTS¹

IN regard to the trustworthiness of diplomatic papers a whole-some degree of skepticism prevails, but historical documents of another class are perhaps viewed by many with too much awe. The standard of honor among soldiers is no doubt very high, and, perhaps for that reason, it seems to be supposed quite generally that a faithful study of the military reports prepares one sufficiently to write the history of a campaign. This is by no means the case, however; and possibly a few remarks based upon our war with Mexico may be thought useful.

Both intentional and accidental misrepresentations occur in the reports, and the former are of two kinds—the legitimate and the illegitimate. It was legitimate for a general, bearing in mind that probably his statements would soon become known, to consider their effect on the officers concerned, the army in general, the gov-

¹ As this paper is merely suggestive, there seems to be no need of supporting it with proofs. These, moreover, if presented in full, would nearly double the length of what is expected by the editor to be very brief; and, finally, it is the writer's intention to bring them forward before very long in another place.

ernment, the public at home, the enemy, and the world at large. It was desirable to satisfy, as nearly as this could be done, the demands of the officers, and these were not always reasonable or just; to maintain the spirit of the troops, their confidence in their leaders and their hope of triumph; to gratify the authorities and the people, and thus ensure a hearty support of the war; to mould public opinion abroad, in order to maintain the honor of the nation, excite an inspiring reflex influence, and strengthen the financial credit of the country; and, finally, it was necessary to conceal from the enemy whatever facts could be useful or encouraging, and represent the army as invincible. To gain these ends more or less misrepresentation was needed.

Among the illegitimate sources of intentional error was the desire of officers and generals to be regarded as abler and more heroic than in fact they were; and Trist, the negotiator of our treaty of peace, described this wish on the part of many volunteer leaders as almost a mania and undeniably a very serious evil. There is ample reason to believe the substantial accuracy of his charge, General Pillow's case ranking probably at the head in this respect. A strong rivalry existed between regulars and volunteers, and this could hardly fail to affect a general's views, if he chanced to command both. There were friends to please and enemies to punish. An officer sometimes entertained a special desire to compliment a regiment that he had formerly commanded; and every kind of influence except a direct offer of money was apparently used to obtain favorable mention from the reporting generals. As for the unintentional mistakes, they arose primarily, of course, from errors of observation and memory, a lack of data, and misinformation in the statements of subordinates. No commander can see everything in an affair of any importance, or remember all that he sees.

General Taylor received great credit for his reports, but they were written, in fact, by the assistant adjutant-general of his army, W. W. S. Bliss, who was a finished artist in discreetly omitting and sagaciously emphasizing. Bliss never lied and never told the truth, one may almost say. At the battle of Palo Alto there was an opportunity to rout the Mexicans completely by a decisive bayonet charge, but the opportunity was not improved. This is the more surprising because, only the day before, Taylor had formally notified his army that the infantry, which made up almost the whole of it, would be expected to depend in the coming battle upon the cold steel; yet the report makes no reference to this mystery. The explanation is that Taylor, contrary to the advice of his best officers,

had unnecessarily insisted upon taking with him a large train of loaded wagons, and he feared that, should he charge the Mexican infantry, Arista's heavy force of cavalry—which had already made one lunge at the wagons—might be able, aided perhaps by a portion of the foot, to get at them. In reporting upon the battle of the next day—Resaca de la Palma, as we call it—Bliss failed entirely to explain how the American victory came to pass. Perhaps he did not know, and perhaps he thought it better to focus public attention upon the events directly supervised by Taylor. The chief operations that occurred at Monterey under the general's immediate orders can best be described by the unscientific but expressive word "mess"; but the official accounts do not reveal this fact. With reference to Buena Vista Braxton Bragg, one of the principal heroes, stated to a correspondent that the truth would never become known except from private letters; and he did quite a little himself to bring it out in that way.

Scott for his part made both the unintentional and the legitimate errors and probably invaded the other field also. He stated once in general orders: "In the reports of battles and other operations, in the face of the enemy, omissions and mistakes have been common, and, in fact, with the best intentions, unavoidable." His inspector-general said once that had the commander-in-chief told the full truth in his account of the battle at Cerro Gordo about Pillow's proceedings, the military career of that gentleman would have ended; and certainly it should have ended. After the capture of the City of Mexico Scott failed to give Worth credit for having entered the capital on September 13, and thus left Quitman to enjoy that distinction, though Worth's report lay before him. This was probably a mere oversight; but it helped to make trouble between the commander-in-chief and his able lieutenant. The list of errors could be extended almost indefinitely, but these cases are numerous enough to illustrate the principle. Our practical conclusion is that one must obtain trustworthy information from other sources, and with this correct and supplement the official statements. It may be well to add that reports are not always correctly printed—even by the government. Those relating to the battles of September 8 and 13, 1847, for instance, contain fifty-eight slips worth noting.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

PALMERSTON AND LOUIS NAPOLEON

ONE of the most familiar episodes in English political history during the nineteenth century is the dismissal of Palmerston from

his post of Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on December 19, 1851, in consequence of his approval of Louis Napoleon's notable *coup d'état* of December 2. Disregarding the disputed point as to whether or no the foreign secretary's method of procedure passed the bounds of official discretion, one can say that his attitude was determined by various considerations. He was hostile to the Orleanist dynasty, regarding the recently deposed Louis Philippe as his "most artful and inveterate enemy" and he thought there was evidence of "a contemplated descent upon the French coast by the Orleanist princes, the Duc d'Aumale and the Prince de Joinville", which contributed to precipitate the *coup d'état*.¹ Moreover, assuming, as he did, that the French assembly meant to strike "a sudden blow" at the president, he contended that the latter was quite right on that ground "to strike them down first".² Finally he argued,

that in the conflict of opposing parties Louis Napoleon would remain master of the field, and it would very much weaken our position at Paris, and be detrimental to British interests if Louis Napoleon, when he had achieved a triumph, should have reason to think that during the struggle the British representative took part (. . . by a manifestation of opinion) with his opponents.³

While Palmerston thus had good grounds for supporting the future Emperor of the French, one would naturally assume in addition that he had no apprehension of Napoleonic designs. His own utterances and the commentaries of all writers who have dealt with the subject would seem to indicate that his distrust was first awakened years afterward. On November 4, 1859, he wrote, "Till lately I had strong confidence in the fair intentions of Napoleon toward England, but of late I have begun to feel great distrust and to suspect that his formerly declared intention of avenging Waterloo has only lain dormant and has not died away";⁴ in a celebrated conversation with Count Flahault, March 27, 1860, he stated his fears very frankly but unofficially;⁵ while in April he had got to the point of declaring in a letter to Lord Cowley that "the Emperor's mind is as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits".⁶

Curiously enough, while Malmesbury's *Memoirs of an Ex-Min-*

¹ Lloyd C. Sanders, *Life of Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1888), p. 143; Evelyn Ashley, *Life of Viscount Palmerston* (London, 1876), I. 287 ff.

² Ashley, I. 291.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴ *Ibid.*, II. 189.

⁵ *Ibid.*, II. 191.

⁶ *Ibid.*, II. 182.

ister has been cited by many among their authorities, none have called attention to a remarkable conversation therein recorded which took place in March, 1852, only three months after the *coup d'état*. Palmerston had kindly arranged to call upon his inexperienced successor, Lord Malmesbury, foreign secretary in Derby's first ministry. During the course of the conversation,

He said that the advent of Louis Napoleon was a good thing for France, and from the extraordinary figures of the *plébiscite*, proved she was weary both of Bourbons and lawyers; but that, as it was quite possible his tendencies might be to avenge his uncle's fate, we must turn all our attention to strengthening our national defenses both by forts and an increase of armaments.⁷

In conformity with his views thus confidentially expressed he had just overthrown his late chief Lord John Russell by advocating a stronger militia bill than the latter had framed. Whether his suspicions languished from lack of nourishment or whether he suppressed them in view of the larger common interests of Great Britain and the existing French government, certainly he gave them no further voice for years to come, he co-operated loyally with the emperor in the Crimean War and was overthrown in 1858 for his Conspiracies to Murder Bill framed in Napoleon's interest. However, the striking fact is that from the very beginning he stood by him with his eyes open to possible consequences.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

CONSCRIPTION IN THE CIVIL WAR

A SEMINARY conducted during the current year on the administrative problems of the Civil War opened a most fruitful field. At no time have the relations of state and nation been more interesting, and, provincial and ill managed as the war was, it marked in many important aspects, particularly in the attempt to provide for the welfare of the troops and the comfort of those left behind, the beginning of the modern military organization of the state.

The particular problem which has heretofore received the most attention has been that of the draft, in which renewed interest has been aroused by the discussion of conscription in England. Not a week goes by in which lances are not broken in the English press over the wisdom and necessity of our draft system. Yet its character and effect seem to have escaped both the historian and the journalist. It is a subject well worth a doctor's thesis, and has been undertaken by a Wisconsin student with the doctorate in view. However, a few results of a preliminary study which was worked

⁷ *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister* (ed. 1885), p. 238.

out with considerable detail with reference to Wisconsin seem to be worth publishing at this time.

The total number of enlistments before the national draft law of 1863 was 1,356,593, of which about 87,000 may be credited to the state draft ordered in August of the previous year. The enlistments after the draft law went into effect numbered 1,120,621. Thus more than half the Union army was raised on the strictly volunteer basis. Moreover, of the enlistments after the law was in effect only 61,950 were of men actually drafted. Evidently the United States draft bore a very slight resemblance to the present Continental, or for that matter to the Confederate, conscription, of which the purpose was and is to select by mechanical means, from the whole population held to military service, those whom it seems desirable to the state to employ. Under the Continental system the government exempts from service those whose economic loss to the community would be most serious, and takes from those that remain, and who are fit, the required number by lot. It is obvious that in the North the selection was actually in the vast number of cases made by the individual. The draft law was so framed and administered as not to create a substitute for the volunteer system, but to stimulate volunteering.

Each state was required to furnish its proportional quota for each call. If the quota could be filled by volunteering, there was no draft, and there were several instances in the case of the later calls where states fulfilled this condition. If the draft went into effect, the men whose names were drawn could escape, by being exempt under the provisions of the act, which of course included physical disability, or by hiring a substitute. 101,431 substitutes were thus furnished. Until the original act was amended in 1864, those drawn could, moreover, escape simply by the payment of three hundred dollars commutation money.

This last provision was as impracticable as it was undemocratic. The state of Delaware voted to pay the commutation money of all its drafted citizens. Counties and towns elsewhere did the same, and clubs were formed to buy out any of their members drawn. With a total enrollment of about three million and a half men liable to the draft, a call for three hundred thousand would mean for each individual one chance in eleven or twelve of being drawn. With a club of one hundred, a fifty-dollar payment would amply secure every member, and would not be an exorbitant payment for insurance against paying three hundred. The draft proved profitable

financially, but men were needed and not money, and this clause had much to do with the opposition to the draft in poorer communities, such as New York City, which justly felt that it discriminated against the poor.

The provision with regard to substitutes was also unjust, and similar means were taken by which the individual responsibility of providing for them might be spread over the community by taxation or over a group by club organization. It had the merit, however, of providing the government with men instead of money, and moreover, the substitute voluntarily accepted service. In fact the substitute was able to dictate terms, and soon individuals, clubs, and communities were bidding against each other in the effort to secure those available, prices often rising to one thousand dollars. In addition, the chance of having to provide substitutes increased the effort to anticipate the draft altogether, by completing the quota through volunteering. The cost of getting men to volunteer under the call of the government was less than that of hiring them as substitutes for other men, and the mental satisfaction on both sides was greater. Consequently the same counterbidding and similar extravagant bounties were employed to induce men to volunteer from particular communities before the draft, as for substitutes where it had gone into effect.

The result was that the draft law, instead of settling everyone's duty and introducing the order and quiet of European war-time, created three million and a half recruiting agents, combined into groups of varying sizes, calculating the amount they could pay to escape service, or could secure for serving. The turmoil reached across the Atlantic and brought over some, not many, who were anxious for the rich bounties or were entrapped by speculators who hoped to secure generous commissions. It involved the states in the undignified squabbles of their agents in the South, seeking to fill home quotas by enlisting negroes. Of the 87,000 credited to the state draft in 1862, very few were actually drafted men, and aside from these few only 62,000 served because they were drafted. Thus the Northern army continued to consist in an overwhelming degree of men who chose to serve. Nor is it at all necessary to believe that the majority were induced to serve by the bounties. The typical American young man, however burning to defend the Union, might shrewdly look about to enlist where the pay was highest, but it is highly probable that the army under the draft law drew on the whole the same men who would have served without

it, and it did not lose its characteristic as a volunteer force. The draft may have been a necessary lash to apply to volunteering, or it may not, but in any study of the fighting effectiveness of armies or the economic effectiveness of war-time industry, the North must be classed among the regions employing the voluntary rather than the compulsory system of selection for military service.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

DOCUMENTS

*Dr. John McLoughlin's Last Letter to the Hudson's Bay Company,
as Chief Factor, in charge at Fort Vancouver, 1845*

IN almost every history of Oregon is "quoted" the order said to have been given by Governor Simpson, of the Hudson's Bay Company, to Dr. John McLoughlin, chief factor at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River—"King of the Columbia", the Americans called him. As given, Simpson's order was: "Starve or drive out every American in the country". No authority is ever cited: the story is sufficiently interesting to need no authority; and dramatic emphasis is added by "quoting" McLoughlin's answer. His reply, given with great dignity, it is said, was, "Then, gentlemen, I will serve you no longer", and he forthwith resigned an excellent salary as chief factor, retiring to private life among the Americans in the Willamette Valley. The date, as given, is anywhere from 1829, when there was but one French-Canadian farmer in the valley and no Americans at all, up to 1844, when several thousand Americans were in or near that valley, and starving out would have been as difficult as driving out.

The story has been repeated in the Old Oregon country so often that it is given as convincing proof of the hostility of the British, especially as represented by the Hudson's Bay Company, to American settlers. It has even found a place in recent books whose authors might easily have been better informed. The present writer, during a year of Oregon researches in London, had access to all the pertinent papers of the Public Record Office from 1790 up to 1860—the latter date marking an unusual extension of privileges—and also to the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company. In the latter case, permission was granted by the late Lord Strathcona, governor of the Company, and carried out with great kindness and courtesy by its secretary, F. C. Ingrams, Esq. Thus I had the opportunity of looking over and taking notes from old journals, despatches, letters, and notes of all descriptions, from about the time that Dr. McLoughlin arrived on the Columbia, up to 1847, after the treaty had been signed. Careful study of these letters and papers is fatal to the notions respecting British aggressiveness current at that time among Americans in the Oregon country and elsewhere.

The long letter printed below gives the actual facts respecting Dr. John McLoughlin's resignation as chief factor for the Company, and its motives. There had always been differences of business judgment between Governor Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin; for instance, in regard to the problem of the coasting trade from the Columbia River to Sitka. Both men were masterful, imperious, and both were possessed of exceptional business judgment and a rare devotion to their work. Either plan, it would seem, would have been successful; but one or the other would have to yield. Simpson, with a bird's-eye view over the entire trade, felt that his judgment must rule; McLoughlin, with supreme attention to his own particular territory, and his whole life and thought given to the advancement of the Company's interest, had a similar feeling with regard to his own judgment.

Yearly letters, when differences of business judgment occur, do not mend matters, and while there was nothing whatever derogatory in the action, as has often been charged, McLoughlin was directed to return to London in 1836 to discuss an outline for the Oregon business with the Governor and Committee, at which of course Simpson, as governor in North America, would be present. The order probably reached McLoughlin in the summer of 1836, on the London ship, for he seems to have had no time to plan for his absence. He did not go; but he wrote to the Company that the lateness of the London ship had deranged his plans somewhat, and furthermore, that his immediate absence from Fort Vancouver would interfere with Finlayson's projected visit to Sitka. In 1837, just recovering from a serious illness, he did not feel able, as he explained to the Company, to stand the hardships of either the long overseas voyage, or the overland journey and that via Montreal to London. In 1838, however, he went to London and some of his subordinates, including Archibald McDonald, thought he had left the Oregon country for good. But he returned with an advanced salary, with increased powers, and with well-laid plans for the development of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, this company being distinct from yet embodied in the Hudson's Bay Company. All the stockholders of the new concern were stockholders in the fur company.

That there was not at this time the dissatisfaction with his work which has been implied by this misnamed "recall", is shown by McLoughlin's letter to London of November 15, 1836, thanking the Governor and Committee for confirmation of advanced salary made by the northern council, under Governor Simpson:

Permit me to thank Your Honors for sanctioning the grant proposed by the Northern Council which in my estimation is not valued so much in a pecuniary point of view as in its being a gratifying expression of general approbation the more soothing to my feelings from having in the course of my management had to contend with opinions directly opposed to mine, and to combat (when in novel circumstances of great difficulty which compelled me to step boldly out of the beaten path of routine) the views and declared statements of many whose opinions on other subjects I highly respect.

Without some such decided mark of your preference, I would have been left in doubt with regard to the general estimation of my services, and it is in this light, Gentlemen, that I highly prize the grant and will be ever proud of the recollection that I owe it to the approbation of Your Honors and of my colleagues in the fur trade.

In the light of future events, this letter is of significance, especially in connection with his last official letter to the Company, quoted below, and the statement made by Edward Ellice, one of the Company's Committee, before the parliamentary committee of investigation in 1857; that McLoughlin was a capable man, but he went his own course, and the Company never understood him.

In 1839 McLoughlin returned from London, having sent ahead of him careful directions for farm beginnings at Cowlitz Landing, on the river of that name, and at Fort Nisqually, on Puget Sound. He continued these directions after his return, and "Plough, cross-plough, then harrow and sow, and harrow again", was the burden of many letters. He did not care for farming, as he once wrote John McLeod, who acutely disliked it; yet McLoughlin and James Douglas as well, had a thorough grasp of the subject, and, fur-traders though they were, could quote the most approved agricultural methods of England and give minute directions on stock-raising.

The maze of work over which McLoughlin had direction, and into which he had keen insight, shows why the Hudson's Bay Company could hold its own in the fur-trade against all competition. He had a profound knowledge of the fur-trade, which was his especial business; he conducted, with profit, fur-trading and provisioning with the Russian American Company, and commercial trade in all kinds—deals, spars, shingles, salted salmon, flour, grain, and what-not—with the Sandwich Islands; and besides this the farming, stock-raising, and, last but not least, the control and management of the 80,000 Indians who lived in Old Oregon. No change was made at any post, even at such distant points as Stuart Lake, in the north of British Columbia, that was not made at his direction; or, in emergencies, under a factor or chief trader, with full, detailed report to McLoughlin at Fort Vancouver. There

were always five hundred men or more west of the Rocky Mountains, besides Indian helpers, yet McLoughlin knew the qualifications of nearly every one of them, and shifted men from one post to another with absolute certainty, to bring out given results at any one place.

Two years after McLoughlin's return from London, Governor Simpson, now Sir George, followed him to urge on the new developments, and supervise the extensions of trade and commerce, fur and commercial, in the Columbia District. And at this point difficulties between the two begin. Just how far the new honor had influenced Simpson's self-esteem, or how far McLoughlin had actually gone his own way as against the instructions received in London and in successive despatches, it is hard to say. But nothing was right. The new forts along the coast were ordered abandoned, and one to be begun as soon as possible at the southern end of Vancouver Island; Wilkes's exploring expedition had been in the Columbia, and the Americans had travelled the Oregon country, even to the upper Columbia near 49°, with great energy; the year before, a large number of American "mountain men", driven out of the Rocky Mountains by the decrease of fur-bearing animals, had drifted into the Willamette Valley and taken up "claims"—and a rough, lawless set of men they were, hostile to the British Company, yet demanding assistance of seed-wheat, oxen and ploughs, and clothing from them; other Americans, deserters from whalers along the coast, had also come into the valley; reinforcements of nearly half a hundred new Methodist missionaries had sailed into the Columbia, gone into the Willamette, and taken up farms as colonists, all Americans, of course; petitions had been sent to Congress urging that the United States extend its laws over its own country and its own people to protect them against Indians and "others who would do them harm"; and aside from actual danger to the Company's forts from possible attack by the Americans, the presence of settlers disturbed the Indians with whom they had frequent quarrels, and endangered the peace and safety of every white man in the country thereby, British as well as American. Besides all this, the business arrangement of long-time credit in Oregon, in the Sandwich Islands, and in California, was a source of dissatisfaction to the Company. The Americans have always insisted that this was British antipathy to them; but the correspondence shows there was nothing national about it. The Company did not want business on long-time credit, and there was good reason for it. In the investigation of 1857, an officer stated, under oath, that it was seven years from the time that cash was expended by the Hudson's Bay Company for Indian

trading goods, before the resultant furs were sold and the cash was again in the hands of the Company. With such an expense for interest as this necessitated, or at least very extensive capital, the Company preferred less business and more prompt payment. Furthermore, the wishes of the Company, through misunderstanding or otherwise, had not been followed with regard to headquarters for the California business: a small lot of ground and a house had been purchased at San Francisco or Yerba Buena, instead of the large tract of ground ordered. The lack of obedience here, however, seems to have been due to Mexican mismanagement of provincial affairs; yet Sir George did not forgive it. The management at Honolulu was also somewhat unsatisfactory.

McLoughlin (March, 1842) accompanied Simpson on this voyage down the California coast and to the Sandwich Islands. The notes exchanged between them on this voyage show the strained relations between them—a thing which was noticed by their subordinates and commented upon. But McLoughlin's work was, to him, almost his life; and his plans had been carefully considered and defined. Shortly after this the worst thing happened that could have happened in the eyes of the company. When Simpson went north to Sitka, a second time, *en route* to Russia, a few days before he reached there the Company's men at Fort Stikine had murdered the officer in charge, and that officer was young John McLoughlin. It seems quite likely that Simpson had an active dislike to the young half-breed whom he had rescued from trouble in 1837, in connection with the Canadian rebellion, and had sent far west to his father. But the hastiness of the Sitka investigation, Simpson's unqualified condemnation of Fort Stikine as a "sink of corruption", and his refusal to punish the son's murderers as McLoughlin demanded, or even to send them to Canada for trial were facts which the father never forgave. And this personal grief in the humiliating death of of his son, with the personal bitterness towards his immediate superior, made it that much the harder for McLoughlin to face the open condemnation of Sir George upon all his plans and all his work.

From that situation and not from the friendship which he showed the Americans, developed the personal antipathy between the two which led to McLoughlin's practical dismissal from the Hudson's Bay Company—not by any means a resignation because he refused to starve or drive out the Americans from the country.

McLoughlin's Oregon City claim, also referred to in the letter, has quite a history of its own. In brief, in 1829, when Étienne

Lucier was permitted to settle in the Willamette Valley, the first settler in it, McLoughlin took up for the Company, or for himself by transfer—according as circumstances might develop—a desirable claim at the falls of the Willamette. Before 1825 the British government had notified the Company to build their forts on the north side of the Columbia, as they should not dispute the American claim to the south side—and the Willamette Valley was on the south side—a fact which needs to be borne in mind in considering the fears and misstatements of those early settlers. The climate was mild, and McLoughlin had no wish to return to the rigors of eastern Canada. Looking forward to his own retirement, he took up the claim; yet under his contract with the Company he was not allowed to indulge in any side lines of business or of investment for himself, and therefore took it in the name of the Company and for their benefit, so long as they could legally hold it; then, with his idea of becoming an American, though not with any British antipathy, he could claim it as an individual and pass his old age in comfort. McLoughlin was loud in his praises of the Oregon climate in letters to his friends and to the Company. Sharp practice, however, on the part of the missionary Waller, complicated the whole question and the Company ordered him to relinquish the claim, which he refused to do as he had invested money in it. This was another source of personal difficulty between Sir George Simpson and Dr. McLoughlin.

Throughout McLoughlin's correspondence, his genuine, heartfelt sympathy for the American immigrants shines forth; yet, while following his broad, generous, humane impulses, he would conscientiously fulfill his duty as the representative of a fur-trading company, and live up to his sense of business honor towards his associates and towards his Company. Thus whatever he did for the Americans was done on a business basis, rather than upon an emotional one. To the Americans, he emphasized his feeling of sympathy and friendliness towards them; to the Company, he emphasized his common-sense business attitude towards them. A blending of the two is more nearly the truth.

In printing the letter modern capitalization has been followed, for reasons inherent in the text; the letter, copied by the office clerk at Fort Vancouver, was signed by McLoughlin but not written by him.¹

KATHARINE B. JUDSON.

¹ Upon the subjects of the correspondence in general, reference may be made to Dr. McLoughlin's narrative printed in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, I. 193-206, to another account by him, printed in the *Transactions* of the Oregon Pioneer Association, 1880, and to Sir George Simpson's letters printed by Professor Schafer in the *American Historical Review*, XIV. 70-94.

FORT VANCOUVER, COLUMBIA

20th November, 1845

To

The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee,
Honble Hudson's Bay Company.

Honble Sirs,

I informed your Honors in my last communication of the 30th August, 1845, that we had yielded to the wishes of the respectable part of the people in the country, of British and American origin, by uniting with them in the formation of a temporary and provisional Government, designed to prevent disorders and maintain peace, until the settlement of the Boundary Question leaves that duty to the parent States.² That communication, having been forwarded to the Sandwich Islands by the *Cheramus*,³ an American trading vessel and not having implicit confidence in the security of the conveyance, I merely touched upon the known and obvious reasons which induced us to come to this determination, while I withheld the secret motives which had, at least, an equal influence, at the time, upon our minds. I intend now to enter more fully into the subject, trusting your Honors will pardon me if I should happen to be over particular on a matter which I am anxious to lay before you in all its bearings.

2. The critical position of our affairs, the danger to which the large property of the Company in this country was exposed in the midst of a hostile population living without the restraint of laws, and the difficulty of keeping off intruders and maintaining by peaceful means the Company's rights to the land occupied by their improvements and stock, was every day becoming more and more pressing.

3. A crisis was evidently fast approaching which would drive us to the painful necessity of yielding to the storm, or of taking the field openly, arms in hand, with means so unequal compared to those arrayed against us, as to leave no hopes of success. It had become necessary to take decisive measures, yet neither course appeared desirable, as a forced submission or resistance would alike have brought our reputation, influence, and property into the utmost peril. In those trying circumstances the idea of a union for the purpose of mutual protection, with the white population in the Wallamette, was suggested to me while on a visit to the Wallamette Falls, by the following letter from Mr. Applegate,⁴ an American, much respected by his countrymen, and a Member of the Provincial Legislature, then in session:

² The first provisional government had been resolved on at a mass meeting at Champoege on May 2, 1843. After meetings, in 1844 and 1845, of legislative bodies chosen as a part of this provisional government, its constitution was revised into a form accepted by popular vote on July 26, 1845. The legislature came together again on August 5.

³ The *Chenamus* was a Newburyport brig which sailed from the Columbia in the summer of 1845, bound for the States.

⁴ Jesse Applegate (1811-1888), a chief leader in the emigration of 1843 and in the legislature of 1845. See Professor Joseph Schafer's pamphlet "Jesse Applegate, Pioneer and State Builder", in *University of Oregon Bulletin*, vol. IX., no. 6.

"To John McLoughlin,

"OREGON CITY,
14th August, 1845.

Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company,
Sir,

As a question has arisen in the House of Representatives on the subject of apportionment, upon which I feel peculiarly situated, I beg leave to ask of you a question, the answer to which will enable me to come to a definite conclusion on that subject. The question to which I would be happy to receive an answer is,—Do you think the gentlemen belonging to the Company over which you preside will become parties to the "articles of compact" by the payment of taxes, and in other respects complying with the laws of the provisional government?

Your answer to this question is most respectfully solicited.

Yours with highest respect,

(Signed) JESSE APPLGATE."

4. To this letter I made no reply beyond telling Mr. Applegate that I could not decide on a point of so much importance without first consulting the other officers of the Hudson's Bay Company in the Columbia. On my return to Fort Vancouver, I mentioned the matter to Mr. Douglas,⁵ and after much consideration, he agreeing in opinion with me, that neither our rights nor duties as British subjects, nor the honour or interests of the Hudson's Bay Company required that we should stand aloof, we decided on joining the Association both for the security of the Company's property, and for the peaceful maintenance of its rights; and moreover, the Association being merely a union of certain parties, British and American subjects, being divested of all nationality of character, having no national objects in view, and its exclusive aim and purpose being the protection of persons and property, our becoming parties to it could not in any manner interfere with our duties, nor invalidate our claims as British subjects. We were also influenced in this decision by the consideration of the inevitable evils which threatened us and which we could not guard against if we remained isolated from the rest of the community. The first of these was the loss of the Company's servants by desertion, and the ease with which they could fly into the Wallamette Settlement, where they could not be arrested at our suit unless we took part in the Association. To show Your Honors that this danger was not imaginary, though there has been actually no case of desertion from this Post, except in one instance, I am sorry to say that no less than six men, the entire crew of one boat, deserted last summer from the brigade, on its return to the interior, between this place and Fort Nez Percés,⁶ which compelled Messrs. Tod and Manson⁷ to leave the boat and cargo at that post, to the serious inconvenience of the trade.

5. Another powerful inducement arose from the considerable amount of outstanding debts, we have in the Wallamette Settlement, which under the former circumstances of the country we had every reason to think would be punctually paid; but in its newly assumed political posi-

⁵ James Douglas (1803-1877), afterward Sir James, had been on the coast since 1824, had lately been McLoughlin's chief assistant, and was now chief factor and a member of the board of management. He was governor of Vancouver Island 1851-1853, of British Columbia 1858-1864.

⁶ Afterward called Fort Walla Walla; now Wallula, Washington.

⁷ John Tod was chief trader at Fort Kamloop in what is now British Columbia; Donald Manson had charge of the district of New Caledonia.

tion, we would have been cast entirely on the honour and good faith of our customers, as the law could of course only give protection to those who gave it support; but by joining the Association we can sue and attach the property of any man in this country who is indebted to the Company..

6. Again, we had to guard against the designs of many desperate and reckless characters,—men acknowledging no law and feeling not the restraints of conscience, the outcasts of society who have sought a refuge in the wilds of Oregon. With their natural turpitude of disposition embittered by national hostility, such men would not shrink from the connivance of any crime; they were determined at all risks to intrude upon the Company's land claim, and they made no secret of their plans if ejected by force. If not supported by their countrymen, they were to seek an easy revenge by firing our premises, destroying our lands, or such like deeds of cowardly villainy. As an instance of their temper and designs, I may mention that last spring when we were engaged in forcing Williamson off the Company's grounds,⁸ Dr. White, the United States Indian Agent,⁹ informed Chief Factor Douglas that Williamson's party were threatening to burn this establishment, a piece of intelligence that was doubtless intended to scare us into a compromise of our rights. It, however, failed of its effect, as Mr. Douglas very properly answered that he was perfectly indifferent as to consequences, and would not be deterred from the faithful discharge of his duty by menaces of a ruffian; yet it was impossible to conceal from our own minds that we were exposed to so dreadful a calamity. I was also credibly informed that other parties had pledged themselves to destroy our premises.

Now this was precisely our situation at the time we joined the Association. A party adverse to the Company were determined to fasten a claim on some part of our premises, and if resisted by force they were to resort to the acts of skulking incendiary; we had no security for the recovery of our debts, and our men might be tempted by the certainty of immunity and high wages in the Wallamette to desert the Service.

7. We made a representative of our exposed situation to the British Consul General at the Sandwich Islands, who paid no attention to the application further than is contained in the following note addressed to Messrs. Pelly and Allan¹⁰ who having seen a copy of my letter wrote to him also on the same subject.

“H. B. MAJESTY'S CONSULATE GENERAL
HONOLULU, 3rd June, 1845

“*Gentlemen:*

With reference to your letter of the 31st ult. I beg to acquaint you that I have given due consideration to Dr. McLoughlin's communication and that with respect to the suggestion of a ship of war proceeding to the Columbia River, I have had a conversation with Sir Thomas Thompson the Senior Naval Officer amongst these islands.

I am, gentlemen, etc., etc.

(Signed) WILLIAM MILLAR
Consul General.”

⁸ Henry Williamson, an American, had in 1844 begun to build a cabin on land claimed and occupied by the Hudson's Bay Company. McLoughlin had it pulled down before the walls were half up. Later Williamson withdrew.

⁹ Elijah White, sub-Indian-agent.

¹⁰ Agents of the Hudson's Bay Company at Honolulu.

9. The season was also so far advanced that we had no reason to expect the arrival of any Government vessel on the coast.

10. In these circumstances, therefore, we saw no means so well calculated to preserve the rights and property of the Company, to prevent outrage and ruin, to promote British influence, and in other respects, so perfectly unexceptional, as to take part in the Association, and we have since seen no reason to repent our choice.

11. Having come to a decision on this important matter, I immediately returned to the Wallamette Falls where the Legislature was still in session, prepared to act if they made any formal proposition, for bringing about a union. Mr. Applegate soon again introduced the subject, and I discovered in conversation with him, that his object for addressing me the note given in a former page of this despatch was to put us upon our guard with respect to the designs of certain parties in the Legislature who were by no means friendly to us.

He informed me that it had been determined, by a vote of the Assembly, to erect the country north of the Columbia¹¹ into two districts, to be named after Lewes and Clark, under the jurisdiction of the provisional government, in order to meet the wishes of the Americans who then held lands, and of others who intended to settle there. This proceeding he was aware might lead to interference with the Hudson's Bay Company and endanger the peace of the country. In order to avert evils which would involve the people at large in ruinous dissensions, he and many other well-disposed Americans were anxious to have matters so arranged as to leave the management of the district north of the Columbia river entirely in our hands, which could evidently not be accomplished unless we joined the Association. He also observed that although the Executive Committee had, from a sense of justice, strongly expressed their disapprobation of Williamson's conduct last spring, yet as I well knew, they could give no positive assistance to any parties not included in the organization and I am sorry to say, he continued, that Williamson has many abettors in the Settlement, who would seize with avidity any opportunity of creating a disturbance.

12. I told him in reply that I felt extremely obliged by the good feeling shown by himself and friends; that I had always held the opinion that it would be difficult for the subjects of different states to live harmoniously together in a newly settled country like this, claimed by both Governments, and yet neither exercising authority within its bounds, that in consequence it appeared to me absolutely necessary that the inhabitants should unite in forming regulations for their own protection, and that as the organization was simply a compact entered into for that purpose, and in no shape interfered with our duties as British subjects, the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company would, on certain terms, consent to join the Association, providing the Assembly sent us a formal invitation to unite with them.

13. The following letter was soon after brought to me:¹²

¹¹ North of the Columbia, in 1845, there were but half a dozen settlers, with their families, settled around the Tumwater, near the present Olympia. The first Americans to make the effort to settle there, in 1844, turned back, but repeated the attempt the next year. The country south of the Columbia had been organized into four districts, later called counties.

¹² This letter, and that which follows in the next paragraph, are quoted in Bancroft's *Oregon*, I. 495, from the Oregon archives.

"OREGON CITY, August 14, 1845.

"To John McLoughlin,
Chief Factor of the H. B. Compy

Sir,

As a question has arisen in the House of Representatives on the subject of apportionment, upon which we feel peculiarly situated, we beg leave to ask of you a question, the answer to which will enable us to come to a definite conclusion upon that subject. The question to which we would be happy to receive an answer is:

Do you think the gentlemen belonging to the Company over which you preside will become parties to the Articles of Compact by the payment of taxes and in other respects complying with the laws of this provisional government?

Your answer to this query is most respectfully solicited.

Yours with the highest respect,

(Signed) I. W. SMITH
H. A. G. LEE
J. M. GARRISON
BARTON LEE."

14. My reply which had been previously drawn up and signed by Chief Factor Douglas and myself, was as follows:

"OREGON CITY, 15th August, 1845.

"To

I. W. Smith	} Esquires
H. A. G. Lee	
J. M. Garrison	
Barton Lee	

Gentlemen,

We have the honor to acknowledge your favor of the 14th instant, and beg in reply to say, that viewing the organization as a compact of certain parties, British and American subjects residing in Oregon, to afford each other protection in person and property, to maintain the peace of the community and prevent the commission of crime, a protection which all parties in the country feel they stand particularly in need of, as neither the British nor American Government appear at liberty to extend the jurisdiction of their laws to this part of America, and moreover, seeing that this compact does not interfere with our duties and allegiance to our respective Governments nor with any rights of trade now enjoyed by the Hudson's Bay Company, we the officers of the Hudson's Bay Company, consent to become parties to the articles of compact, provided we are called upon to pay taxes only on our 'Sales to Settlers'.

We have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your very obed^t Serv^{ts}

(Signed) JOHN McLoughlin
JAMES DOUGLAS."

15. In addition to the terms of compact stated in my letter, another condition was required as indispensable, that the district or north bank of the Columbia that they had named after Lewes and Clark should be called "Vancouver District". This point excited much unpleasant

feeling among the Americans, and gave rise to many angry discussions but was finally carried in our favor by *one* vote, which shows how unpalatable the motion was. That object being gained, we became parties to the Association, and the district officers required to administer the laws (say three judges and a sheriff) were immediately afterwards appointed. These appointments are filled by Chief Factor Douglas, Mr. Forest, and Mr. Simmons, (an American) as judges, the sheriff being Mr. Jackson, (an Englishman settled in the Cowlitz).¹³ In order to obtain the full advantage of the laws of the Association, in regard to land claims, we have had the country around this place surveyed, and had nine lots, each of one square mile, registered in the Recorder's office,¹⁴ to be held for the Company, under the names of

James Douglas, Chief Factor
Francis Ermatinger, Chief Trader
Forbes Barclay, Surgeon and Clerk
Richard Lane, Clerk
James Graham, Do.
Thomas Lowe, Do.
William Bruce, Gardener
Edward Spenser, Apprentice
John McPhail, Shepherd

and we have besides three or four more lots to take, in order to cover the remainder of the Company's ground here. The advantage of this arrangement is that any intruder can be ejected from these claims on a magistrates warrant and the owners right of property protected, without his having recourse to violent means, or even appearing in the arrest, as he has only to prove that the land was registered in his name, and that the other requisition of the land law regarding claims, that is to say, having the four corners marked by stakes or notched trees, and a hut built upon it, had been duly executed.

16. We shall also cover all the valuable points about the Cowlitz Farm and Nisqually¹⁵ in the same manner, so as to put an end, so far as possible, in our circumstances, to contention and strife about land claims.

17. The contributions paid by us towards the support of the Provisional Government amounts this year, as per accompanying statement, to

\$156.15 H. B. Co.
70.50 P. S. Co.¹⁶
\$226.65/100

and every other member of the Association is taxed at a corresponding rate. The salaries of the persons holding offices in the executive and judiciary are to be paid from the funds so raised, and the excess if any will be laid out under the direction of the proper officers, in defraying the expence of building court houses, jails, and other necessary offices.

¹³ Charles Forrest, superintendent of the Cowlitz farm, Michael T. Simmons of Newmarket, John R. Jackson.

¹⁴ This was the extent of each American claim as allowed to each settler by the land laws of 1844 and 1845, passed by the provisional legislature—title to be perfected after five years' occupancy.

¹⁵ The former near the present Cowlitz, Washington, the other near the present Steilacoom, at the south end of Puget Sound.

¹⁶ Puget Sound Agricultural Company.

I may further inform your Honors that the Association does not pretend to exercise authority over such persons as have not voluntarily joined it, and do not contribute to its support, except in cases where injury is done to members of the Association, when reparation is exacted; neither does it extend protection to any but its own members. Any person, therefore, whether English or American, may become a member, or remain unconnected, as they may choose; but the benefits of the Association are so apparent to all that a very few of the Americans, and those, generally speaking, of the very worst character, have refused to join it.

The conduct of Mr. Applegate and his friends in promoting the Union, exposed him to the suspicions of the ultra-American party, and I am convinced that it was only their anxiety to prevent disorders in the country, that induced them to support the measure so strenuously. In fact, they were encouraged in their course by most of the respectable Americans in the Settlement, who, seeing the difficulty of preserving peace and preventing contentions about land claims, applied their attention to remodelling the former organic law, and divesting it entirely of its national character, in order to induce the Hudson's Bay Company's servants to enter the association. Having with these views made advances toward a union with us, we would not have felt justified even on the score of humanity, in refusing to act unitedly with them, as by doing so we relieved them from the apprehension of danger; gave them a right to coerce American citizens, and drive them from the Company's grounds by the action of the law.

20. At the same time, we have secured the rights of the Hudson's Bay Company, without embroiling ourselves or the British Government in vexatious disputes with a gang of low, contemptible vagabonds, who would feel highly honoured by such notice.

21. The Ultra party were excessively annoyed at this being called Vancouver's District, a point we insisted on carrying; it appeared to them a concession of American rights, and an avowal of the British claim to the north bank of the Columbia, but the tide set so strongly against them that their opposition was overpowered.

22. By this arrangement we have, in my opinion, greatly strengthened our position, and removed the immediate danger of collision without the concession of any British rights or objects or making any unworthy concession whatever; we have entered the Association avowedly as British subjects, which will certainly not weaken our influence in the country. Many, I know, will feel disposed to condemn the measure without understanding or inquiring into its merits; but I am happy to state that the officers of Her Majesty's Government, who have since visited this river, seem to think favourably of it, and I trust it will also meet the approbation of Your Honors. I think it would be folly in us to risk our property in supporting a false position, which can advance neither the interests of our country nor of the Hudson's Bay Company.

23. . . . [The Committee in London criticize the quality of the land beaver received from the Russian American Fur Company, asserting that their instructions had not been sufficiently attended to, and that the beaver by contract was to have come up to the standard of the Mackenzie River beaver.]

24. [McLoughlin defends himself on the ground that the requirement that the beaver should come up to the Mackenzie River beaver

was not in the contract. The letter of instructions from the Committee to McLoughlin was copied and given by him to Mr. Manson, with particular instructions to be careful as to the quality of the beaver.]

25. [Criticism by the Company based on their mistaken notion that McLoughlin planned to raise wheat in California, by the work of the Company's servants, and send it to Sydney, Australia. McLoughlin explains that he was misunderstood; the demand for flour at Oahu was great, and if any was secured it was to be sent there as part of the California trade, but to meet the demands made for it from Sydney. He adds]: If it had not been for the great expense of importing flour from Europe, the serious injury it received on the voyage, and the absolute necessity of being independent of the Indians for provisions, I would never have encouraged farming in this country, but it was impossible to carry on the trade without it.

[McLoughlin quotes a sentence from Simpson's letter of December 8, 1835]: "The California trade should likewise be pushed, if it pays at all, it will afford a freight to our country vessels, and a filling-up freight in the article of tallow to the homeward ship of the season."

26. In the 10th par. Mr. Secretary Barclay¹⁷ writes: "The report on the trade of the Northwest Coast contained in your despatch to the Governor and Committee and to Sir George Simpson is upon the whole satisfactory. The advantages, however, which the Governor and Committee had hoped would be derived from placing the Columbia Department under the charge of one person have, I am sorry to state, not been realized. After maturely considering the results which have been obtained up to the present time, and looking forward to the probable circumstances of the future, they are decidedly of opinion that it is not advisable that the charge of so extensive a district should be confided to one individual, however experienced. They have therefore resolved that the country shall be divided into two or more districts, each to be represented by a commissioned officer. This resolution will be communicated to the Southern Council in the next general letter, together with instructions to the council to make such a division of the country and to appoint such officers as they may think fit. The Governor and Committee have also determined as a necessary consequence that the allowance of £500 per annum which was granted to you beyond your emoluments as a chief factor in consideration of the great extent and consequent responsibility of the charge committed to you, shall cease on the 31st May, 1845."

27. As I stated in the 18th par. of mine of 19th July last, "as to the £500 it is part of the conditions on which I renewed my agreement with the Hudson Bay Company through Sir George Simpson, and I beg to state that I would have renewed my agreement on no other terms, and that I should have charge of the Columbia Department; and I objected at the time to Sir George Simpson at the clause giving power to the Committee to place any commissioned officer on the retired list. His reply was, 'You need not be anxious about it. This will not be done to you.'¹⁸ However it is not my wish to remain in the Service if my conduct is disapproved of. But in justice to myself, I beg to request that your Honors will please state what act or acts of

¹⁷ A. Barclay, secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company.

¹⁸ The quotation marks are erratic. The first quotation evidently ends after "Columbia Department".

mine have induced them to withdraw the allowance of £500 per annum from me, as I think before proceeding to this, I ought in justice to have been informed of what I have done, so as to have an opportunity to vindicate myself if I could.

28. [Quoting]: "The unfortunate death of your son at Stikine¹⁹ in the spring of 1842 has, as was to be expected, been a source of great grief and affliction to you, and your mind has naturally been much occupied in considering the means by which the parties who committed the act which caused his death may be brought to trial, but while the Governor and Committee sympathize with you as a father, and feel deeply concerned that so disgraceful a transaction should have taken place at one of their Establishments, they cannot approve of the measure you have adopted of sending all the parties concerned to Canada, the way you have done.

"From the information they have received, this appears to have been both an irregular and injudicious proceeding, and they doubt much if the object aimed at will be attained; but as you have chosen your own course, and instructed your agent in Canada to institute legal proceedings in the courts there, the Governor and Committee decline any interference on the part of the Company, and consider you responsible for all costs and consequences that may ensue."

29. I am obliged to your Honors for your kind sympathy for the murder of my late son, and if due pains had been taken to examine into that atrocious deed at first, by Sir George Simpson, it would not have been my painful duty to trouble you so much as I have done, and it was sufficiently mortifying to my feelings having Philip Smith rewarded by Sir George Simpson by an increase of wages, without having the additional outrage inflicted upon my feelings by seeing Charles Boulanger, one of the Stikene men implicated in the murder of my late son, sent this season back to the Department, and I am informed others of the men implicated in the Stikene murder are in the Company's service. The man Philip Smith is a common laborer, who had been left by Sir George Simpson as a temporary assistant to my late son, and though he saw Heroux load a gun with which he told Smith he intended to shoot my son, yet Smith never told my son of his danger, and though Smith declared this to Sir George Simpson in his deposition, instead of reprimanding him and taking measures to dismiss the man from the service as soon as possible, Sir George Simpson rewarded him by allowing him an increase of wages for the year he had yet to serve, and ordered him to be re-engaged at the increased rate for two years commencing from the expiration of his existing agreement, which I merely mention as a duty, so as to be clear of the consequences which must result from such proceedings.

30. As to having "chosen my own course" I only instructed my agent to prosecute if the Hudson's Bay Company did not do so, and as Sir George Simpson told him you would not prosecute the murderer of my late son, I had no other alternative but to act as I did, after the manner Sir George Simpson took the depositions, stating everything the deponent was pleased to say, without taking the trouble to ascertain

¹⁹ Young McLoughlin was murdered April 20, 1842, by a Canadian named Urbain Heroux. Fort Stikeen was near the mouth of the Stikeen River, near the present site of Wrangell, Alaska. See the account in Simpson's *Overland Journey*.

if it was true or not, acting upon it as if it were true, (we now know that what was *true* was grossly exaggerated, that the greater part is false, and that Philip Smith deliberately perjured himself) and founding his opinions on the depositions he took. Sir George Simpson sanctioned with the authority of his name calumnies against the memory of a man who was murdered merely because he obeyed the instructions he received from *him* (and which were proper) from which calumnies his memory could be relieved and justice done to all parties only by bringing the affair to a judicial investigation, and as an act of justice I must say though Sir George Simpson is accountable for the manner he took the depositions, yet if Mr. Rowand²⁰ had done his duty and mentioned to Sir George Simpson as he did here, that he considered my late son's life in danger from the bad disposition of the men at Stikine, my son would not have been murdered. And Sir George Simpson cannot forget that I repeatedly mentioned to him the danger to which Mr. Rowand often told me my son was exposed.

31. Sir George Simpson in his letter to your Honors, dated London, 5th Jany., 1843, writes, "I have learned from Mr. Rowand that his father and himself were informed by their servant La Grasse that the conduct of Mr. McLoughlin, Junior, was exceedingly violent and irregular, and that in an act of violence of then recent occurrence, a sword was broken."

To show your Honors how little pains Sir George Simpson takes to examine if what is reported to him be true, and how incorrect some of his informants are, I may mention that the sword alluded to was not broken in an act of violence on any person, but by accident; you see in Mr. Roderick Finlayson's deposition, who was with my late son from the day he took charge in March 1841 to the 2nd of October 1841 when Mr. [F.] and Dr. Rowand were at Stikene and left him, that the only punishment my deceased son inflicted during that time was that he chastised his servant once for stealing rum and getting drunk, Pierre Kanaquassé for stealing the provisions of the fort and giving them to Indians, and flogged two Sandwich Islanders for sleeping on their watch (as the security of the establishment depended on the vigilance of the sentinels); and even from the depositions taken from the men themselves, it is certain on their own showing they were not punished more severely than from their own confessions their misconduct deserved; and if my deceased son were alive to state what they had done, I am certain it would be found much less than ought to have been inflicted, and that there was not the least foundation for Sir George Simpson writing to me, in his letter of 27th April, 1842, "But I consider it due to the people to say that as a body their conduct throughout has been fully better than could have been expected under such inhuman treatment as they were frequently exposed to", and there can be no doubt in the minds of those acquainted with these men that from the manner La Grasse reported to them Mr. Rowand received the stories he told him, these men were induced to be more troublesome to my late son than they would otherwise have been, and that that may have led to his murder. Whatever may be the consequence of what I have done, I will have the satisfaction to feel that in acting as I did, I was only fulfilling

²⁰ Rowand, chief trader of the Saskatchewan district, had accompanied Simpson on his travels as far as Stikeen, and for a time had been left there on account of illness.

my duty by doing what I could to see justice done, though I have not been able to accomplish it.

32. In the 12th par. of your despatch to Sir George Simpson, dated 10th March, 1845, you write, "We have perused with much attention the report contained in par. 9 to 43 inclusive of your despatch of 20th June last on the business on the west side of the mountains, which does not by any means appear to be in so prosperous or satisfactory a state as could be desired. This seems to arise from a variety of causes, but more especially from the very injurious and inconvenient proximity of emigrants from the United States, and from the presence of strange vessels on the Coast." I beg to submit that I consider it would have been but right and proper as an act of justice to us in this Department, and to the Company, in case of misapprehension, that Sir George Simpson had sent a copy of this report to me.

33. As to the mills mentioned in the 17th paragraph of that despatch and in the 38th and 39th par. of Sir George Simpson's of the 16th June last, I am surprised and pained after what I have written to see from the manner this is mentioned that my views and intentions have been misunderstood, and in justice to myself and family I beg to state I acted as I did in this affair to support the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, and to fulfill more effectually the views in your instructions, than I could in any other manner possibly accomplish. In the 5th par. of yours of 28th August 1835 you write, "With respect to the Americans, we have no doubt that you have done that which appears right in regard to Wyeth²¹ and we hope it may prove so, but we are decidedly of the opinion that the very reverse of the system we recommend as applicable to the Russians should be pursued towards the Americans. Wherever they attempt to establish a post on shore we should have a party to oppose them, and to undersell them even at a loss." That is, as a general rule, the best way to contend with opponents in trade in the country.

34. As the "Falls of the Wallamette" are destined by nature to be the most important place in the country, and though there were improvements on it, yet the Methodist Mission wanted to possess themselves of the place, of which I was informed in 1840. But I could not believe that persons calling themselves Ministers of the Gospel would do what their countrymen in the most humble station in life having the least regard for right, would condemn. I did not therefore give credit to my informant, and you have seen by the documents I forwarded to you on the subject the very insidious manner they took to attain their object, and as they wanted by securing the place to increase their influence, so as to oppose me more effectually, to defeat them and secure the place it became necessary to build there, and though I might have built there in 1842 for the Hudson's Bay Company in compliance with Sir George Simpson's instructions in the 7th par. of his letter dated Woahoo,²² 1st March 1842, to whom in 1829 and in 1841 I had pointed out the importance of the place, yet as the Methodist Mission

²¹ Nathaniel J. Wyeth, coming out for the second time in 1834, had set up an establishment on Wapatoo Island, competing with the Company in the purchase of furs.

²² Oahu (Honolulu), Hawaiian Islands. The reader may compare Simpson's statement concerning the matter, in his letter of November 25, 1841, addressed to the Company from Fort Vancouver, *American Historical Review*, XIV. 82.

had excited a strong national policy against the Hudson's Bay Company without any cause whatever (as it is well known we never did them anything but good) and they acted thus as they said from national views, merely because we were a British Association maintaining and extending British influence, I was afraid if I built the mill in the name of the Hudson's Bay Company, it would be destroyed, from the feeling they had excited against us among their countrymen; and even if this did not occur, as you had written in your despatch of 21st July, 1824, "We cannot expect a more southern boundary of [than] the Columbia in any treaty with the Americans", when that occurs the Company would lose all its improvements at the place, which would become the property of the Methodist Mission and of Mr. Waller, without their paying one farthing for them, in the same way as one Beaubien dispossessed the United States of their barracks in Chicago, under the pre-emption laws of the United States,²³ and as there was no other way to avoid this loss, I conceived it necessary to follow out the plan and build there, but to build in my name. I did so, and wrote in my private letter to Sir George Simpson, dated 20th March, 1843, giving him a short detail of the proceedings of Mr. Waller and the Methodist Mission, and stating, "In acting as I have done, I have only been actuated by a desire to secure it more effectually to the concern, and to have less dispute about it, as I think it can be more effectually secured in the name of an individual than in that of the Company, and I wish to know:

"Can the Company secure the place in their own name?

"If they cannot, can I secure it for them in my name? If either of these can be done, I will do it at once. If the Company cannot keep it in their name, nor I keep it for them in mine, I will then keep it in my own name on my own account. In the meantime, till I hear from you, I will go on as if it was mine."

In his reply dated 21st June, 1843, he writes, "With respect to your private letter of 20th March on the subject of our claim to the Wallamette Falls, I submitted the same to Mr. Recorder Thom²⁴ for his opinion, which I beg to annex, and have handed both the letter and copy of opinion to the Governor and Committee." You see in this answer there is nothing explicit, nor is Mr. Recorder Thom more so; but if Sir George Simpson had authorized me to take possession of it in my name, I would not have given five acres land and five hundred dollars to the Rev. Mr. Waller, and if I had received your Honors decision in time (which I could at the same time I received copy of Mr. Thom's reply to my queries in regard to deserters, as I sent them by the same despatch in which I sent my queries to Sir George Simpson), I would have been able to give a test of proprietorship, and would not have had to give five thousand five hundred dollars to the Methodist Mission for the lots

²³ Jean Baptiste Beaubien, who since 1817 had lived on the Fort Dearborn reservation at Chicago, attempted in the thirties to acquire title to a part of it. In 1835 he entered a claim at the Chicago land-office, which was allowed. An action of ejectment against the United States agent was sustained by the state courts. The United States Supreme Court reversed the decision and ordered the land to be sold in lots to the highest bidder; but there was a general refusal to bid against Beaubien, and he bought in much of the property. Quaife, *Chicago and the Old Northwest*, p. 278; Andreas, *History of Chicago*, I. 84-86.

²⁴ Adam Thom, recorder of Rupert's Land, resident at Fort Garry (Winnipeg).

I had to purchase from them, as they had no just or legal claim, and I could have rejected them, and which I did because if it came to a legal decision, I could not produce a legal test of proprietorship and all the money laid out there would be lost and the building go to the Methodist Mission; and as all that had been done there was contrary to the instructions in yours of 21st July, 1824, I might be blamed, though in building there I did so to promote the interest of the Company in order to avert the loss. As I was situated I had no alternative but to act as I did, as the Methodist Mission was broken up and selling all their effects, and as these lots were required to complete the Establishment, if I allowed them to pass to the possession of others, I would not get them without paying much dearer for them.

35. If I had intended to speculate I would not have taken Abernethy's mill (for if any part breaks, the whole mill will become useless, as in this country there are no means of repairing it) when I had orders not to erect it, but which I did because it was a dead weight in the stores of the Company, and if not erected then (as Mr. Fenton, the millwright, at the time said and still says he would go home at the end of his engagement) the mill would have become a complete loss to the Company. To sum up the subject, I erected the mill to manage the business under my charge with more advantage to the Company, by enabling me to oppose our rivals in trade more effectually. Having acted with these motives and with these views in compliance with the spirit and tenor of your instructions and those of Sir George Simpson, I need not say how I must feel at the perusal of Mr. Secretary Barclay's despatch of 30th Nov. 1844, yours to Sir George Simpson of 11th March 1845, and Sir George Simpson to me of the 16th of June last. And so far am I from wishing to speculate, that as I consider (for reasons which I will state in a subsequent part of the despatch) that the Hudson's Bay Company will find it to their interest to carry on business there as long as the law allows them and as for this purpose the use of these premises will be highly advantageous to them, and as I intended them for that purpose, I will offer them to my successors at a rent sufficient to cover the wear and tear on the buildings, etc. with a right to sell them as soon as I find a purchaser. But it may be said, why not hold the claim in trust for the Company as others hold here? That can not be done, as I have given building lots on which the people have made improvements, and as the Company would lose the claim the moment it becomes U. S. Territory, these men would lose their property; to avert this, I can only make a sale of it to an individual.

36. In the 10th paragraph you say, "On delivery of her cargo at Fort Victoria, the engagement of the chartered vessel to the Company terminates, and she will be at the disposal of her Commander for the benefit of the owners, but is not again to be taken up for the Company's service, as there will be as many vessels in the country as can be advantageously employed". The transport by sea of this Department in consequence of the growing population and extension of our business in the country is increasing, and next year we will unavoidably have at least 6000 barrels flour to send to market, besides deals, spars, and salt salmon for the Sandwich Islands. We have besides a cargo of wheat to send to New Archangel,²⁵ a service (owing to the stormy

²⁵ Sitka.

climate) which will employ a vessel the greater part of the summer. We have also the transport to and from the posts in the Straits of De Fuca which will give full employment to the *Cadboro*,²⁶ and we have also to send the outfits and bring the returns of the posts on the N. W. Coast which will employ another vessel a great part of the season. We have the furs of the interior to be sent round to Victoria, and the outfit for this place to be brought here, and to despatch one vessel with the returns for England in November, after which we remain with one barque and the *Cadboro* (which is not to be depended on for a sea voyage in winter) until the next London ship arrives in 1847.

37. From this your Honors will see that this amount of work cannot be got through with the shipping means at our disposal, and besides what I have stated, the Russian American Company have just written to us to send them an additional cargo of wheat and flour, and we are likewise directed to send to Victoria 1000 barrels flour for the use of Her Majesty's ships which may call there; and instead of increasing our shipping as I requested in mine of 4th July, 1844, by sending a larger vessel to replace the schooner *Cadboro*, you have increased the labour in the Department by ordering the chartered vessel to leave the outfit for this place at Victoria, while you have diminished our means by directing us not to employ her; and I beg to state in justice to the business that you [we?] will find it necessary to authorize the officer at this place to get the outfit brought here by the chartered vessel after she has landed the outfit for the coast at Fort Victoria, and also to deliver her a cargo for Woahoo or Tahiti, all of which ought to be conditionally settled with the owners in England, and as you see by the 20th par. of mine of 19th July last we will have a large quantity of produce to send to Tahiti if Messrs. Pelly and Allen can secure the contract and get means to transport it; and as those prices will pay us, I write by the present opportunity to Messrs. Pelly and Allan if they can secure the contract to charter her (if they will consider she will answer the purpose and can get her on favorable terms) to take a cargo to Tahiti, trusting, as you see the necessity of the case, that it will meet with your approbation.

38. As to the application of the Russians for another cargo of wheat and flour, if I was in charge I would not send it, unless instructed, as I consider the Company lose money at the present price, say 10/9 per Tanega of 126 lbs. owing to the length of time the vessels take to make the voyage. The *Vancouver* left this on the 7th May for Sitka, and only arrived here on the 12th instant. But if the Russian would send here for the wheat that price would pay.

39. In the 18th paragraph,—“We notice what you say in the 19th paragraph of your despatch in regard to the trade in buying and selling carried on at Vancouver with settlers, for which it appears that credit is taken in the Columbia accounts for a sum of £6000 owing by them; you will have to draw the particular attention of Council to this subject, to adopt some improved mode of conducting our dealings with these people, as from the heavy amount of outstanding debts, it appears to us that the present system must be defective and objectionable, and we cannot too strongly impress upon you the advantage of confining the dealings with settlers to prompt payment transactions as the best means of guarding against loss and difficulties arising out of disputes in the adjustment

²⁶ The Company's schooner, of only 72 tons.

of accounts", and Sir George in the 41st par. of his of the 16th June last,—“the credit system of business has been carried on we think to a very imprudent extent”. I beg to observe as I have already reported, we have since 1840 had a strong opposition in the Methodist Mission, Capt. Couch came here also that year and returned in 1842, as also Capt. Chapman, and in 1843 Mr. Pettygrove.²⁷ Capt. Chapman went away the same year he came, and gave up the business; the Methodists are broken both as a Mission and as a store-keeper, but Mr. Abernethy has purchased their small remains, and with Couch and Pettygrove are our present competitors. This last spring the Methodists offered to sell me their debts amounting to twenty-seven thousand dollars, and Capt. Couch in August last, offered to sell me his, as he said, amounting to thirty thousand, which of course I would not purchase, but which I mention that you may know how we were situated and our returns show they got very few furs, as you can satisfy yourselves by the abstract of accounts forwarded with this, and as you know, in competition we must regulate our proceedings by those of our opponents, and I also followed in acting as I did the instructions in the 5th par. of your despatch of 28th August, 1835, [quoting]

“With respect to the Americans, we have no doubt that you have done that which appeared to you to be best with regard to Mr. Wyeth, and we hope it may prove so, but we are decidedly of the opinion that the very reverse of the system we recommend as applicable to the Russians should be pursued towards the Americans. Wherever they attempt to establish a post on shore, we should have a party to oppose them even at a loss. Wherever they have a ship on the coast, we should have one there to compete with them. The sacrifice in opposition, you must from experience have found, is the cheapest in the long run.” And you repeat the same in the 35th par. of yours of 15th August, 1843,—“You will in all probability have been visited by Capt. Couch the last summer as you expected. In cases of this kind, we can give you no particular directions for your conduct, as you must be governed by circumstances as they arise; the general principle to be acted upon when competition occurs is to endeavour to defeat the object of the intruder by every fair means within your power, rendering speculation unprofitable, and selling at a small or even no profit for the time. We have but a choice of evils in such cases, but this plan we are of opinion will prove the least disadvantageous in the long run.” This most certainly is in my opinion the only way to compete in this country with an opposition, and which I have always seen followed; and which I considered it advisable to follow in this case, so as to secure our hold on the farmers, especially as you wrote in the 13th par. of yours of 21st December, 1842,—“It is probable in a year or two hence the Russian American Company may require a further quantity of flour beyond what is already contracted for, for Kamschatka.” I therefore made advances to meet this expected demand, as it would be better if not required to send it to Ooahoo than not to be able to fulfil the contract; and in 1842 and 1843 a great number of American immigrants came to the country, many of whom were in a destitute condition, who had not wherewith to pay even canoe hire to Indians for bringing them from the Dalles to this place, and if I had not made them advances to enable them to do so, they would have got into quarrels with

²⁷ See Bancroft, *Oregon*, I. 245, 422.

the Indians, would have been murdered, our business would have suffered, and it would have been reported throughout the world that we had set the Indians to murder these poor people, and time only could have cleared us of this odious imputation; meanwhile this defamatory report would most assuredly have injured the Company. But even if these immigrants had not been murdered by the Indians, and in that consequence of our refusing them assistance, some of them had perished (as I believe would have been the case, and which all the Americans admit), such an outcry would justly have been raised against us here, that even you in London would have suffered by it, and be blamed for the inhuman conduct of those persons managing the business of which you had the supreme direction, and I believe you would have been among the first to censure my conduct, and in acting as I have done I firmly believe that time will prove I have not only fulfilled the dictates of humanity, but most effectually promoted the best interests of the Company, as after all these men are paying their debts (charged with interest at 6 per cent) and the whole amount will be considerably reduced this year, and though we may and *will* lose some, still on the whole we will draw in a sufficient sum to pay us and leave us a handsome profit on the whole amount, for I must do the Americans the justice to say that as a body they are most anxious to pay their debts, and though there are among them a few bad characters, as is the case in all large communities, still as a body it is certain they will support what is right, and their hostility towards us, though it was very great, as through ignorance of *ours*, they thought we were infringing *their* national rights, as stated in the speeches of Messrs. Lynn, Benton, and Buchanan, and in the pamphlet of Messrs. Slacum, Kelly, and Spaulding,²⁸ in which we are represented to have caused between four and five hundred American citizens to be murdered; and so firmly did these men believe we had acted as represented, that they thought when they left the United States they would have to build forts to defend themselves from us and the Indians whom we would set on them; and certainly no person can blame them for feeling as they did, after hearing such false reports concerning us, but now that they are correctly informed, I am happy to find that these prejudices are disappearing fast.

40. . . . [Condemnation of McLoughlin's judgment in buying cattle from a Mr. Lease, driven up from California, which he offered to take on his own account if the Company refused to accept his judgment on the purchase. Simpson had written, as quoted by McLoughlin], "And we wish it distinctly understood that such transactions as are out of the ordinary course of business will not, unless entered on by special authority, be sanctioned hereafter." . . . [McLoughlin's reason for the purchase was because trade opposition in beef had brought the price to 3*d.* per pound, which did not more than cover cost and charges of the cattle; also to prevent American speculation in cattle. He sold

²⁸ Probably Senator Linn's speech of August 12, 1841, or of January 26 or January 30, 1843, Benton's of August 20, 1842, Buchanan's of August 20, 1842. Slacum's pamphlet is the *Memorial of William A. Slacum*, 25 Cong., 2 sess., *Sen. Ex. Doc. No. 24*, reprinted in 25 Cong., 3 sess., *House Report No. 101*, Appendix N, and in the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, XIII. 177-224; Kelley's, his *Memoir* of January 31, 1839, in 25 Cong., 3 sess., *House Report No. 101*, Appendix O; and that of Captain Spaulding of the *Lausanne*, in 27 Cong., 2 sess., *House Report No. 830*, appendix.

them to the opponents of the cattle company, making nothing by the sale, but protecting the Company's trade. The explanation is a very lengthy one.]

41-42. . . . [McLoughlin complains that in answer to his request that Sir George Simpson would cite specific cases of injustice and severity to the men, he merely replies]: "Dr. McLoughlin wishes me to cite instances of that system of violence which has so often been noticed as prevailing on the west side of the mountains. I must, however, decline doing so, chiefly through an unwillingness to prolong so unprofitable a discussion of what is past, but if the journals of the different posts have been kept as carefully as they ought to have been, they will of themselves, I am sure, indicate a state of discipline decidedly different from anything practiced in any other quarter of the country. Such I take to be the undeniable fact and though perhaps most of the individual cases may be palliated or justified, yet I cannot too strongly impress on every gentleman's mind the tendency of habitual severity to render the service unpopular."

[McLoughlin refers to and quotes from a letter of March 20, 1844, which the editor of these documents has seen in the Company's archives, and to which Simpson replied, June 16, 1844]: "You express surprise to learn that the men who have left the Columbia complain of ill-usage, and seem to regret that individual cases were not cited. I have only to say the complaints of late have been so universal that it would occupy more time and attention than I am able to bestow on the subject to enter into details."

[Having quoted his own letter, and Simpson's reply, (both with great repetition), McLoughlin continues]: I can only say that Sir George Simpson having brought forward charges against us for ill-treating the men in the Company's service, and on having been called on for proofs, produces none, I must therefore consider that he has brought forward these charges without having any foundation for so doing. And in justice to myself I must say as a proof that the men are not ill-used at Vancouver; when Sir George Simpson was here in 1841, not one man complained to him of ill-usage. We have at times here as many as 200 men, and though they have daily opportunities of deserting to the Wallamette Settlement, yet only one man has deserted from this place since I have been here, (now twenty years), though they were encouraged to do so by persons inimical to us, and had the great inducement held out to them of becoming entitled to a claim of 640 acres of land,—and this man deserted two years ago. A short time after his desertion, I went to the Wallamette, and on sending a message to him, he came to me and delivered himself up. But some months afterwards he deserted a second time, and as he is a bad character, and occasionally feigns fits of insanity (it was while feigning one of these fits that he deserted the first time), and in his pretended fits he gave us a good deal of trouble, I allowed him to remain. As to the men who deserted from the brigade, they came here direct, and most certainly would not have done so if we had been in the habit of treating our men in the manner Sir George Simpson states.

43. [Delay of the *Cowlitz* at the mouth of the Cowlitz River, receiving wheat on an unexpected call for that commodity from the Russians.]

44. [Difficulty between Mr. Dodd²⁹ and a servant whose manner was insulting, when two or three others were "impudently looking on". Dodd gave the man a thrashing, to save the situation in the eyes of the Indians.] It was necessary for him to act as he did, as if he had not he would not only have lost the command of his men, but this would have got to the knowledge of the Indians, and would have endangered the safety of the establishment, and it may seem strange, but still it is a fact, that nothing tends more to the security of establishments at such a place as Stikene than that the Indians should know that the officer in charge is a man who will not allow himself to be imposed on.

45. . . . [McLoughlin's defense of his action in raising the salary of Angus McDonald (B)³⁰ ranking as postmaster, to £75 for present year and next (1845 and 1846), and £100 for 1847.]

46. In his [Simpson's] 35th paragraph, [quoting], "Our operations on the West side of the mountains, although very extended and showing according to the accounts transmitted fair profits, we think are not so productive as represented by the accounts. According to the statements from the Columbia the profits are on

Outfit 1841	£22974
" 1842	16982
" 1843	21726

whereas by a statement herewith forwarded, you will observe the profits are reduced, on

Outfit 1841 actual profit	£1474
" 1842 actual loss	4003
" 1843 actual loss	3136

This very startling discrepancy seems principally to arise from the Columbia account of returns being valued 25 per cent above their value."

The returns were valued at those prices in compliance with the instructions received from the Governor and Council. I also received a document, of which the following is a copy,—

"California Balance Sheet, Outfit 1842.	
"By profit, per Columbia statement	£2363. 3.7
"Less overcharge on hides,	£1222. 0.2
" " beaver	116. 7.6
" " otters	205. 4.0
" " wheat	496. 0.8
" credited Sandwich Islands, ³¹	
on 5000 [?] supplied California	132.16.1
4c. each	93. 6.8
" 12 months interest on	
inventory	219.18.0
	£2485.13.1
" Apparent loss	£ 122. 9.6"

²⁹ Dodd, chief mate of the *Cowlitz*, had been left by Simpson in charge at Stikeen after young McLoughlin's murder.

³⁰ There seem to have been two of this name, one designated as (A) and the other as (B).

³¹ This seems to refer to some temporary loan, or use of \$5000, permitted to the California post from the Sandwich Islands; but it is not clear.

But no details are sent to show how they came to these results. But how they worked out the loss of 4c. on every dollar supplied by Woahoo to California is quite unaccountable, as the latter is charged 5/ sterling per dollar, and Woahoo got credit for that sum, while when it remits in bills Woahoo never got so much. But that is not the way to examine the affair so far as my management is concerned, but to take my instructions and examine my proceedings, and the more it is done by persons acquainted with the business of the place, the more I believe I have cause to be satisfied; and it is, I beg to say impossible for any person to get acquainted with the business unless he is a year at the very least at the place and attends to the whole transactions, and sees how the different branches bear on each other.

48. [Paragraph regarding the desirability of having Father De Smet order goods necessary for his missions through the Company in England, to be sent in their ships, rather than buy from Fort Vancouver, as the bills had to be paid in Europe.]

49. In the 40th paragraph of his despatch, 16th June,—[quoting] "Now that the mills are disposed of, we consider it highly desirable to withdraw the Company's officers and servants from the Wallamette Falls, as we do not think the prospects of trade are sufficiently encouraging to render it an object for the Company to keep up an establishment there. You will therefore be pleased to withdraw C. F. Ermatinger and any other servant or officers belonging to the Company from that place, stationing Mr. Ermatinger at Colville for the winter, as directed by the Council and noticed in a former part of this despatch, unless indeed it be found that you can conveniently dispense with that gentleman's services altogether for the season in which case he is to be at liberty to proceed to England by the ship."

"Inconvenience and perhaps in some instances loss might arise if the Company had no person at the Falls to watch their interest, we therefore think instead of maintaining an expensive establishment as heretofore, it might be advisable to supply Mr. J. G. Campbell, or some other active, intelligent American resident there with a few goods to enable him to trade skins brought thither by Indians and others, and generally to attend to the Company's affairs, allowing him a certain sum for his services in such agency, such allowance to cover all charges for labour, maintenance, residence, etc., etc. By these arrangements the deeply rooted existing jealousy towards the Company arising at the Falls [will be] removed, while the little business we conduct there will be carried on upon an economical policy.

"41." [Still quoting]: "An anxious desire to concentrate the very unpromising and unproductive business in which we are at present engaged in the same quarter would determine us on withdrawing the post at Campment du Sable,³² were it not that a store or granary there seems necessary at present to collect, in grains, some portion of the very heavy outstanding debts in the Wallamette. The credit system of business with the settlers has been carried on we think to a very imprudent extent, and as there is neither honor nor honesty among those people, and that as British subjects we cannot enforce the recovery of debts under the existing laws, we are of opinion that it might be good

³² A sandy bluff on the east side of the Willamette, at or near the present Butteville; an entrance to the French Prairie. The store built by the Company at Butteville about 1840 remained standing until 1890.

policy to sell these debts to any respectable American who would be disposed to purchase them in a block at such a discount as would enable him to make something by them. We do not however press the mode of closing these transactions, but throw out the suggestions for your consideration and adoption if you think it advisable. Should you determine on continuing the establishment at Campment du Sable, we have to beg that it be kept up on a very moderate scale, say a keen, intelligent clerk or postmaster,³³ and one man to be provided with a few goods for sale on prompt payment, and for the purpose of collecting any furs that might come within their reach. In order to guard against national jealousy, it might perhaps be found to answer better to employ an American, say Newell,³⁴ to collect the outstanding debts. Indeed we are disposed to believe that an active American would be much more successful in collecting these debts both from the Company's retired servants and from Americans than any of our own people that could be employed there.

"42" [of Simpson]. "C. F.³⁵ McLoughlin in one of his letters seems to think the Wallamette settlers will have about 50,000 bus. grain for market this year; we do not however think that a trade in that article beyond what may be required for the Service, for the Russian American Company, and for a depot of about 1000 barrels flour to be kept on hand from year to year to meet the demands of any of Her Majesty's vessels that may visit the coast, is an object deserving our attention. The produce of the Company's farm at Vancouver, (the crop of which last year C. F. McLoughlin estimates at 4,000 bu. wheat, etc.) and those at the Cowlitz and Fort Victoria together with the grain which we have every reason to expect in payment of our debt from the Wallamette settlers, we think ought to meet all these demands, and considering the state of our present relations with the United States and the troublesome population by whom we are surrounded we are indisposed to embark more largely in that branch of trade than these demands appear to render necessary."

[50?] I have troubled you with these extracts as they are completely at variance with the instructions I received from the Governor and Council which hitherto have been in unison with the 5th par. of yours of 25th August, 1835, and the 33d par. of 27th Sept. 1843, and which have always been the rule of my conduct as will be found to be the case when it is properly understood, and though it is probable that the boundary will soon be settled, yet as it is certain that the Hudson's Bay Company can obtain all the time and every facility to draw in their debts, and as most certainly they will find it to their interest to keep a store at Oregon City, I would recommend them to do so as long as the law allows them, managed by their own officers.

51. Oregon City is destined by nature to be the best place for commerce in this country, and is about twenty-five miles from this place; and people will prefer to pay dearer there than to come here. The Company this year will sell goods there to the amount of £4000 sterling, on which they will gain something handsome, though at present (as

³³ A postmaster ranked between a laborer and a clerk.

³⁴ Robert Newell, a member of the legislative assembly from Champoege County. See *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, IX. 103-126, article by T. C. Elliott.

³⁵ C. F. for Chief Factor.

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the season for making out the accounts is not yet come) we cannot say what the amount may be; besides this, by so doing, they keep their competitors occupied, and prevent them extending their trade to other posts, and maintain and extend their own influence. It was because I thought Great Britain would have the north bank of the Columbia, that to facilitate the farmers in bringing their produce to this place, I took the precaution to obtain a right to erect a canal there, which can be constructed at a very small expense.

52. In the 76th Resolve of Council, it is directed "that settlers and missionaries of all denominations be charged 100% on prime cost for cash on approved bills, dollars being valued at 4/6 each." I beg to observe that having opposition to contend with it will be impossible to adhere to this resolve and that it will be entirely necessary to regulate the prices by those of their competitors, and the demand of the article.

53. Having detained you so much on these subjects to which I have referred in the foregoing part of my despatch to explain to you my motives for acting in every manner as I have, and in justice to myself I beg to request that you will oblige me by informing me what act of mine has caused you to decide, as Mr. Secretary Barclay writes me in the 10th par. of his despatch of 30th November, 1844,—

"The advantages however which the Governor and Committee had hoped would be derived from placing the Columbia Department under the charge of one person I am sorry to state have not been realized"; and as to the following extract, in a subsequent part of the same paragraph,—“After maturely considering the results that have been obtained up to the present time, and looking forward to the probable circumstances of the future, they are decidedly of opinion that it is not advisable that the charge of so extensive a district should be confided to one individual however experienced; and they have therefore decided that the country shall be divided into two or more districts, each to be represented by a commissioned officer.” Sir George Simpson will recollect that I would renew my agreement on no other terms but that I would have charge of the Columbia District and £500 per annum beyond my emolument as a chief factor. As to the altered circumstances of the Department, they cannot I consider apply to the case, as at the time of my agreeing, I asked Sir George Simpson if the joint stock company did not take place,³⁶ whether I would be allowed the five hundred pounds per annum extra emolument. His reply was that I would still have the five hundred.

54. As to the leave of absence granted me in the 44th paragraph of Sir George Simpson's despatch of 16th June last, in justice to my own character, I cannot think of availing myself of it, as I consider my services necessary to the close of the outfit, so as to carry out the plans I laid down for the operation of the outfit, and the result will show if the measures I adopted and followed were judicious or not, and if I have exerted myself with zeal to promote the interests of the Company,—and I certainly if possible will go out next spring,³⁷ not to take a charge there as that is out of the question, but merely to demand as a right a full examination into my conduct and proceedings in the man-

³⁶ Probably the Puget Sound Agricultural Association, which was joint-stock company, and was organized the winter McLoughlin was in London, 1838-1839, at which time he renewed his agreement

³⁷ That is, go out with the overland express, thence to London.

agement of my charge, which is no less an act of justice to myself than to the Company. For if my measures were proper and are now not only not pursued but even censured, I am wronged and the Company injured. But as this proceeds from relying on incorrect information or misrepresentation, I trust that when the truth is known that justice will be done me.

55. A much larger immigration came from the States this year than formerly, but I cannot say the exact number, some say three, others five thousand. They brought large herds of cattle, and judging from their appearances, they seem with few exceptions to have been in easy circumstances in their own country.

56. [Departure of the *Vancouver* to N. W. coast and return.]

57. [Derangement of shipping business through the long delay of the *Vancouver*.]

58. [*Vancouver* to go with flour to Oahu,] touching at St. Francisco to land an officer to close the California business, and on her return will again touch at St. Francisco to bring the officer and the proceeds of the business to this place.

59. [Short note on the voyage of the *Cowlitz*.]

60. [Good general sales at the Oahu store.]

61. [Receipt from Consul General Millar of answer to McLoughlin's letter of 24th March, 1845; very general. This letter was regarding protection needed at Fort Vancouver against the threats of outlaw settlers to burn it down.]

62. [Regarding letter written to Pelly and Allan, agents at Oahu, referring to McLoughlin's letter to Millar.]

63. [Pelly and Allan forward to Millar an extract from McLoughlin's letter to them.]

64. [Arrival of John Worx³⁸ from the coast, where all was quiet.]

65. [Captain McNeill³⁹ obliged to return to Stikine in a Russian vessel, from a nearby point, as Captain Humphreys, of the Company's ship,⁴⁰ refused him passage.]

66. [McLoughlin and McNeill declare Captain Humphreys to be obviously mentally unbalanced.]

67. . . . [Announces arrival of Lieutenant Peel, with Captain Parke of the Marines, with a letter from Captain Gordon of the *America*, which had just arrived in the Straits from the Sandwich Islands, to investigate Oregon conditions and report to England.] "When Lieutenant Peel⁴¹ arrived, Chief Factor Douglas was on a tour in the Wallamette with Captain Warre and Lieutenant Vavasour, and were (as was well known would be the case) received by all the settlers in the Wallamette with the utmost hospitality of which their means would

³⁸ One of the Company's chief factors.

³⁹ William McNeill, an American, who, after skillful opposition to the Company, had been called into its service and was now captain of the Company's steamer *Beaver*.

⁴⁰ The *Columbia*.

⁴¹ Third son of Sir Robert Peel. Captain John Gordon, R. N., was a brother of the Earl of Aberdeen. For the visit of Warre and Vavasour, see the *Quarterly* of the Oregon Historical Society, X. 1-99. A copy of their report, unfavorable to McLoughlin, was sent by Governor Simpson to Douglas, and shown by the latter to McLoughlin in 1846, after his retirement. Bancroft summarizes it, *Oregon*, I. 501-504.

admit, for although these men are rough in their manners, their hospitality and kindness to strangers are proverbial. Lieutenant Peel and Captain Parke accompanied by Mr. Lowe (one of our officers whom I sent for the purpose) visited the Wallamette, and they also appeared well pleased with the reception they received.

58. On the 16th September Mr. Douglas accompanied by Lieutenant Peel and Captain Parke left this [place] to proceed to the *America*. I wrote Captain Gordon (No. 15) and Mr. Douglas went to the *America* to give any further information Captain Gordon might require for Her Majesty's Government. Chief Factor Douglas found the *America* at Port Discovery, remained on board three days with the Hon. Capt. Gordon, and handed him a copy of my correspondence with the Methodist Mission about the Falls and of my report to you on Messrs. Slacum's and Kelly's narrative, and Dr. Lynn's speeches.⁴² As these narratives and speeches are circulated in the Pacific, I considered it but proper that British officers should be informed of this gross misrepresentation.

69. . . . [Douglas went from the *America* to Victoria, where work in the construction of the fort was going on under Roderick Finlayson; he returned to Vancouver October 16.] But on his way back he found the *Modeste*, Captain Baillie, anchored in New Dungeness, who handed him a letter from Admiral Seymour to me (No. 16) and addressed one (No. 17) to Chief Factor Douglas to which the latter replied (No. 18), and on learning that the *Modeste* was in the Columbia River, we immediately sent them refreshments.⁴³ I wrote him (No. 19) in which you will see I coincide with Chief Factor Douglas and recommend that the *Modeste* come to this place, for although all the people are very quiet and I do not apprehend the least danger, still the visit of a British man-of-war to the place has both a moral and political effect and shows that our Government is ready to protect us.⁴⁴ But before receiving my letter, Capt'n Baillie wrote me one (No. 20) and on the receipt of mine he wrote his answer (No. 21) and of course is now on his way here, and I expect to see him with the first westerly wind. We will treat him and his officers with that attention and cordiality to which the flag under which they serve and the service they render us entitle them.

70. The farmers have large crops but unfortunately lost some by rain during harvest, which is the first instance of the kind while I am here. We have in store at this place, at the Falls, and at Campment du Sable about 50,000 bushels wheat, besides what is at the Cowlitz;

⁴² Slacum, Kelley, Linn. See note 28, above.

⁴³ While Douglas came overland to Vancouver by the Cowlitz trail, from Puget Sound, the *Modeste* sailed down the coast and into the Columbia River.

⁴⁴ A great deal was made by the American settlers in Oregon and by American politicians at Washington, D. C., of this visit of the *Modeste*, and Miss Agnes Laut (*Conquest of the Great Northwest*, II. 367) goes so far as to refer to the five hundred marines on board as keeping the Americans quiet. The muster-roll consulted in the British Public Record Office shows that the *Modeste* had on board fifteen officers, eighteen marines, thirteen boys, and a crew of 115 sailors. She ranked as third-class, having only twelve or fourteen guns. On account of the lawless element among the settlers and their persistent threats against Fort Vancouver, the *Modeste* stayed in the river a year and a half. The letters, referred to by number, related to the need of the fort for protection.

between the Puget Sound Farm and the settlers at that place, say about 10,000. The crop at Vancouver is about 4000 bushels wheat, 4000 pease and about 5000 oats. And as I stated in par. 36, after supplying the contract for the Russians, we will have 5000 barrels flour for sale, but we will have some difficulty in getting barrels to contain the flour. At present we purchase wheat at 60 cents per bushel, payable in goods at 100 per cent advance, but only from a few good customers whom out of policy we cannot cast off.

71. [Regarding a note to Chief Factor Peter Skeen Ogden, from both McLoughlin and Douglas, asking his opinion as to their action in joining the Provisional Government; no answer as yet from Ogden, who was in the interior.]

72. . . . [Dugald McTavish to proceed in the *Vancouver* to San Francisco, to close the California business]: as it has been out of my power to send a person there since I heard of the death of Mr. Rae.

73. In closing this my official correspondence with Your Honors, I beg to observe that I always thought that exerting myself zealously to promote the interests of the Hudson's Bay Company, to the best of my abilities, would at least assure me their approbation, if not their protection. Whether I have done the best the circumstances of the case would admit is not for me to determine; but I will assert that I went so far in my zeal as to risk my private means to carry on works at the Wallamette Falls so as to secure it from persons who wanted to get it in order to use the influence the place would give to the prejudice of the Hudson's Bay Company, to which I was also induced on account of the hostile feeling the immigrants had to the Company, as I was afraid if I did [not] give them employment, that animated with this feeling and urged by their wants, they might make an attack on the property at this place which might be destroyed, and for which the Hudson's Bay Company never could get any indemnification, and the whole of the Company's business in this Department would be ruined. In doing which, by Sir George Simpson's not writing me in 1843, to take the place in my own name, I had to give five acres of the best ground for building lots, and five hundred dollars to Rev. Mr. Waller,⁴⁵ and by the Hudson's Bay Company not giving me sanction to take it in my own name⁴⁶ in time (which they could readily have done) I had to pay three thousand four hundred and twenty dollars for improvements not worth one-half the money and one thousand nine hundred and eighty dollars for lots to which they had no claim,—and to close the business, it is proposed this year to charge me an advance of 100 per cent on the goods I have had to carry on the business,⁴⁷ when I carried it on with the spirit of opposition and made it subservient to the Hudson's Bay Company business and interests, and so little is what I have done understood, or more properly speaking, it is so completely mis-

⁴⁵ Rev. Alvan F. Waller, Methodist missionary. For his controversy with the writer, see Holman, *Dr. John McLoughlin*, pp. 105-109 *et seq.*

⁴⁶ Under his contract with the Company, McLoughlin could not engage in any business, or give attention to any personal interest. The entire time and thought of the officers and servants, by contract, were to be given to the Company.

⁴⁷ One of the first actions of James Douglas, in taking charge of Fort Vancouver, was to settle this on a more just basis, as reported by him in a very matter-of-fact way.

understood, that instead of being appreciated as it ought, I am disgraced, and my salary of £500 per annum, which is a part of the consideration on which I renewed my agreement, is stopped without any previous notice as I only heard it on the 15th June last. But my conduct must have been misrepresented, or I must have been completely misunderstood, and I trust that when the truth is known, it will be found that I have acted with as much zeal as if my life had been at stake, and justice will be done me.

74. If business admitted, I would certainly go to London with the present opportunity, as I feel my presence would be necessary not only on my own account, but that of the Company, and allow me to assure you that I find it necessary for the well being of the business that an officer well acquainted with it should go to London to give you explanations every second year. If this had been the case, most certainly the business of this Department would have benefitted by it, and I would not suffer as I do.

75. Referring you to the accompanying documents for further information on the business of the department, and though I am treated in a very different manner to what I expected, and very far from what I consider myself entitled to, with best wishes for the prosperity of the trade and full confidence that time will prove if I have done my best to promote it or not,

I have the honor to remain,

Your most obedient, humble servant

JOHN McLoughlin

Chief Factor

To

The Governor, Deputy Governor, and Committee,
Hon'ble Hudson's Bay Company
London

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Ancient Hunters and their Modern Representatives. By W. J.

SOLLAS, D.Sc., F.R.S., Professor of Geology and Palaeontology in the University of Oxford. Second edition. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1915. Pp. xxiii, 591, 2 plates and 314 text illustrations.)

THE first edition of this work appeared in 1911. The author has made good use of the intervening four years, as is seen by a comparison of the two. The number and titles (with a single slight exception) of the chapters remain the same; but there are 182 more pages and 80 more illustrations. The new matter is largely due to the consideration of new discoveries such as: "Eoanthropus", Commont's researches in the Somme valley, the caverns of Castillo, Tuc d'Audoubert, etc.

The plan, and this has not been changed, is perfectly expressed in the title: a comparison of the hunters of the past with those of the present. The most ancient hunters are contrasted with the recently extinct Tasmanians, the Mousterians with the living Australian aborigines, the Aurignacians with the Bushmen, and the Magdalenians with the Eskimo. The comparisons are often carried so far however as to obscure the real merits of the work in the field of pre-history.

In the revision a serious error has been eliminated, in that the wonderful palaeolithic mural frescoes are given their rightful place in the Magdalenian epoch instead of the Aurignacian. In the first edition the race of Cro-Magnon was described as of the Magdalenian age; in the second it is transferred to the Aurignacian epoch. The use of the term *boucher* to replace *coup de poing*, the name given by G. de Mortillet to the type implement of the Chellean and Acheulian series, is retained in the new edition. The new name is in honor of Boucher de Perthes, to whom belongs the chief credit in establishing the authenticity of river-drift implements. While it has not found favor with French archaeologists, such terms as volt, joule, and watt, from the nomenclature of physicists, furnish ample precedents for the adoption of *boucher*.

The industrial evolution of the last three phases that are distinctly palaeolithic is well outlined, including the appearance of new types of stone implements and the use of materials other than stone, such for example as bone, ivory, and the horn of stag and reindeer. The once problematical *bâton de commandement* is believed to be nothing more nor less than a straightener for the shafts of arrows and javelins, as originally suggested by Boyd Dawkins.

In his discussion of "*Eoanthropus dawsoni*" recently discovered in a gravel pit at Piltdown Common, Sussex, England, the author accepts the views of Dr. A. Smith Woodward and Professor G. Elliott Smith. This briefly is that the skull and lower jaw belong to one and the same individual; that while the skull is "truly human", the lower jaw is "as distinctly simian". Hence the differences between the man of Piltdown and *Homo* are generic, and Dr. Woodward was justified in his use of the name *Eoanthropus*. The canine tooth subsequently found by Father P. Teilhard, Sollas again agrees with Woodward in assigning to the lower jaw, right side (some authorities would place this tooth in the upper jaw instead).

The closing chapters treat of the transition from the palaeolithic to the neolithic age, represented by the so-called Azilian culture, and the question of chronology. The author is "increasingly impressed by the conflicting nature of the evidence" bearing on chronology, and frankly confesses that his conclusions are "largely provisional, open to question, and certain to be modified with the progress of discovery".

His conclusions are that the Chellean age may be referred to the last interglacial epoch. The Acheulian, together with the warm Mousterian, might have commenced as this epoch was drawing to a close, but outlasted it and did not terminate till the last glaciation was well advanced. The cold Mousterian corresponded perhaps to the maximum of the last glacial epoch; the Aurignacian, Solutréan, and Magdalenian to the period of retreat; while the Azilian ushered in the present era. This is in harmony with the views of Boule, Breuil, Obermaier, and Schmidt. It differs radically from those of Perck and James Geikie, and partially from those of Commont, who believes that the early Chellean or pre-Chellean belongs to the preceding interglacial epoch, the Mindel-Riss.

In his attempt to assign dates to the palaeolithic epochs the author is ultra-conservative, even granting that the Chellean does not antedate the last interglacial epoch. His standard of time measurement is based on Baron de Geer's count of the number of layers of sediment which the melting ice deposited in the sea during its retreat across Scandinavia; each layer is supposed to represent the melting of a single summer. In brief, Sollas estimates that the Chellean epoch closed only about 27,000 years ago. This is approximately half the time allowed by Obermaier, who freely admits that his own estimate is much more likely to be below the mark than above it.

The author has not suppressed his personal opinions on controverted questions. Granting that some of these may be wrong there is much in the book to commend. With the exception of certain omissions, such as failure to mention the old Chellean (or pre-Chellean) camp site of Torralba, in Spain, the volume is decidedly up to date. The illustrations though numerous often leave something to be desired in point of execution. The sketch map of the district of Les Eyzies (fig.

81) is antiquated. The insertion twice of the same figure of the mammoth carved in ivory from Předmost, first as a piece of Aurignacian sculpture (fig. 201), and then as representing Solutréan art (fig. 229), is apparently due to an oversight. Figure 168 A, representing a mural engraving of the head of a hind, is from Castillo instead of Altamira.

Throughout the book the author's unusual breadth of vision is evident; his power to hold the reader's attention is nowhere relaxed. The new edition of *Ancient Hunters* is perhaps the best work in English covering this particular field.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

Prehistoric Man and his Story. By G. F. SCOTT ELLIOT, M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., F.R.G.S. (London: Seeley, Service, and Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 398.)

THIS is the second book by a British author on the general subject of prehistoric man to appear in 1915. The present volume however differs so widely from the one by Sollas that there is room for both. Besides, the work by Elliot includes chapters on the neolithic period, and the age of metals. Both agree in devoting much space to a comparison between prehistoric archaeology and the ethnology of living primitive races.

In the initial chapter, on the preparation of the earth, it is pointed out that remains of lemurs have been found in the Eocene of North America and Europe, and the question is raised whether a "generalized lemur-monkey-man" could have lived at the time. If so he could have wandered all over the northern hemisphere from San Francisco to New Jersey, also from England to Japan. The climate was warm but not oppressively hot. As to food, the land would have been considered a paradise by any living primitive race. The Miocene descendants of the common Eocene ancestor would have had to contend with carnivorous animals.

A discussion of "Homosimius precursor" naturally leads to the question of eoliths. These are flints of various ages which "have certainly been struck or chipped in an unusual way". While it is still not possible to say whether (or not) they were utilized by man, the author believes the evidence in favor of the artifact nature of some of the eoliths is more weighty than that to the contrary.

The next three chapters are devoted to missing links, the human body, and the limit of humanity. As one might expect, comparison of the brains of apes and men shows considerable differences; on the whole, however, the general likeness is more striking than the contrasts. The differences between man and his Pliocene ancestor are "clearly in brain rather than in eyesight or manual dexterity".

The author is a monogenist and also adheres to the orthodox belief that the Old World was the first home of man. There man invented

his first tools and became acquainted with the use of fire. How were the first grass and forest fires produced; by a flash of lightning or a lava flow? Perhaps! but this cannot have been a common origin, for the lightning is usually followed by heavy rain. Early man would flee from volcanic eruptions, and run to some secluded spot during a thunderstorm. Neither occasion would be suitable for first experiments in the use and control of fire. Theobald states that forests in southern India are often set on fire through friction produced by one bamboo branch rubbing against another. It is likewise known that the Negritos of Zambales still make fire by rubbing one bamboo across a nick in another. This was probably the first method employed by early man in the production of fire. The discovery of how to make fire came early and, like the advent of the tool-using habit in general, had a profound influence on the subsequent fortunes of mankind. How long ago these momentous steps were taken is not definitely known. The author thinks it might have been as far back as Pliocene times.

The rather short chapter on the glacial epochs is supplemented by a chronological table, from which it is seen that Elliot differs widely from Sollas. He accepts the Penck system of four glacial epochs with alternating warm episodes and would place the first known Europeans, "*Eoanthropus dawsoni*" and "*Homo heidelbergensis*", in the first of these interglacial epochs, *viz.*, the Günz-Mindel (Penck and also Obermaier would place them in the second). The Chellean, the first cultural epoch, eoliths excepted, is for the author synchronous with the second or Mindel-Riss interglacial epoch. In this he agrees with Penck and Geikie; but differs from Obermaier and Sollas, who believe that the Chellean belongs to the third interglacial epoch (Riss-Würm). The differences of opinion appear still more pronounced when the attempt is made to express length of time in terms of years. For Sollas the Chellean epoch closed only about 27,000 years ago. This same lapse of time the author would estimate at more than 150,000 years.

In discussing the races subsequent to that of Neandertal, the author's statements are open to the possibility of confusing the reader. On page 121 he states that the "Aurignacians seem to have lived on in Europe through the Wurm Ice Age, becoming in course of time the Magdalenians (or race of Cro-Magnon)". On page 163 he likewise speaks of the Cro-Magnon people as Magdalenian ("Mafeleinian"). But on the following page one reads: "Yet the Aurignacians, or men of Cro-Magnon, were a primitive people", etc. Again on page 177 the race of Cro-Magnon is called Aurignacian.

In that part of the book devoted to palaeolithic man, the use of such titles for chapter headings as "The First Herdsmen" and "The First Harvest" might lead the unwary to suppose that the domestication of animals and plants was a palaeolithic achievement. The author does not think there is a "single palaeolithic engraving of any of the cat tribe". Such engravings are rare but they are not unknown. On

page 297 one is led to infer that the 840 basketry patterns of the Pomo Indians of California are prehistoric.

Letters, numbers, weights, etc., come in for interesting treatment, the conclusion being that not only the cup-and-ring marks but also a whole series of letters, number-signs, and others were handed on from the palaeolithic to their neolithic successors; and that perhaps it is to the palaeolithic period that we have to look for the origin of reading, writing, and arithmetic.

Of the twenty-four plates, ten are from Rutot's reconstructions of early races; and twenty-two of the thirty-eight text-figures are from *Childhood of Man* by Frobenius. Useful references and foot-notes are assembled at the end of each chapter. The author has read widely and travelled extensively. The transmission of his experiences is aided by a luminous imagination. If he has a fault it lies in a too-ready apparent acceptance of data, the value of which is still in the realm of the uncertain.

GEORGE GRANT MACCUDY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

Palaeography and the Practical Study of Court Hands. By HILARY JENKINSON, F.S.A., of the Public Record Office, F. W. Maitland Memorial Lecturer, University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. 37.)

THIS paper, read before the International Historical Congress of 1912, seeks "not so much to communicate the result of research as to put forward a profession of faith". Its thesis is that for the study of English public records what is needed is chiefly the history of "public administration in all its branches and its most minute details". It is not even true that we want such students "preliminarily trained in *Diplomatique* in the sense in which that highly organized science is usually understood; and though a previous study of facsimiles may save them much time, it is equally untrue that we want them trained in scientific Palaeography". The justification for this contention the author finds in the early and quite extraordinary development of centralized administrative organization in England, resulting in the creation and preservation of a unique body of official records in which actual originals play a relatively small part, and in the decipherment and criticism of which a knowledge of administrative processes is the prime essential. The great majority of these records date themselves, while the large number of scribes who worked on those of any given period offers an obstacle to accurate dating by creating a great variety of "unknown" hands. To illustrate these palaeographical difficulties thirteen facsimiles are given, two of which are skillful forgeries of charters of Henry II., while the others, all relating to the assessment of a fifteenth within a small area of Lincolnshire in 1225, show a remark-

able variety of handwriting which would on purely palaeographical grounds have assigned to them a much more varied provenance both in time and in space.

With Mr. Jenkinson's plea for more attention to administrative history, "that unwritten science", it is easy to find one's self in cordial agreement, both for the sake of the subject itself and for the practical reasons which he cogently urges. The argument against the utility of palaeography and diplomatics does not command so ready an assent, in spite of the able presentation of the Record Office case. Both of these disciplines are conceived in too narrow and formal a fashion and without sufficient regard to their more recent developments. Palaeography certainly includes the kind of study which has been applied to medieval *scriptoria* by Traube and by recent German students of private charters, and which, *mutatis mutandis*, would seem applicable to English scribes as well. So the genetic study of diplomatics gives a large place to the governmental organization and procedure which produced the various classes of documents. The *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, for example, has made it part of its programme, not only to extend the range of diplomatic research to those more recent and more abundant types of documents which Mr. Jenkinson has particularly in mind, but also to pursue such investigations with constant reference to the corresponding administrative organization. What is needed is not the abdication of palaeography and diplomatics in favor of administrative history, but a fresher and less formal study of these subjects in their wider relations to the distinctive problems which the English records present. While Mr. Jenkinson does not seek to exclude these auxiliary sciences from the general programmes of study, one cannot help fearing that the neglect of such subjects by workers in the English public records would isolate them still further from Continental scholarship, at a time when they have yet much to learn from the application of Continental methods to English materials.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Chronicle of Novgorod, 1016-1471. Translated from the Russian by ROBERT MICHELL and NEVILL FORBES, Ph.D., Reader in Russian in the University of Oxford, with an Introduction by C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, D.Litt., Professor of Modern History, University of Birmingham, and an Account of the Text by A. A. SHAKHMATOV, Professor in the University of St. Petersburg. [Camden third series, vol. XXV.] (London: Royal Historical Society. 1914. Pp. xliii, 237.)

EXCEPT for the First Chronicle, commonly called that of "Nestor", none of the longer narrative sources for Russian medieval history has hitherto been translated into Western languages. One is therefore the more inclined to welcome a translation of the oldest and most im-

portant chronicle of the great Russian city-republic, which once ruled over the largest empire in Europe, and which has such special claims upon the interest of the student of political, constitutional, and economic history.

This volume presents what should properly be called the First Novgorodian Chronicle, as distinguished from the other three chronicles of the same name. The First Novgorodian Chronicle has twice been published by the Russian Archaeographical Commission, first in 1841 in the third volume of the *Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles*, and then in 1888 in more exact and scholarly form. The basis of both these editions was the Synodal Transcript, the oldest existing manuscript of the Chronicle, which was probably written in the second quarter of the fourteenth century, and which covers the period from 1016 to 1333. Three later manuscripts offer variants for this period, and also furnish a continuation of the narrative down to 1446, at which date the First Novgorodian Chronicle ends. The translators have, in general, followed the text of the Russian edition of 1888, inserting at the end, however, a long account of the downfall of Novgorodian independence in 1471, which is taken from a chronicle of the sixteenth century. It is to be regretted that they have seldom taken notice of the variants, even when the latter are of decided importance; and that when they have introduced into the text passages from manuscripts other than the Synodal one, or even from other chronicles than the Novgorodian, they have not informed the reader of the source from which they have borrowed.

Those who have dealt with Russian chronicles will recognize the exceptional difficulties that confront a translator. Messrs. Michell and Forbes deserve much praise for their success in preserving the simplicity, the directness, and the laconic vigor of the original. Unfortunately, however, this translation in several respects leaves very much to be desired. In some cases the attempt to render the translation literal has resulted in making it quite unintelligible: *e. g.*, "they gave them peace at all their will" (p. 43)—*i. e.*, on their own terms; or "they . . . fetched in Svyatoslav again with his full liberty" (p. 23)—*i. e.*, on his own conditions. It is utterly misleading to translate *Zagorod'ci* as "those of the outskirts" (p. 60), when the word means "the inhabitants of the *Zagorodny konec*", one of the five wards or "ends" of Novgorod; or to render the word for "tablets" (*i. e.*, the accounts kept by the Novgorodian capitalists of the loans they had made) by "boards" or "rafts" (p. 50). Even more serious are such errors as the following: "Volodimir . . . drowned all of them" (p. 10), which should read, he "imprisoned all of them"; "Rostislav fled . . . having sat in Novgorod eight years and four months" (p. 16)—the Russian text has "one year and four months"; or "the men of Novgorod having ousted Vsevolod beyond the Volok, and in all his land" (p. 40), when the correct version is, "Vsevolod having arrested

the Novgorodians beyond the Volok and in all his land". These mistakes in translation are distressingly frequent.

Like most Russian chronicles, the First Novgorodian is a compilation built up from many sources by many writers in the course of several centuries. The history of the text is summarized in masterly fashion by Professor Shakhmatov, who is, perhaps, the foremost authority in this field of Russian literature.

The uses to which the Chronicle may be put as an historical source are exemplified by Professor Beazley's introductory essay, which describes the rôle played by "My Lord Novgorod the Great" in Russian history; the liberty-loving spirit, the stormy political life, and the thriving commercial activities of the Novgorodians; the far-flung empire, extending even into Asia, which owed allegiance to the city by the Volkhov; and the history of the relations of the republic with the other Russian states and with the Germans, Scandinavians, Lithuanians, and Tartars. One defect, perhaps, may be noted in this introduction: the lack of any detailed description of the laws and institutions of Novgorod, or of the real character and meaning of the incessant party strife, which fills so large a part of the annals of the republic.

R. H. LORD.

The Economic Organisation of England: an Outline History.

Lectures delivered at Hamburg by WILLIAM JAMES ASHLEY, M.A., M.Com., Hon. Ph.D., Professor of Commerce, University of Birmingham. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1914. Pp. viii, 213.)

THIS is a belated notice of an excellent book. The delay has by chance given it an almost pathetic interest. Although published only a year ago and consisting of a group of lectures delivered little more than two years ago by an English scholar before a German audience, so far as the relations between England and Germany go it seems to belong to a past generation, if not to a bygone period. The comradeship in scholarly investigation reflected in these lectures, as it has been in the career of the lecturer, has all gone to wreck, for the present at least, on the primitive passions and brute instincts whose recrudescence is a part of the moral cost of the great war. However, none of these things were in the minds of either speaker or listener when these lectures were given. They are devoted to a quite objective description, without national bias, of the main currents of English economic history.

Professor Ashley has shown good judgment in devoting attention rather to the forms of social organization that have accompanied economic conditions and changes than to the details of those changes themselves. His work is necessarily blocked out on broad lines while actual economic conditions are a matter of infinite detail. He has also given

verisimilitude to his account by frequent reference to present conditions and by comparisons with other countries both in the past and in the present. It is safe to say that no better short statement of the manorial organization of the Middle Ages and its significance for the later history of the different countries of Europe exists anywhere than in the first chapter and in certain later paragraphs of this book. Much the same is true of the chapter on the guilds. These two chapters are restricted in the main to the conditions in England in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The later chapters are devoted to an outline account of the principal changes since that period: the rise of foreign trade and the growing importance of the possession of capital which was so closely connected with it, England's increasing monopoly of her own trading and manufacturing, her experiments in a state-regulated industry under the Tudors, the rise of great estate farming in the eighteenth century, the Industrial Revolution and its concomitants, and the various movements and modifications of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

This organization of his subject is of course not new with Professor Ashley in this book. It is much the same as that used by him in other works written many years ago, and it has been utilized by other writers since. Nevertheless it is here vivified by the result of much new thought and study on his part, and he has introduced into it much that is drawn from later investigations by English, Continental, and American scholars. The last chapter is characteristic of several of these points. After asserting the relatively complete failure of co-operation and profit-sharing in their most important phases, and pointing out the slight progress that has been made in the process of "moralization of employers" under an increasingly complete régime of joint-stock companies, he indicates that the evolution of capitalism during the last half-century, in all the advanced countries alike, has followed its own laws of internal development and taken a very different shape from that prophesied for it by economists or statesmen. This development has shown a strong tendency toward concentration of smaller businesses into large, union of a number of the different steps in production under one control, combination of formerly competing concerns, and collective action of employers in opposition to striking workmen. Professor Ashley interprets these movements as part of an approach toward a condition in which well-organized employers and employed will enter into more harmonious relations with one another, with the government in the background playing the part of an alert protector of the interests of the community.

Whether these generalizations are correct or not only the future can fully determine. So far as the past is concerned this book is a particularly good example of one of the most valuable types of historical writing, a brief general work by a master who has studied so long and thought so widely on his subject that he looks upon it as a

whole, discriminating for his readers its minor technicalities from its permanently significant elements.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

A Life of Robert Cecil, First Earl of Salisbury. By ALGERNON CECIL. (London: John Murray. 1915. Pp. x, 406.)

A COMPREHENSIVE biography of Sir Robert Cecil has been badly needed. In a recent volume on *The House of Cecil* (1914), Mr. Ravenscroft Dennis refers to Sir Robert as an "enigmatical figure", and says that "few great statesmen are so little known, and of few is it more difficult to form a satisfactory judgment". In writing the volume under review, Mr. Algernon Cecil's primary purpose has evidently been to elucidate the character of his illustrious ancestor. He has made use of the great mass of manuscripts preserved at Hatfield House, of manuscripts at the London Public Record Office, and of printed sources. The results are presented in pleasing literary form. Information concerning the events of Cecil's private life is scanty in comparison with the information available concerning his public career; and it is to his public activities that his biographer devotes most space. The story of his life to almost the beginning of his thirtieth year is told in sixty pages. The bulk of the volume deals with the subsequent period of nineteen years, ending with his death in 1612. In this portion of the book, the principal topics dealt with, so far as possible in chronological order, include the case of Dr. Lopez; Cecil's relations with Bacon, Essex, and Raleigh, and his secret understanding with James VI. of Scotland concerning the succession; his mission to France in 1598; his foreign policy, especially with reference to Spain; the Anglo-Spanish negotiations of 1604; his policy towards Catholics and Puritans; and his expedients to improve the state of the public finances in 1608-1610. In order to explain the multitudinous events in which Cecil, while guiding the foreign and domestic policy of England, played a part, the biographer is obliged to make frequent digressions. This necessity occasionally detracts from the unity and interest of the book. On the other hand this inherent difficulty has been largely met by keeping in the foreground, as the most prominent interest, the problem of Cecil's character. The final chapter, of nearly fifty pages, is a discussion of this problem.

Cecil's character has been very variously judged, both by his contemporaries and by ours; and this is doubtless due in great part to his extreme reserve, which amounted almost to secretiveness. His present biographer defends Cecil, but in a moderate and judicial spirit akin to Cecil's own. He carefully examines the question of Cecil's Spanish pension, and in this connection cites a report from the Spanish ambassador in London, made in December, 1611, and now in the Simancas archives, which states that "of all the confidants only El Cid, who is

the Earl of Northampton, is trustworthy and reliable, and that Cecil is as bad as he can be" (p. 361). If, as would appear, Salisbury's "treachery" was only fictitious, his acceptance of the pension is another instance of his "cunning", which his biographer admits was probably "the weak joint in the harness". The more serious accusations against his character his biographer appears to have refuted; and he has succeeded in drawing a consistent and lifelike portrait of a highly conservative and cautious man who wore himself out in laborious and efficient service of his sovereign and country.

An inaccuracy occurs on page 151, where it is stated that "the assumption . . . of an independent sovereignty over the Netherlands by the Archduke Albert and his Spanish bride" was "in accordance with the treaty of Vervins".

The History of England from the Accession of James the Second.

By LORD MACAULAY. Edited by CHARLES HARDING FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. Volumes V., VI (London: Macmillan and Company, 1914. Pp. 2083-2624; 2625-3105.)

WITH the appearance of the fifth and sixth volumes of the new edition of Lord Macaulay's *History*, what may be called the mechanical and artistic part of this considerable publishing enterprise is brought to a satisfactory conclusion. What the fate of the more scholarly portion of the task is to be is a question of more importance and possibly less certainty. Among the indirect results of the present Continental struggle not the least remarkable is its effect upon the historical minds of the powers involved. If one may believe the reports which come out of Oxford—and they are largely confirmed by the product of Oxford pens—it would seem that nearly if not quite all history before 1870 has lost its savor, for the time being at least, in the face of the great crisis now confronting Europe and the British Empire. The regius professor himself has again demonstrated the spirit which moved him to review the history of the House of Lords during the Cromwellian era in the light of early twentieth-century developments, and has devoted much time to those modern events which have for the moment overshadowed the seventeenth-century revolutions.

Yet if the final volume should thereby be delayed—and we have no published reason as yet to believe that it will be—there may be compensation. It is inevitable that modern analogies and the revivifying effect on historical study generally which will be the inevitable result of the present war, as they were of the Napoleonic conflict, will lend new interest and perhaps shed new light not merely on the European side of Macaulay's story, but perhaps upon the side relating to the struggle for popular control of government as well. It may be that

the historian of parliamentary triumph may be in for a new lease of life from the same causes which gave such an extraordinary impetus to the study of Cromwell and his age after 1315.

In regard to the volumes now under consideration, they follow, in the main, the lines laid down by their predecessors. As the motive of the narrative gradually swings from the revolution in Great Britain and Ireland to the ensuing Continental struggle, the balance of illustration shifts in like measure, and while we still make our way through the long portrait gallery of English worthies and are edified with reproductions of contemporary documents, we are gradually taken into another atmosphere. Among the English faces appear others of very different type, French, Dutch, Italian, Danish, Spanish, German, even Turkish. To plans of Londonderry and Killiecrankie succeed those of Namur and Landen and Steinkirk, maps of Greenland and of New Caledonia in Darien, plans of Carthage, views of Avignon and Barcelona, of Hanover and the Hague, above all, perhaps, in interest, "draughts" of naval engagements, in particular a fine double page of La Hogue. In this material lies the chief importance of the new edition thus far; and the wide range of subject has one very curious and illuminating effect on the fame of the historian, the more striking for being unconscious. If there are two current criticisms more vigorous than all others, they are that Macaulay was insular and political to a degree which limits greatly the value and general appeal of his work. Yet if one compares this series of illustrations with one which might conceivably be made for Ranke or Klopp—to take the two most prominent Continental works in the same field, works which come, by the way, from precisely the quarters in which these same criticisms have been most freely made—one may realize the infinitely greater catholicity of interest and the scarcely less breadth of view of the English historian when compared to the work of those abstractors of diplomatic documents. One can hardly imagine a view of the Greenland fisheries or of the Skinners' Hall, much less the English port of Bombay or the Tea Table in the reign of Anne, much less the more intimate reproductions of life and customs, literature and art, science and religion, appearing as illuminants of the text of either the Prussian or the Hanoverian historian. But to say this raises again the long-vexed question of Macaulay's rank and qualities as an historian. That it will be raised again and that shortly and vigorously there can be little doubt. For if there is one issue which is most clearly revealed by the appearance of this monumental work it is that a revival of Macaulay from the relative obscurity and discredit into which the past generation of critics and scholars has driven his work, seems more likely to take place than at any time in the past thirty years. Of that these volumes seem a portent.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Memoir of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet with their Ancestors and Immediate Family. By THOMAS ADDIS EMMET, M.D., LL.D. In two volumes. (New York: The Emmet Press. 1915. Pp. xlv, 589; xv, 644.)

THESE volumes are the productions of a man who is now more than fourscore years of age and who has worked intermittently at this task for the past half-century. The author claims that in his "work an exhaustive effort has been made for the first time to bring together all the material known to exist in connection with the lives of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet" (I. xl). With the exception of an Historical Preface, and two papers on Irish history written by the subject of the biography, which occupy the first 150 pages, the first volume is devoted to the life of Thomas Addis Emmet, though the first five chapters of the biography are concerned with the Emmet family and its connections rather than with Thomas Addis Emmet personally. A little more than half of the space in the second volume is allotted to Robert Emmet; the rest of the book is occupied by an appendix containing twenty-five documents of divers sorts, chiefly relating to the Emmet family and to the history of Ireland in the time of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet. The volumes contain more than a hundred illustrations varying in character from reproductions of portraits and old prints to facsimiles of manuscripts and newspapers. Not the least interesting among them are the facsimiles of the two cablegrams sent to the author of these volumes by the leaders of the Irish Nationalists in 1892 asking for contributions to relieve the distress of the party and acknowledging receipt of the contributions sent for that purpose (II. 330).

Dr. Emmet, a grandson of the Thomas Addis Emmet of whom he writes, came honestly by his antipathy for all things English, and he makes no attempt to conceal his partizanship. He says frankly in the outset that he "offers no apology for the views he expresses in this work; his convictions are as the warp in the construction of cloth; the fabric would be worthless were it omitted" (I. xxvii). This frankness disarms criticism, but the prejudices of the author are so strong that it is necessary to be aware of them in order to appreciate the character of his work. He is convinced that a majority of the inhabitants of the United States "are descended from Irish and German ancestors" (I. xxviii). The contrary view ordinarily held is due to "the power exerted in this country through English influence with the press, in the writing of our school-books, and, as is claimed to be the case, in teaching given in our public schools, and all for England's profit alone" (I. xxviii). Dr. Emmet believes that over sixty per cent. of the population of the United States is "to some extent of Irish blood" (I. xxx). A large number of the settlers in New England were Irish who were obliged to sail from English ports and to take English names. Others

in the same section took as wives Irish girls kidnapped and sent over for that purpose. The "followers of Raleigh, William Penn and Lord Baltimore were nearly all Irishmen", while "the Confederate Yell was the last indication preserved proving" that the settlers in the more southerly parts of the country were largely of the same nationality (I. xxxi). Naturally Dr. Emmet does not accept the views of Irish history current among British authorities and those who agree with them. He regards "that so-called Irish history" as "one continuous, egregious and wilful lie" from the time of "that violator of every precept in the Decalogue, Henry the Second", to the twentieth century (I. 218). We can understand how a writer with the state of mind indicated by these quotations would regard Pitt as "a demon incarnate in Irish affairs" (I. 214). But it would require more evidence than Dr. Emmet brings forward to enable us to understand how he became obsessed with the notion that Pitt and Napoleon, alike hostile in their inclinations toward Ireland, "entered into some compact to forward their ends" (I. 215, 242, 381, 382).

These representative citations make it clear that Dr. Emmet's work has been a labor of such concentrated love that his judgment is biased and his conclusions of little value for an impartial historian. Nevertheless, his work was not done in vain, since it has brought together in an accessible form many documents which will be of material assistance to future students of the lives of his kinsmen and of the history of Ireland in the last years of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Geschichte der Befreiungskriege, 1813 u. 1814. Von HEINRICH ULMANN. Band II. (Munich and Berlin: R. Oldenbourg. 1915. Pp. 558.)

THE second volume of Professor Ulmann's *War of the Liberation* begins in August, 1813, with the battles of Dresden, Gross Beeren, and the Katzbach—battles which fulfilled precisely Marmon's sinister prophecy, when warning Napoleon against dividing his forces: "I fear greatly lest on the day on which your Majesty has gained a victory, you may learn that you have lost two." The volume closes with the signature of the peace of Paris in May, 1814, and the departure of the allied monarchs from the French capital—Francis II. to his home, and Alexander and Frederick William to accept the Prince Regent's invitation to visit England. Though the author devotes more than a hundred pages to the battle of Leipzig and a proper relative amount to the lesser engagements, and writes a good, at times graphic, account of military events, his special ability lies in his deft analysis of the shifting diplomacy and psychological motives of the allied leaders. By garnering in the harvest of monographs to which the hundredth anni-

versary gave rise and by his own archival researches, in addition to his thorough acquaintance with the previously existing diplomatic and military accounts, he is able to give a careful, fair, and consistent account of the fluid counsels which continually handicapped the allied headquarters. Of Napoleon he says relatively little; he is looking at the war from the German point of view.

No summary could do justice to the nicety with which the author develops the almost laughable trepidation and hesitation with which the armies of Bernadotte and Schwarzenberg cautiously closed in on Napoleon toward Leipzig, uncertain until the last moment whether to venture a great decisive battle, or, holding discretion to be the better part of valor, to content themselves with threatening his flanks and leaving the way invitingly open for his retreat to the Rhine. Only Blücher showed real activity and genuine eagerness for decisive engagements; but he met with constant and ill-concealed opposition from his own generals; to Yorck he had finally to declare flatly: "The difference between us is that I command and you obey." Similarly, when Napoleon had fallen back for the campaign of 1814 in France, Professor Ulmann traces clearly the conflicting opinions at the "great headquarters" of the Allies. Politics continually interfered with strategy. Alexander and Metternich opposed one another almost to the breaking point, as to whether France should be confined to the boundaries of 1792 and whether the allied army should make straight for Paris or manoeuvre against Napoleon. The czar, with his eye on Galicia, wanted compensation for Austria in Alsace, and, with the memory of the Russian invasion, wanted to cast down Napoleon and all his family; Metternich had to have some regard for his master's son-in-law.

On the whole, Professor Ulmann's estimate of the leaders does not differ greatly from the generally accepted views. To Blücher he rightly gives the greatest credit, but without falling into blind hero-worship. Of Schwarzenberg he paints a more sympathetic and favorable picture than is usually accorded that sorely tried commander-in-chief, who had to march with two emperors and a king in his baggage train—and be responsible for their safety. The three monarchs would not command, but they wanted their advice listened to, and were continually holding councils of war which tied the hands of a general who, like Schwarzenberg, was not a dominating personality. It was partly from the study of Schwarzenberg's letters to his wife, recently published, that the author came to a juster and more favorable opinion of the Austrian commander.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

A History of Travel in America. By SEYMOUR DUNBAR. In four volumes. (Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1915. Pp. li, 339; 341-740; 741-1124; 1125-1525.)

It is a well-established tradition that the eight large volumes of Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* were projected in order to provide a medium for publishing the editor's valuable but dry and voluminous bibliographical notes. It is a reasonably safe guess that the four volumes of Dunbar's *History of Travel* were published primarily to furnish a setting for the four hundred illustrations that adorn their pages. In fact the author almost admits as much when he says in his preface that "The illustrative material, with its attendant notes, is selected and arranged to form a flowing and connected story of its own, independent of the text."

The subtitle makes the ambitious claim of "Showing the Development of Travel and Transportation from the Crude Methods of the Canoe and the Dog-Sled to the Highly Organized Railway Systems of the present, Together with a Narrative of the Human Experiences and Changing Social Conditions that Accompanied this Economic Conquest of the Continent". Although most of the subjects therein referred to are taken up in the text, it would be quite misleading to imagine that we have here an adequate history of travel in America. In the first place it is really the territory of the present United States and not the whole continent that is under consideration. In the second place the narrative stops with the completion of the first transcontinental railroad in 1869, and there follows only a brief moralizing chapter of sixteen pages labelled "Summary of Present Conditions". In the third place, and most important of all, although the author has acquired a vast amount of information upon his subject, he evidently does not comprehend the development of transportation in its relation to trade and commerce. Without this one cannot write a history of travel.

Under such circumstances it is not altogether surprising to find lacking a correct sense of proportion in considering the subject as a whole. To the serious student of history, it is rather a detriment to have some 350,000 words of text spread over four royal octavo volumes. It is more objectionable to find the half of one volume (II.) together with other occasional pages and chapters, given up to the Indians. If this dealt with the relation of the Indians to travel and transportation it might be excusable, but the blocking by the Indians of the expansion of settlement furnishes the occasion for a lengthy disquisition ending in a sermon upon the treatment of the Indians by the "Caucasians". While this is an extreme case, it illustrates a serious fault in the work.

Furthermore the method of presentation is at times confusing. In one or more chapters it is chronological, then it may be by sections—

New England, South, or West—and then by topic or by method of conveyance. This results in confusion that is not only annoying but misleading. For example, long after having finished with the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee, and having brought those sections down to at least 1795, we find on later pages, in connection with "travel by wagons", a consideration of Braddock's Road which was built in 1755 and was an important connecting link in one of the routes to Kentucky.

These criticisms are severe but they are directed mainly at the work as "a history of travel in America", and at the claims that are made in the subtitle. It is only fair to say that a modification of the subtitle at least is under consideration for the new edition which is in process of preparation. In the opinion of the reviewer the illustrations are the real feature of the work, and should be emphasized to the extent of calling this a "pictorial history". They are interesting and delightful, and it is a great convenience to have in one set of volumes a series of pictures illustrating the whole course of the development of travel in the United States. Many of these pictures are also valuable because of their rarity.

Owing to the character of the paper used, some of the illustrations are not so clearly reproduced as might be desired; the author is at fault in many cases in not giving sufficiently accurate descriptions of the illustrations and stating more definitely whence they have been derived; and too many of the illustrations of early travel have been taken from later prints, as in the case of the *Clermont's* first trip on the Hudson in 1807 (II. 344-345), where a print of 1856 is used and reference made to the first steamship crossing the Atlantic. But when these criticisms are made and these limitations appreciated, the rest is pure enjoyment.

There are many good things to be found in the text from so much of the author's storehouse of information as he has placed at the reader's disposal, although the thread of connection is sometimes so slender as to be barely visible. If one goes through these volumes looking at the illustrations and incidentally reading the text, he is much more likely to pick up some of these choice bits of history than if he attempts to treat the work seriously as a history of travel. In the latter case he is in danger of losing his patience.

In other words, there is much that is well worth while in these volumes. They ought to be taken into consideration by every student of American history. But each student will have to pick out what he needs for himself. The index will not help him, for most of it is impossible of use by any one save the author.

MAX FARRAND.

American State Trials. Edited by JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D.
 Volumes II., III. (St. Louis, Mo.: F. H. Thomas Law Book
 Company. 1914. Pp. xviii, 937; xx, 909.)

THE second and third volumes of this valuable work will be welcomed by scholars interested in American history, in sociology, in human nature, and by general readers, as well as by jurists. They contain matter which, hitherto, has been inaccessible to almost everyone and which throws light upon the politics, the Constitution, and the customs of the citizens of the United States, with illustrations of the rhetoric prevalent among them during the nineteenth century, besides many interesting narratives. The high standard set by the first volume has been maintained. The trials are published *verbatim* from the original reports. There are apparently no omissions such as too often prevent the reader of a repertory from finding what he seeks.

Dr. Lawson has undertaken a labor that might occupy the time of several scholars. It is consequently no wonder that his notes often omit what might reasonably be expected. This is especially remarkable in the most important case in these two volumes: the trial of Thomas Wilson Dorr for treason against the state of Rhode Island. The bibliography there omits the most valuable collections of material upon the subject: the report of the Burke select committee to the House of Representatives (*House Doc. No. 546*, 23 Cong., 1 sess.), and *The Dorr War*, by Dr. Arthur M. Mowry (Providence, 1901). There is no mention of the attempt to procure the review of the decision of the state court by the Supreme Court of the United States. The application for a writ of habeas corpus was denied because the prisoner was denied the opportunity to apply personally for the same; and it was held that no third person could file a petition on his behalf (*Ex parte Dorr*, 3 Howard 103). When it was sought by an action of trespass to determine which of the two state governments had the better right, the Supreme Court held that the federal judiciary was bound to support the one which had been recognized by the federal executive and consequently refused to pass upon the constitutional questions involved (*Luther v. Borden*, 7 Howard 1).

There is no citation of the places where the reader can find the opinion of the judges of the state supreme court as to the invalidity of the People's Constitution and those of the seven lawyers who supported the contrary contention. It would have been well to mention that Van Buren, Benton, Governor Marcus Morton of Massachusetts, and George Bancroft, the historian, agreed with Dorr's position. A reference to the more modern authorities upon the question, whether a constitution can lawfully be altered by the people in a different manner from that specified in the instrument itself, would also have been illuminating. This is discussed in Jameson's *The Constitutional Convention* (fourth edition), § 563, etc.; in the opinion of the supreme court

of Rhode Island *In re Constitutional Convention*, 14 R. I. 649, A. D. 1883; and in a number of pamphlets published in Rhode Island and elsewhere, including one by Judge Bradley of that state. The letter of President Tyler to Governor King saying that, if necessary to preserve order, he would support the established government, which is quoted in Burke's report and to which reference is made in the arguments upon the trial, might well have been set forth in full. A reference to the place where it can be found might, at least, have been inserted. Even *Ex parte Bollman* and *Swartwout*, cited in the argument of counsel, is left without a mention of the book where it is reported (4 Cranch 75). It would have necessitated more labor to find and note what is known of the previous trial of Colonel Cooley for acts similar to those of Dorr, which Chief Justice Durfee cited as a precedent against the latter. There is no mention of the trials of Dorr's other adherents: William H. Smith, Dutee J. Pearce, Barrington Anthony, and Benjamin Arnold, jr. It would have added color to the report to have quoted the subsequent act of the assembly held to have been unconstitutional, to which a reference is made. This ordered the clerk of the supreme court for the county of Newport to "write across the face of the record of the judgment the words 'Reversed and Annulled by order of the General Assembly at their January Session A. D. 1854'".

The report of the trial of Bathsheba Spooner does not state that the evidence is quoted from the notes of one of the justices, Jedediah Foster. (His name is there spelt "Jededeah".) And he is the only one of the judges before whom the trial took place whose biography is omitted. It may be found in the *Boston Gazette* of November 9, 1779. He was born in 1726 and died in 1779, his death being the result of a chill, received when crossing Lake Champlain to Fort Ticonderoga upon military service for the state and of which the effects were increased by his labors in connection with the Massachusetts constitutional convention. He was an officer in the last French and Indian War, as well as during the Revolution. He was recognized as the leading patriot in Massachusetts west of the Atlantic seaboard. According to the tradition of the town of Brookfield, he, and not John Adams, was the author of the first draft of the constitution of Massachusetts. An essay by her grand-nephew, Mr. Samuel Swett Green, argues that Mrs. Spooner was insane at the time of her husband's murder, the cause of her insanity being her condition of pregnancy operating upon an hereditary taint.

The statement by Thurlow Weed as to Whitney's confession concerning the circumstances of Morgan's death is not placed where it would naturally be expected, in the account of the trial of Seymour and others for Morgan's abduction; but is tucked away in the preface, where no one would think of looking for it. It would have been well to have added one or two of the anecdotes concerning Thurlow Weed,

which some might think affected his credibility: at least his famous answer when doubt was expressed as to whether the body found in the Niagara River was that of Morgan, "It is a good enough Morgan until after the election." The trial of Clough for embracery in connection with a libel suit brought by an Anti-Mason should have followed that of Morgan's abductors, instead of being placed in a later part of the volume. In the narrative of Walker's trial for aiding slaves to escape from Florida in 1844, it is said that this was the subject of a poem by Whittier; but we find there no hint that the poem is published at length in the preface.

The Colonel Spencer who appeared for the defendant in the Padrone Ancarola's case was not the slow and sedate James Clark Spencer, formerly judge of the superior court of the city of New York, and then known as one of the editors of Jones and Spencer's *Reports*; but a rampant criminal lawyer in New York City, called by the bar Charlie Spencer. As the only report was published by the philanthropical society that incited the prosecution, it is not surprising that his speech and cross-examination of plaintiff's witnesses, besides all the evidence offered for the defendant, is omitted and ignored. For this, of course, Dr. Lawson is not responsible.

It is hard to find a reason for the inclusion of the trial of Berthina Tucker.

If the difficulties and delay in the collection of material have prevented the editor from a chronological arrangement, an arrangement that was topical could to some extent have been followed. This would have been a great convenience to the reader. But it seems ill grace to note the demerits of a publication for which all scholars should be grateful. No historical library and no law library can afford to be without it.

ROGER FOSTER.

The French in the Heart of America. By JOHN FINLEY, President of the University of the State of New York. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. x, 431.)

PRESIDENT FINLEY has gathered into a well-printed and well-indexed volume of some 400 pages the lectures delivered by him in Paris and other cities of France, on the Hyde Foundation administered by Harvard University. The historical portions of the lectures are taken mainly from Parkman, "without whose long labors", says the lecturer, "I could not have prepared these papers". One lecture is devoted to Parkman, and in twenty or more scattered references there is sufficient material for a complete biographical sketch of that historian. Samuel M. Clemens also receives due attention as a descriptive writer. "Mark Twain has put forever on the map of letters (where the Euphrates, the Nile, the Ilyssus, the Tiber, the Seine, the Thames have long been) the Missis-

issippi, the river which the French first traced on the maps of geography." Autobiographical material abounds.

The lectures are composed in rhetorical narrative style after this fashion: "There was ample seed by now, and still more was soon to be added, for very soon, the same year, the gentle Garnier is to die the same death ministering to these same Hurons, whose refugees, flying beyond two lakes to escape from their murderous foes, are to lure the priests still further on westward till, even in their unmundane thoughts, the great mysterious river begins to flow towards a longed-for sea" (p. 33). Or this: "From the *coureurs de bois*, 'runners of the woods,' whom he [Champlain], tied by the interests of his feeble colony to the Rock, had sent out, enviously no doubt, upon journeys of exploration and arbitration among the Indians, and from the Gray Friars and Black Gowns who, inflamed of his spirit, had gone forth through the solitudes from Indian village to village, from suffering to suffering, reports had come which he must have been frequently translating with his practiced hand into river and shore line of this precious map, the original of which is still kept among the proud archives of France" (p. 23). The author displays a passion for epithetical adjectives. Thus we have among others "the Homeric Parkman" (p. vi), "the blind Parkman" (p. 44), and "the Puritan Parkman" (p. 66); the "mendacious" and the "hungry" Hennepin; the "aboriginal insects"; and "the equator-sloping half of the continent".

George Washington's part in winning this country first from France and afterwards from England is adverted to; and a long leap is taken in the chapter "From La Salle to Lincoln". Yet the historical portions of the lectures really furnish the foundation for the superstructure, which is comprised in those chapters dealing with the development of the basins of the Great Lakes and the Mississippi. The French auditors were told that, "One harvest in the picturesque words of Mr. Casson, would buy Belgium, two would buy Italy, three would buy Austro-Hungary, and five, at a spot-cash price, would take Russia from the Czar." And this before the great war began! From the many such expositions of the material wealth of this country the French easily discover whence comes the money Americans spend in Paris. The lack of conservation heretofore displayed by our people is lamented and explained; and the visible signs of amendment of our ways are mentioned. We miss the excellent illustrations that accompanied those chapters which were published in one of the magazines. In France (where so many of the sources from which American writers have drawn are available) exception might be taken to calling Nicolet a *coureur de bois*. Not only does Sulte maintain that the class did not come into existence until about 1670, but Nicolet had none of their characteristics. So, too, a Frenchman, familiar with Marquette's writings would regard him as the last man "to quiet his morbid conscience, which must have reproved his exploring ambitions". The absolute sincerity of Marquette shines through everything written by or about him.

Letters and Papers relating to the Cruises of Gustavus Conyngham, a Captain in the Continental Navy, 1777-1779. Edited by ROBERT WILDEN NEESER. [Publications of the Naval History Society, vol. VI.] (New York: The Naval History Society. 1915. Pp. liii, 240.)

WHILE most of the official correspondence dealing with the predatory voyages of Captain Conyngham and the hardships which fell to his lot in British prisons has already been printed in various collections of Revolutionary documents; the zeal of the editor of this volume has added several interesting papers, some of which, he thinks, go "deeper into the well-springs of history" than the published record. From all these he has constructed a consistent narrative of his hero's roving cruises, his sufferings in captivity, and his unavailing pleas for recognition and reward from the American government. His conclusion agrees with that of Fenimore Cooper, who regarded Conyngham as a duly commissioned captain in the United States navy throughout the period when his prizes were taken. He was therefore not exposed to the penal laws against piracy, even if his commissions were "intended for temporary expeditions only and not to give rank in the Navy", as declared in an adverse report by a committee of Congress in 1784.

Nevertheless, Conyngham was apt to sail rather close to the margin of piracy, and charges were brought against him by other than British authorities. Nations which had not recognized the United States might well object to the disturbance of their trade by the seizure of English goods in neutral ships, whether this was done by Conyngham's orders or by the mutinous interference of his undisciplined crew, as in the case of a French and a Swedish prize taker while his cutter, the *Revenge*, haunted the Spanish coasts. The irritation which led to the harsh treatment of Conyngham upon his capture by the British fleet in 1779 was due to his audacity in taking the mail-packet for Holland in the Narrow Seas and bringing her into Dunkirk, whence he had sailed a few days before. In 1777 France still sought to "keep appearances" with the English ministry, and Conyngham was arrested and his prizes restored. This proceeding served to keep his crew in hand, and the *Revenge*, a cutter in which Conyngham was captured after two years of predatory cruising, sailed under bonds to make a direct voyage to America in July, 1777. Conyngham had a naval commission for this vessel from the American commissioners in Paris, but he finished his voyage as a privateer, the cutter having been sold upon her arrival in America early in 1779. His irregular captures had closed all Spanish ports to him before he left European waters, and his privateering course lasted only a month as he was taken off New York on April 27, 1779.

To Sir George Collier, commodore and commander-in-chief of the British ships in America—described in the index as "Commander, R. N."—Conyngham was a criminal who had to be sent to England for

punishment; and shackles and black-holes were within his deserts. Cruelty was abated after his arrival at Plymouth, though he was committed for high treason like other mariners in Mill Prison. The charge of piracy was dropped after Congress had certified that he was duly commissioned and that a British officer should suffer in retaliation for Conyngham's rigorous treatment. While rated as an exchangeable prisoner he had the good fortune to escape to the Continent in November, 1779. He was recaptured in March, 1780, but he seems to have been treated as an ordinary prisoner during the ensuing year. This can hardly be called a "glorious record" for a naval officer, but Mr. Neeser credits him with sixty-odd prizes, only a few of which were successfully brought into port and his activity doubtless raised the rates of marine insurance in London.

The man himself fails to emerge from the documents here accumulated. He could not tell his own story—even his diary fails to supply a consecutive report; and the only finished piece of sentimental rhetoric attributed to his pen is found in a petition on his behalf from the merchants of Philadelphia, where he was known as a resident. The Conyngham who applied for French citizenship in 1777 may have been another Irishman of that name, though Mr. Neeser does not say so.

The Spanish port called St. Anthonys (perhaps Santander) is neither indexed nor identified. "Comte d'Estaing" in a note is hardly an improvement on Conyngham's phonetic "de Stang"; and Gérard de Rayneval is entitled to his accent. But in general the editorial care shown in this volume is worthy of the handsome form in which the Naval History Society issues its publications.

C. G. CALKINS.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1812. By FRANK A. UPDYKE, Ph.D., Ira Allen Eastman Professor of Political Science, Dartmouth College. [The Albert Shaw Lectures in Diplomatic History, 1914.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. Pp. 494.)

THE completion of a century of peace between the United States and Great Britain is a supremely fitting time for the present extended review of the negotiations which terminated the War of 1812. If no other reason existed, it would be worth while to press home once more by such a temperate and judicious study as this the realization of how far the two nations have gone along the high road to mutual understanding and appreciation—as far, for example, as from Francis Jackson to James Bryce. This solid volume of eleven chapters gains added significance from its appearance in an hour of acute interest in war and diplomacy, when its statements of England's policy of a century ago regarding present-day questions of blockade, seizure of ships and goods, and the motives and status of her enemy, take on a peculiar meaning.

Professor Updyke's work as a whole presents the results of a thorough survey of all available materials in a clear and discriminating manner, though he has discovered no bodies of new facts which compel any considerable shift in the centre of gravity of established judgments of men or measures. He gives himself the benefit of any doubts about the extent of his functions as a diplomatic historian. The first third of the book is devoted to questions at issue between the two nations during the twenty years before war was declared, such as Great Britain's irritating and humiliating aggressions upon American citizens, commerce, and national dignity. The last two chapters trace out to their final settlement the various topics discussed during the negotiations for peace, even when such settlements were so much later that they may be considered as a part of the diplomacy of the war only by an extreme stretch of historical courtesy. The history of the diplomacy of the suppression of the slave-trade, for example, is brought down to 1863 and 1890; the disputes as to boundaries to 1842; and the fisheries question to 1912. The ebb and flow of discussions between the two commissions regarding the Indians, Louisiana, boundaries, and the northeastern fisheries is clearly described. The freshest chapter in the volume is that entitled Ratification and Reception of the Treaty. It is the only one, however, which suggests the vivacity and charm of the four chapters on American diplomacy during the war in the great work of Henry Adams.

For Professor Updyke, as for other writers on this period, the *American State Papers* prove to be a veritable quarry out of which to dig ready-hewn stones in much the same way as the Romans of the seventeenth century dug building blocks from the ruins of the Colosseum. His new structure is dignified, well-proportioned, expansive, and comfortable, but quite lacking in distinction of style, even when decorated with small importations from the British archives and with gossip from the Russell Papers and the Crawford Transcripts (pp. 382-384). Probably the Russell Papers yielded quite as much as was expected, for Jonathan Russell had neither breadth, depth, nor keenness of mind, a fact admirably shown in the story here told of his use in 1822 of a garbled "copy" of his letter of 1815 to Monroe, when he was trying to prevent the nomination of Adams for the presidency.

This volume is notably free from errors, as a rule, but it is quite unpardonable to refer to William Jones as Secretary of War (p. 147), and slightly misleading to give "Monroe Papers, MS." as reference for Gallatin's important letter of October 26, 1814, to Monroe, when the letter was long ago printed in full in the *Writings* of Gallatin.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, 1819-1841. By THOMAS MAITLAND MARSHALL. [University of California Publications in History, vol. II.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1914. Pp. xiii, 266.)

THIS monograph is a doctoral dissertation but it is not to be classed with the usual run of such contributions either in method, content, or results. The author has attacked a problem which many writers have left unsolved and has solved it with apparent success and finality. The main body of the work is concerned with an examination of the various positions taken by the United States and Mexico, with Texas as the latter's successor after 1837, from the signing of the Florida treaty to the final adjustment of the boundary between Texas and Louisiana in 1841. As a preliminary to the main topic the writer has re-examined the evidence as to the extent of Louisiana between 1803 and 1819 with some valuable and interesting results. The key to the policy of the United States after 1803 he finds to be the final opinion, not reached until the spring of 1804, of Jefferson as to the limits of the Louisiana Purchase. "Starting with the idea that the purchase was confined to the western waters of the Mississippi Valley, the conception had gradually extended until it included West Florida, Texas, and the Oregon country, a view which was to be the basis of a large part of American diplomacy for nearly half a century" (p. 14), a conception, as has long been shown, historically quite erroneous. The instructions to Victor, urged by Mr. Henry Adams as evidence that Louisiana extended to the Rio Grande, are shown to have been based upon a misreading of maps, and, what is more to the point, of little cogency as against Spain. Incidentally Mr. Adams is corrected in another particular: the famous bath-tub episode, associated with Napoleon's determination to dispose of Louisiana, occurred in October, 1802, and not in April, 1803.

While on the one hand the American attitude toward the western boundary of Louisiana was determined largely by Jefferson's opinion, the policy of Spain, at first one of protest, became by 1804 one "to restrict Louisiana to the narrowest bounds possible" (p. 19). The idea of a neutral ground, appearing in the Wilkinson agreement, was greatly extended in Madison's proposals and continued to appear until the close of the first stage of the negotiations, suspended until after the Bourbon restoration. An important clue to Adams's diplomacy is furnished by the suggestion that Adams did not trade claims to Texas for the Floridas, but the Floridas being in effect lost to Spain, the claims to Texas, such as they were, were exchanged for a Spanish quit-claim to the Oregon country, a suggestion which fits in with the memorable entry of Adams upon the signature of the treaty. The value of Mr. Marshall's treatment of Spain's policy during the Florida negotiation is much enhanced by his use of the hitherto unused boundary reports of Talamantes and Pichardo, a reproduction of the latter's map appearing as the frontispiece to the book.

The desire of the United States to acquire at least a part of Texas, suspected by Mexico as early as 1824, colored the relations of the two countries from the beginning. The delay in the ratification of the treaty of 1828 and the unwarranted assumption by Van Buren that the Neches was the Sabine appear in a somewhat sinister light when accompanied by a restatement of the Anthony Butler intrigue. As to the latter, Mr. Marshall disagrees with Mr. Barker, who acquitted Jackson of improper motives in an article in the *American Historical Review* (XII. 788-809). The activities of General Gaines, culminating in his occupation of Nacogdoches, and the subsequent Gorostiza-Forsyth correspondence, are viewed as a part of Jackson's unneutral attitude toward Mexico. In the reviewer's opinion this chapter is the least convincing in the book. That violations of neutrality were winked at is notorious, but pro-Texan rather than anti-Mexican popular sentiment was responsible for this and the evidence is confused by the quarrel of Gaines, Scott, and Macomb. The difficulties between Texas and the United States over the boundary after 1837 present a new and fruitful topic. The United States did not desire territory at the expense of Texas, the line of 1819 was renewed, and Van Buren's claim to the Neches was quickly found to be untenable. The book closes with an interesting account of the work of the international commission which ran the boundary from Sabine Pass to the Red River. Incidentally to the main narrative the writer shows that Houston's idea of an Anglo-Texan understanding was expressed as early as 1837. The claim is made that Jackson's decision as to recognition was probably influenced by his interviews with Santa Anna. If so, the evidence is not conclusive and that Morfit's final reports were controlling seems more likely.

The narrative as a whole is carefully and interestingly presented and it is helped greatly by the thirty maps prepared by the author to illustrate the text. Nowhere else can one find graphically set forth the various proposals and counter-proposals from 1803 to 1835. One set of maps shows the development of Jefferson's conception; another gives the expansion of the neutral ground idea; a third sets out the many lines suggested during the Florida negotiations, while a fourth traces the various attempts to purchase territory from Mexico. All are excellent though two criticisms may perhaps be made: the area of the Wilkinson neutral ground seems to be too great, while the position of the Arroyo Hondo is apparently too far to the east.

JESSE S. REEVES.

Jahrbuch der Deutsch-Amerikanischen Historischen Gesellschaft von Illinois. Herausgegeben von JULIUS GOEBEL. [Deutsch-Amerikanische Geschichtsblätter, Jahrgang 1914, vol. XIV.] (Chicago: The Society. 1915. Pp. 593.)

USEFUL and valuable contributions alternate in the present *Jahrbuch*. The beginning is made with a collection of unpublished letters

of Carl Follen, presented by Professor Herman Haupt of the University of Giessen, author of *Karl Follen und die Giessener Schwarzen* (1907). Especially interesting are the letters that passed between the brothers Carl, August, and Paul—all of them refugees, Carl laboring constructively in the cause of abolition, not less of religious tolerance and scholarship in his adopted country, the oldest brother August, the poet, teaching in Switzerland, the youngest, Paul, soon destined to follow his brother Carl, but unfortunately not to the seat of growing American intellectual life, but to become the leader of a colony (*Giessener Auswanderungsgesellschaft*, 1844) on the banks of the Missouri, a post for which he was temperamentally unfit. We get glimpses of Carl Follen's daily life in Cambridge in his letters to his father. Carl Beck's letter to Professor Jung of Basel written very shortly after the death of Carl Follen at sea in the fire-horror of the *Lexington*, January 13, 1840, reflects the loss deeply felt of one of the most brilliant men of the age.

The second number in the *Jahrbuch* is a collection of German-American lyrics of the eighteenth century by H. A. Rattermann. They include mainly the hymns of the brothers and sisters of the Ephrata monastery, though poetic effusions of Pastorius, the Revs. Helmuth and Kunze, Conrad Weiser, Henry Miller, Zinzendorf, and many others add to the curious interest. "The Early Influence of Wagner in America" is outlined by Viola E. Knoche, while Professor F. I. Herriott adds new material to his foregoing study of the "Germans in Iowa and the Two-Year Amendment of Massachusetts", in his present article entitled, "The Germans in the Gubernatorial Campaign of Iowa in 1859". Otto Lohr unfolds a picture of the German element in the United States exactly one hundred years ago, describing their share in the social and economic affairs of the country, and their participation in the war on land and sea.

The article which stands out prominently in the *Jahrbuch* is one on a subject long awaiting attention, "German-American Jews", by Herman Eliassof. The author divides the Jewish immigrations to America into three periods. The earliest was that of the Sephardim, Spanish or Portuguese refugees, many of whom came by way of Holland. They settled first at New Amsterdam, but when persecuted established their main colony at Newport, R. I. These settlers delivered an address to George Washington on the occasion of his visit to Newport in 1790; the President's gracious reply is reprinted by Mr. Eliassof. There were some German Jews among the Sephardim, and there is a record of some settling at Shafersville and Lancaster, Pennsylvania, and also at Leitersville, Maryland. The second immigration was that of the Ashkenazim, the German Jews, covering principally the period of the Mexican War, the Rebellion, and the Reconstruction period. The third and last epoch of Jewish immigration to the United States is

known as the Russo-Polish, including many immigrants from Galicia and Rumania, and beginning with the close of the nineteenth century.

The author tells us, that the Sephardim were conservative, haughty, and aloof, and while they prepared the way for the Ashkenazim, the latter were really the progressive element, enterprising in commerce and industry; zealous in establishing religious, educational, and benevolent institutions. "The German Jewish immigrants brought with them a highly developed double culture, a strong combination of Jewish ethics and German civil virtue." In 1843 twelve German-American Jews founded the "Independent Order B'nai B'rith", the New York lodge becoming the parent of chapters throughout the United States, in Europe, even in Asia and Africa. Their ideals of benevolence, brotherly love, and harmony entered into the life of the Jews of America; solidarity, patriotism, and charity were fostered by them. The German Jews are responsible for the organization of the Hebrew charities, which are a model for all the world. The Jewish Publication Society will soon add to its achievements a new translation of the Bible, made possible by the donation of \$100,000 by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff. A series of interesting biographical sketches, by no means exhaustive, appears in the essay, of German-American Jews, names that shine as stars of the first magnitude in business and charity, in education and the professions. The list closes with the careers of the leaders, Dr. Emil G. Hirsch of Chicago, Simon Wolf of Washington, Jacob H. Schiff, and Oscar S. Straus of New York. The total Jewish population in the United States in 1914 Mr. Eliassof estimates at 2,500,000, of which the city of New York contains over 1,000,000. Of these about one-fifth are German Jews. Up to 1848 the Portuguese Jews, estimated at 50,000, were in the majority, after which the German Jews became more numerous than all others. From 1905 the Russo-Polish immigration exceeded all others and continues to do so. The oldest and newest Jewish immigrations have shown a tendency to concentrate in cities or definite districts, while the German Jews are more equally distributed over the entire country.

A. B. FAUST.

Reconstruction in Georgia, Economic, Social, Political, 1865-1872.

By C. MILDRED THOMPSON, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXIV., no. 1.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. 418.)

THIS study adds an interesting and comprehensive volume to the growing list of special investigations of Reconstruction in the separate states. Georgia, though the last state to be readmitted to the Union, suffered less than her sister states, partly because the negroes did not so heavily overbalance the whites, and partly because many respectable

white men, some of Southern birth, some of Northern birth but long residence in the state, assumed the leadership that elsewhere was seized by the carpet-bagger. "On the whole, as far as personnel is concerned, the reconstruction administration of Georgia was not entirely bad, was even quite good in some members. This praise, faint as it is, is more than can be given to most of the governments of the Southern states in 1868."

The text comprises, beside an introductory chapter on Georgia in the war, three distinct parts. The first, Economic Readjustment and Reorganization, deals with the transition from slavery to freedom, 1865-1866, with the consequent labor, commercial, social, and political readjustments. The second, Military and Political Reconstruction, 1867-1872, details the unsavory story of Congressional Reconstruction in its two periods, with the final victory of home rule and the flight of Governor Bullock. The third, Economic Progress and Social Changes, explains the rapid recovery of the state, particularly in the northern portion, from the devastation of the war, and seeks to trace the permanent residuum of Reconstruction in its largest sense. Each part is treated in considerable detail, and in a candid and impartial spirit.

An adequate review of the wealth of interesting material presented would exceed the limits of assigned space; but a few points may be selected. In her treatment of Georgia's sole experiment with a state income tax, during the progress of the war, the author seems to have overlooked W. A. Shelton's valuable monograph. The Freedmen's Bureau, so hotly resented by most Southerners of the day, seems on the whole to be vindicated in the opinion of the author, who declares it "an important constructive force towards economic adjustment in the immediate transition from slavery to freedom". Still at times it was "badly mismanaged, granting unnecessary support and unnecessary tutelage and guardianship to the freedmen, and teaching them to distrust the whites". And again, "Many of the subordinate agents were incompetent, unfit for what was a most difficult and delicate work." "They manipulated the helpless black voters for their own aggrandizement." *Per contra*, the Ku Klux movement was "to protect white citizens and to bring some order out of social chaos when bayonet was law, when government and justice were in the hands of their opponents". "This was primarily a movement of regulators, to administer rude justice where courts and officers of law were inadequate." The striking career of Joseph E. Brown, "the power behind the throne", in his triple rôle of leader in Secession, in Reconstruction, and in restoration of democratic home rule, is vividly portrayed, though the author does not venture an explicit estimate of his character or performance. Governor Bullock is more summarily disposed of: "A careful reading of Bullock's defense fails to bring conviction that he disproved a single charge of the investigating committee."

The social and economic transformation wrought by the forces set

at work by emancipation and the waste of the war is still in progress. The years from 1865 to 1872 are only the beginning; and their only unity lies in the political abnormality that ceased in 1872. Reconstruction in Georgia meant a wider democratization of society. The way was opened to the middle class; other kinds of wealth than land and slaves became the basis of social prestige. "The reconstruction period was followed by shifting, not only in class dominance, but also in sectional dominance. The center of influence moved further to the uplands, with growing importance of the Piedmont region, at the expense of the cotton-belt." Reconstruction brought about a greater social democracy; the white was freed, as well as the black. But the process was painful and costly to the last degree.

The book is provided with a good table of contents, but unfortunately lacks an index.

J. H. T. MCPHERSON.

A History of Indiana from its Exploration to 1850. By LOGAN ESAREY, Ph.D., Instructor in Western History, Indiana University. (Indianapolis: W. K. Stewart Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 515.)

ON the eve of the one hundredth anniversary of the admission of Indiana to statehood it is opportune that there should appear a history which shows the product of much original research, and which has been brought together in the modern historical spirit. Probably no field of American history has been so neglected as that of the separate states. This is particularly true of Indiana, and the field is still open for a history that will cover the whole period, since Mr. Esarey's contribution closes with 1852.

The history of Indiana as one of the frontier states is suggestive of the distinctive part which the frontier has played in the warp and woof of American history. An added appreciation of the history of Indiana will give a new appreciation of our nation's development, particularly as the one hundredth year of her history coincides with the great national era.

In his preface, Mr. Esarey points out the difficulties which one now meets in investigating the historical data concerning Indiana and he states that he has traced his facts to primary sources and has excluded from his book many traditional stories popularly regarded as substantial history but which have been found to be without historical foundation. The text of 490 pages is divided into twenty-one chapters. Chapter I. is given to the French period. The English period is treated in chapter II. and the conquest by Virginia, during the Revolutionary War, is described in chapter III. The closing campaigns of the Revolution as they are related to this region furnish the subject-matter of chapter IV. and chapter V. deals with the Indian wars, 1790-1796.

Chapter VI. consists of a history of the government of the Northwest Territory and chapter VII. is devoted to Indiana Territory, 1800-1816. Chapter VIII. treats of Indiana's relation to the War of 1812, and chapter IX. gives the transition from the territory to statehood. The remaining chapters tell the history of the state from 1816 to 1852. Chapter X. relates to the state government at Corydon. Chapter XI. traces the economic development from 1825 to 1835; and the beginnings of religious and educational activities are outlined in chapter XII. Politics from 1825 to 1840 is described in chapter XIII. and a history of the removal of the Indians from the state is given in chapter XIV. The survey and sale of public lands in the state is discussed in chapter XV.; the subject of internal improvements in which Indiana was so greatly engaged is well presented in chapter XVI.; and the second and third state banks of Indiana furnish the subject-matter for chapter XVII. Chapter XVIII., entitled the Pioneers and their Social Life, is one of the best in the book. It gives a plain, matter-of-fact account of the early life and conditions in the state. Indiana's part in the Mexican War is treated in chapter XIX., and the history of the constitutional convention of 1850 is given in chapter XX. The last chapter is devoted to Indiana politics from 1840 to 1852.

One cannot help regretting that the author has closed his history at such an early date, especially since Dillon in his history of Indiana published in 1858 covered so thoroughly the territorial period.

The style of the author is clear and direct, but somewhat heavy. The emphasis is well placed and the subjects are treated with due proportion. The institutional history is well covered topically and the chapters are subdivided in a way to show the connection with the general subject.

The author has used a great deal of original material but has interpreted it in his own language. He treats the old traditions sympathetically, but shows that they are largely false, and that the facts do not warrant many of the conclusions which the people have made. The subject-matter is interspersed with many anecdotes which add interest. While the discussion lacks detail yet it is accurate.

One of the commendable features is the foot-notes, and the author has given a brief estimate of the relative value of his authorities which is quite worth while. Another very attractive feature of the book is the collection of fifteen maps illustrating the development of the state to 1852. There is a good summary of the civil institutions of the state. The volume is provided with a good bibliography of twelve pages, although it might to advantage have been made more complete. The index could have been improved upon.

All in all, Mr. Esarey has made a distinct contribution to the history of Indiana, and in so doing to the history of the nation, and one may hope that he will carry forward the work to a more recent time.

History of Social Legislation in Iowa. By JOHN E. BRIGGS.
[Iowa Social History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society. 1915. Pp. xiv, 444.)

History of Poor Relief Legislation in Iowa. By JOHN L. GILLIN.
[Iowa Social History Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City: State Historical Society. 1914. Pp. xiv, 404.)

THESE two volumes of the *Iowa Social History* series make a notable addition to the informational, scholarly, and original publications of the Iowa Historical Society. "Scholars are no longer called upon to prove that the story of social progress is history." "The modern point of view in all legislation is social." These statements from the editor's introduction give a key to both volumes.

The term "social legislation" in Mr. Briggs's hands has a broad scope. He definitely traces two classes of legislation, namely that affecting particular classes (dependents, defectives, delinquents, pensioners, and laborers) and that affecting society in general (public health, public safety, public morals, and domestic relations). This discussion is divided into two parts, the first being a treatment of the history of the question based on the enactments found in each of the six more or less formal law codes in Iowa's history, the last one being dated 1897, and the second (pp. 145 to 347) being a description of Iowa's social legislation during the last sixteen years. The development of public concern for social welfare during these more recent years is clearly pictured, and the preventive rather than merely remedial aim of much of the more recent legislation is properly commended. The story of this legislation is interesting, and the book is a useful one. The nature of the subject, however, and the necessity for covering so much ground with so many lines of development carried along together, necessarily give the work something of a disconnected character. But it is packed full of authoritative information on the subject.

The *History of Poor Relief Legislation* in Iowa is precisely what the title states, i. e., an historical treatment not of the system of poor relief as a whole, but of the legislative side of it in Iowa. It is a careful and painstaking review of the principles and methods involved in this legislation. It is written from the standpoint of a trained sociologist, who believes that the present plan of public poor relief in Iowa is inadequate and antiquated and that more scientific methods of carrying it on should be introduced. Part I. traces poor relief legislation from the time of the old Northwest Territory through the successive changes under territorial and state governments of Iowa to 1914. Part II. deals with special phases of the subject, such as county relief officials, the poorhouse, outdoor relief, etc. Part III., perhaps the most interestingly written of all, changes the point of view and

gives a discussion of what the legislation has been for special classes such as defectives, soldiers' orphans, normal children, vagrants, etc. Part IV. consists of two brief chapters of summary and suggestions. Two of the most important of these suggestions are to group several of the counties into one "poor district" and to secure more competent township overseers. Undoubtedly this work will have an important effect leading to improvement in the legislation for and the administration of poor relief in Iowa. It is a matter for regret that a careful study of the administrative shortcomings of the system could not have been included; this, however, was not the aim or plan of Dr. Gillin, and indeed it could not have been included in the present study without making the volume too bulky.

The sections in both books devoted to "Notes and References" (50 pp. in Briggs and 40 pp. in Gillin) testify to the care and thoroughness of the work, and afford to students good bases for further study. The analytical index in each book is well made and ample.

PAUL F. PECK.

Sir George Étienne Cartier, Bart., his Life and Times: a Political History of Canada from 1814 until 1873. By JOHN BOYD. (Toronto and New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914. Pp. xxi, 439.)

SIR GEORGE ÉTIENNE CARTIER had a striking career. He was a Radical who followed the rebel Papineau in 1837. Later he became the Conservative or Bleu leader of the French Canadians. In 1858 he became prime minister. He was one of those who brought about the federal union completed in 1857 and he died in 1873, a leading member of the Conservative cabinet of Sir John Macdonald. This book is published to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of Cartier's birth in 1814. Sir George Étienne Cartier was one of the four French Canadians who have attained to a national reputation. There is a dual political life in Canada. Leaders of French blood are sharply, quite too sharply, marked off from those of British origin. Men of Irish, Scottish, and English birth soon find themselves merged in a common nationality. The French alone remain distinct, mingling little with the other races and preserving, apparently with growing intensity, their cult of nationality—"notre langue, nos institutions, nos lois". For them the chief interest of this book will be the emphasis which it lays on Cartier's spirit of nationalism and the admiring tribute paid to it by the English-speaking author. Cartier thought himself a poet, which he was not, and wrote a mediocre national song still often heard. He loved French literature; he was a zealous Catholic; he was most really at home among the plain country people. All this we have in this book and it constitutes an admirable revelation of the spirit of French Canada. But the book is more than this. It is a study in good clear Eng-

lish of the origin and the working of a federal system of government. The author has used Cartier's own papers; he has studied debates and newspapers and has, besides, read the best secondary authorities.

When Canada has twenty or thirty millions of people instead of eight or nine the world will come to understand the importance of the experiment in federal government which the Dominion represents. For Canada has a federal system, monarchical in spirit, but divorced from Old World conceptions of rank and authority. It is a pure democracy, indeed, with not even the restraints upon the popular will imposed by a powerful second chamber such as that of the United States. Quite possibly the monarchical traditions would have led to a complete legislative union among all the Canadian provinces but for the dualism caused by the separate identity of the French Canadians in the province of Quebec. Sir John Macdonald, the first federal prime minister of Canada, was no friend of federalism. He desired for Canada centralized authority in a single Parliament, a strong government on the model of that of the United Kingdom. Cartier was the leader of the French Canadians. He favored union, but he would have only federal and not legislative union. Macdonald gained one chief point. The fatal error of the federalism of the United States was, as he thought, "in making each state a distinct sovereignty, in giving to each a distinct sovereign power. . . . The true principle of confederation lies in giving to the general government all the principles and powers of sovereignty, and in the principle that the subordinate or individual states should have no powers but those expressly bestowed upon them." From the urgency of Macdonald on this point has come the relative weakness of the province in Canada, compared with the state in the United States.

Cartier supported another aspect of federalism, unknown in the United States. French Canada, like Louisiana long ago, had a Church so backed by the State as to be in effect a state establishment. Under the federalism of the United States anything like a state establishment of religion in Louisiana was bound to disappear. In the province of Quebec, however, the Church retains the legal privileges of the days of Louis XIV.; it levies the tithe, it controls the education of Catholic children, and so on. The opponents in French Canada of federalism before 1867 said that it would destroy the characteristic features of French-Canadian life. Cartier said that it need not do so. By amazing skill he induced the church authorities to accept his view and he led French Canada into a federal union in which the English-speaking and Protestant element was certain to become ever more dominant. Yet he saved the Catholic system in the province of Quebec and the peculiar racial position of the French Canadians, a great political feat.

All this constitutes the chief interest of this book. It covers other things, however, and two above all. Cartier was among the pioneers in encouraging the building of railways in Canada. He was one of

the chief authors of the great Grand Trunk Railway system which is to-day transcontinental in character. Napoleonic for those days in his conceptions of railway enterprise, he was a direct imitator of Napoleon in another sphere. After the British conquest Canada retained the old French civil law, the *Coutume de Paris*. It was a system puzzling to lawyers even and offering much encouragement to the litigious. Napoleon had finally reformed the similar system in France by his famous Code and Cartier did the same in Canada. On the lines of the *Code Napoléon* he codified the old French law and created the present legal system of the province of Québec. It is wholly different from that in any other Canadian province, and is no unimportant factor in the strength of French-Canadian nationalism.

Mr. Boyd makes some slips. How could Pierre Cartier, an alleged brother of Jacques Cartier, flourish in the *seventeenth* century (p. 3)? He speaks repeatedly of the feudal dues, *cens et rentes*, as *cens et ventes*. He exaggerates the meaning of the victory of Colonel de Salaberry at Châteauguay (p. 28). The book becomes more accurate towards the end and is a decidedly creditable production. Its details will interest only Canadians but the problems of government which it discusses have a much wider significance.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

The Spanish Dependencies in South America: an Introduction to the History of their Civilisation. By BERNARD MOSES, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of California. In two volumes. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1914. Pp. xxvi, 394; ix, 444.)

To anyone interested in the history of America under Spanish rule, and unacquainted with the vernacular literature on the subject, these volumes are very serviceable. Based on an elaborate knowledge of the best printed material, they offer an abundance of data descriptive of a variety of institutions and episodes: some of the former applicable to the whole of Spanish America throughout the colonial régime, most of the latter referring to a particular locality in South America alone. The period primarily singled out for treatment is that between 1550 and 1730. Given the scarcity of books in English, or indeed in any language, which yield a broad survey of these hundred and eighty years, the work is no less welcome to the special student than it is to the general reader.

There are certain characteristics of the treatise, however, to which the student in question may be justified in calling attention. Some of them fall under the caption of error or misstatement that can be corrected in a subsequent edition. Others, and by far the greater number, belong to the realm simply of difference of viewpoint regarding method and content. They involve suggestions for consideration by the author rather than direct criticism of the work itself.

Under the first heading come misprints, repetitions, and other slips. In order to economize space, the pages on which some of these occur may be given, *viz.*: I. xv-xix, 1, 5-7, 10, 12, 15, 28, 71, 72, 94, 122, 157, 173, 189, 191, 192, 207, 210, 217, 223, 231, 233-235, 237, 240, 263-265, 268, 270, 283, 305; II. 1-5, 7, 16, 27, 37, 77, 189, 229, 276, 318, 415, 416, 428.

The second set of characteristics under review brings up at the outset a comparison of the subject-matter with the title. On this point there is room for doubt whether it would not have been better to have indicated that the work is essentially a series of studies on certain phases of Spanish colonization in South America, rather than a comprehensive and co-ordinate account, albeit introductory, of the civilization as such of the Spanish dependencies on that continent. Nearly two-thirds of the material in the first volume deals with the period before 1550. Here and elsewhere descriptions are given of institutions not peculiar to South America, and of occurrences confined very closely to one dependency alone. The net result is an assortment of sidelights, often interesting and valuable in themselves, but not furnishing an orderly narration of events or supplying an organic conception of Spanish colonial civilization as a whole.

In the absence not only of monographs on particular aspects but of any general treatise of a thoroughly scientific nature on Spanish dominion in America, it might appear venturesome to compose a work of this character resting, as it does, on no previous foundation of common knowledge. This circumstance Professor Moses frankly admits in his preface. What the reviewer objects to is not the accomplishment itself, but the designation of it.

Many of the chapters or parts of chapters, furthermore, seem to have sprung from the idea of selecting some noteworthy publication, usually in Spanish, on a specific episode or institution or course of events, and then of clothing the substance of it in English dress. Such a procedure may be advantageous enough when assembling the stuff out of which history is written, but not for the presentation of history itself. Nor is textual evidence forthcoming that the author has ever carried on extensive researches in the Spanish archives. Their stores of manuscript, assuredly, have been drawn upon too little to warrant neglecting them in this connection. The specialist, also, is fairly entitled to an annotated bibliography, and to maps for the tracing of names undiscoverable in a modern atlas. Neither of them is supplied.

Examining, finally, the matter of omission, the reviewer believes that two volumes, aggregating eight hundred pages and devoted titularly to a theme so vast, so complex, and relatively so unknown, as the history of the civilization of the Spanish dependencies in South America, though actually to a limited period therein, ought to have embraced much more than Professor Moses has provided. Art and literature, for example, industrial and commercial processes, and a

variety of social and political phenomena of the greatest significance, have been passed over entirely or afforded but scant explanation. Many things of real importance have been omitted, and some that are not, have been included. The one could have been vouchsafed a measure of description, or an allusion at least with references for further elucidation; the other, reduced in compass, or even left out altogether.

Eclecticism, of course, has its virtues when a compilation of miscellany is the object of a writer. This has not been either the purpose or the outcome of the present work; but it is to be hoped that, when Professor Moses issues a new edition of it, he will be more generous in his system of allotments.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

MINOR NOTICES

L'Hellénisation du Monde Antique: Leçons faites à l'École des Hautes Études Sociales. Par MM. V. Chapot, G. Colin, Alfred Croiset, J. Hatzfeld, A. Jardé, P. Jouguet, G. Leroux, Ad. Reinach, Th. Reinach. (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1914, pp. 391.) What we have here is, archaeologically speaking, a number of blocks of well-cut Greek marble embedded in *opus incertum*. The filling is the work of M. Adolphe Reinach, a younger member of the gifted family which has given to French scholarship the distinguished brothers, Joseph, Salomon, and Theodore. M. Reinach *filis*, who acted as editor of the entire series of lectures included in the volume, was called to the front before the book was published; but his slap-dash style can hardly be attributed to the hurry and exaltation of mobilizing. Long since it was said of him: *c'est un beau garçon, mais il va au galop*. One does not know at which to marvel more, the alertness of his mind and the breadth of his knowledge, or the discursiveness of his thinking and the limitations of his judgment.

His opening lectures on the settlement of the Greeks in the Aegean basin and the historic background of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* contain many suggestive remarks but also many theories that are unconvincing to the initiated and misleading to novices. Among these we rate the Illyrian origin of the Dorians, whom Beloch has recently made Achaeans and Wilamowitz not so long since Cretans. The title of the second lecture, "La Formation des trois Nations Grecques: Éoliens, Ioniens, et Dorien", betrays the unwholesome influence, needlessly revived, of K. O. Müller's *Die Dorier*. We rub our eyes when we read on page 52 that it was only in the second half of the eighth century B. C. that Clazomenae, Teos, Colophon, Ephesus, Priene, and Miletus were founded, and call to mind some of Wilamowitz's "howlers" when we are told on page 108 that the Greeks on their arrival in Sicily rediscovered there their familiar orange trees. This botanical anachronism occurs in his third lecture entitled "L'Hellénisation de l'Occident", which

readers will welcome because of its well-informed survey of early Italian archaeology and ethnology. His other two lectures deal with Alexander and the dismemberment of Alexander's empire. There are some signs here that M. Reinach places too much reliance upon a strong but not invulnerable memory, as, for example, when he makes Antigonus I. take his own life and Antiochus I. fall in battle.

The other eight lectures are all by different scholars. None of the others have the magisterial quality that pertains to M. Alfred Croiset's "*La Transformation Morale de l'Hellénisme d'Alexandre à Auguste*" and M. Théodore Reinach's "*L'Hellénisme en Syrie: la Culture Grecque en Face du Judaïsme*", but they are all good in content and restrained and finished in style.

The general idea of the book is to describe the process by which Hellenism was formed, to trace its spread, explaining why it advanced here and failed to advance there, to note how it modified the life of its various dependencies and how they modified it in turn. The execution is uneven, perhaps inevitably. Insufficient attention, for example, has been paid to the Sophistic movement, which both transformed Hellenism and broadened its circle enormously. Nor has the penetration of Hellenism into Roman Italy been treated adequately. No one could discover from reading this book what Wilamowitz meant when he called the Augustan poetry the bloom of Hellenistic literature.

W. S. FERGUSON.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Thirty-Second Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1185-1186. [The Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, vol. XXXVI.] (London, the Society, 1914, pp. xxxvii, 267.) To this volume, as to its predecessors, Mr. Round has contributed an introduction, calling attention to points of interest in the text. Among these are entries connected with King Henry's expedition against the Lord of Galloway, in which light-armed horse and foot took part; entries relating to the seizure of Hugh de Lacy's lands into the king's hands; entries concerning the revenues from vacant sees and religious houses (over £1000 were paid into the treasury from the "farms" of the manors of the see of Salisbury and the archbishopric of York, alone); and many entries elucidating or elucidated by the recently printed *Rotuli de Dominabus*. Among this last class of entries are references to a *rotulus justiciarum*, appealed to by the sheriff as authority for the *firma* due from "lands in the hands of the crown by wardship or escheat; and references to the restocking of such land, which indicate that the well-known instructions concerning restocking given to the itinerant justices in 1194, were anticipated in 1185. Among the many other interesting matters brought to light in this volume are an hitherto unknown embassy from the Swedish to the English king, and evidence for the import of coniferous timber into England, where it was not grown. The index to the introduction is a welcome innovation.

F. G. D.

The Grey Friars of London; their History with the Register of their Convent and an Appendix of Documents. By Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. (Aberdeen, the University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 257.) This is the sixth volume in the editions of texts published by the British Society of Franciscan Studies. Its main purpose is to furnish the complete text of the so-called Register of the Grey Friars of London, which now forms part of the Cotton MS. Vitellius F. XII. By way of introduction, Mr. Kingsford gives a scholarly survey of the history of the Grey Friars of London and as an appendix provides a series of documents concerning their convent.

The register which forms the basis of the present volume, was compiled by a friar of the London convent about 1526. It is not, strictly speaking, a "register" but comprises (1) a carefully compiled record of the tombs in the church; (2) a brief account of the foundation of the convent with a summary of deeds referring to the site; (3) materials relating to general Franciscan history. The first of these sections is unquestionably the most interesting and important part of the register. The celebrity of Greyfriars made it a favored place for the burial of persons of rank of the upper classes of London citizens, and of Italian merchants who died in London. Hence this list of monuments is of great value for the historian and genealogist.

Portions of the register have been printed at different times but its contents are now for the first time published in their entirety. Mr. Kingsford's notes of reference and explanation are really helpful and there is a full and accurate index. But the book is not altogether free from misprints, as, for example, page v, "Vitellius F. IX." for F. XII.; page 181, "Sienna" for Sierā; page 141, "Cor dñus" for Cor dñi; page 179, "Taulicis" for Ta-ileis. A few small errors of detail are also to be found in the notes, as, for instance, page 182, where John of Alvernia is described as "Bishop of Firmo". This friar was born at Fermo but was not a bishop. A lack of uniformity is noticeable as regards the translation of names and places. Thus, "Fratres Minores" is sometimes rendered "Friars Minors" and elsewhere "Friars Minor". The latter is, of course, the more usual and recognized English form. The careful restoration of the ground plan of Greyfriars and the reproduction in facsimile of the seal of the London convent and of the press-mark of its library enhance the merits of the volume.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

Pre-Reformation Scholars in Scotland in the XVIth Century: their Writings and their Public Services, with a Bibliography and a List of Graduates from 1500 to 1560. By W. Forbes Leith, S.J. (Glasgow, James MacLehose and Sons, 1915, pp. vi, 155.) In the work under review, the author seeks to rebut the wholesale charge of ignorance which, among other accusations of incompetence, is so frequently made against the pre-Reformation church in Scotland; and he sets forth the familiar

counter-thesis that the church, while sound in the main, and even brilliant intellectually, suffered, during a troublous period of Scottish history, from the violent intrusion, largely under lay influence, of a number of black sheep. His contention is set forth in a brief introduction of twenty-one pages, and is supported by a section of seventy-five pages, giving a catalogue of about seventy writers of the early sixteenth century with their works, brief notices of the more important being inserted. The concluding fifty-five pages of the book are occupied with a list of graduates (1500-1560 A. D.) and a few additional notes.

The author deserves commendation for the labor expended on the gathering of a mass of bibliographic material, but, as the limits of this notice forbid following him in detail through this useful portion of his work, we must confine our criticism to the over-sanguine view of pre-Reformation learning adopted in his introduction. His evidence, while good so far as it goes, is one-sided—a mass of other material, which would have lengthened his introduction considerably and made his thesis harder to prove, is ignored. To take only one example—statutes of the church and synodal constitutions of the period dealt with, make damaging admissions as to the state of current clerical scholarship, and show that even the fathers of the Church in provincial council assembled were capable of bad lapses in theological learning. (Cf. Patrick's *Statutes of the Scottish Church*, Introduction, pp. lxxxi*, and §§ 180*, 181*, 188-194, 203*, 219, 223, 224, 240-242, 253-254*, 258, 274-279, especially those marked *.) Some of the author's own extracts tell rather against him (cf. p. 12, Major; p. 47, Hay; p. 49, Wilson; p. 53, Twapenny Faith); and to call Bellenden's Boèce a "free translation" is describing it mildly. There are misprints in the foot-notes at pages 1, 19, 148.

Some of these objections might have been met in advance by lengthening the introduction to include ignored or suppressed evidence; but even if the author's contention were right, how does he explain the catastrophe of 1560? The book is well illustrated.

JOHN DALL.

Les Rabodanges. Par R. de Brébisson. (La Chapelle-Montligeon, privately printed, 1914, pp. viii, 401.) The family of Rabodanges originated in Artois but came into Normandy in the sixteenth century. The volume before us, prepared with great scholarship and care, and handsomely printed, with beautiful illustrations, chiefly views of châteaux, devotes two brief introductory chapters to the history of the family before its entrance upon its Norman estates, but is mainly devoted to the conjoined history of the family and estates from the time that the first Louis de Rabodanges became *bailly* of Alençon in 1549. The plan of the book is that of a documentary history. The author has with extraordinary industry ransacked Parisian and provincial libraries and archives for documents relating to the family and their estates, has added

to them many documents in private possession, and has given their texts, in great numbers, with a modicum of comment. The château of Rabodanges now existing, which for somewhat more than thirty years has been in American hands, was built by Louis III. de Rabodanges, *gentil-homme ordinaire* of the chamber of Louis XIV., who in 1649 made him Marquis de Rabodanges. Several members of the family attained some distinction in military service, though none reached the highest positions. The last of the family, Jean Henri, comte de Rabodanges, died in 1792. The volume contains interesting pages respecting the pious foundations made by the family, the legation of Marie de Clèves, and the local events of the Revolution.

Germany since 1740. By George Madison Priest, Princeton University. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1915, pp. xvi, 198.) From one point of view the above book is very well done indeed; from another it is a monstrosity. The facts are almost all correct, well chosen, and well stated. The author has struggled with an immense mass of material and shaken down a smooth narrative. I have noticed but few omissions, the most serious being that there is little or no reference to the enormous activity of the German cities as carriers on of industrial enterprises—a step towards municipal socialism that is extremely interesting and important. Altogether the cities are comparatively neglected in the book, though it is there that the life of the people is pulsating most strongly.

Of positive errors I will mention only two (there are a few other insignificant inaccuracies), both relating to political parties. Since February 8, 1912, it can no longer be said of the "Centre" that "in crises the final dictator of its actions is the Pope in Rome". On that day the long struggle between the Berlin or papal direction and the Cologne or national direction (led by Bachem) culminated in the victory of the latter and in the unanimous declaration both in the Reichstag and in the state diets that the Centre was a "political, non-confessional party". The pope's dictation of the party's policy had directly been brought into the question.

Nor can it be said (unless absolute secession is meant) that the socialist party "has never broken into groups". The Marxists and the Revisionists form two very distinct groups, it seems to me, and it is most interesting to watch out and see which direction will eventually triumph. The forces are now about evenly divided.

My "monstrosity" charge is directed not against the author but against the fashion, if I may so call it, of making "an introduction" to history by galvanizing a summary into a lively narrative. I acknowledge that teachers seem to demand such treatment.

Here in the space of 184 small pages Mr. Priest disposes of almost exactly that number of years, placing very broad limits, too, for at times he takes in the whole of European history and includes German

literature, philosophy, natural science, religious life, art, and even music. Such a summary is not an "introduction": it takes a thoroughly trained mind to follow it with any interest. As far as the wars are concerned it would have been better to discuss merely their importance and their results, relegating the single battles to foot-notes. Nothing is gained by intentional indefiniteness designed to lighten the narrative of its ballast of names, as when some well-known battle is disposed of as a "victory" or when Gambetta is spoken of merely as a "member of the new French government" escaping from Paris in a balloon. But I repeat that, considering the kind of book Mr. Priest intended to, or was asked to, write, he has done his work very well.

Prisoners of War in Britain, 1756-1815: a Record of their Lives, their Romance and their Sufferings. By Francis Abell. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. viii, 464.) The author tells us that he was moved to write this book by a hope that he "might be able to vindicate" his country "against the charge . . . that she treated the prisoners of war in her custody with exceptional inhumanity", and a "desire to rescue from oblivion a not unimportant and most interesting chapter of our national history". The book appeared at a most opportune time, when the question of the manner in which prisoners of war ought to be treated was a point in dispute among the nations at war, and it ought to be of general interest. The manner in which the author has performed his task, however, makes his book a disappointment to readers of all classes.

Mr. Abell has collected many scraps of information concerning the conditions of life among and the treatment accorded to the prisoners of war in Great Britain in the period 1760-1815. His information relates to prisoners who were confined on the prison-ships or "hulks" as well as to those on shore, whether in the various prisons or on parole. But instead of using this information, which he has been at much pains to collect, to establish general conclusions in answer to the questions that led him to undertake the inquiry or others which his work might have suggested, the author has chosen to retail his notes in the form of a sort of chronicle of the happenings among the prisoners and the officers who had them in charge. After two general chapters, written in the same style as the rest of the book, on International Recriminations and the Exchange of Prisoners, he has three chapters on "Life in the Hulks", then chapters in turn on each of the larger prisons ashore, and a single chapter on some of the minor prisons. Chapters follow on the parole life of the prisoners in the several parts of the kingdom, on Escape Agents and Escapers, Complaints of Prisoners, and similar topics. A chapter each is allotted to two prisoners, who are termed "famous escapers". Three chapters are given to Sundry Notes on Parole Life and Prison-Ship Sundries. Under these captions the author has strung together notes referring to minor details of prison

life which "could not be conveniently dealt with" in the other chapters. Finally, there is a chapter entitled *Variorum* in which an important part of the information which the author ought to have given at greater length in his book is sandwiched, under the title *Some Statistics*, between the other two parts of the chapter, *Some Distinguished Prisoners of War* and *Epitaphs of Prisoners*.

Aside from the general character of the narrative and the failure of the author to organize his material according to any definite plan or to state clearly his conclusions, the book is wanting in any of the earmarks of scholarship, such as foot-notes or other means of identifying and criticizing the sources from which information has been obtained. Finally, that portion of the book which is the composition of the author, and not mere quotations and abstracts of the authorities from which he has gleaned his information, is written in a style that is crude, indirect, and not always clear.

WILLIAM THOMAS LAPRADE.

Early Methodist Philanthropy. By Eric McCoy North. (New York and Cincinnati, the Methodist Book Concern, 1914, pp. viii, 181.) Early Methodism has been admirably described as "a rapture and an organization". The immediate aim of the movement was the "souls" of men; one of the avenues of approach was concern for the welfare of their "bodies". In a spiritual experience lay the rapture; in the administration of charity lay the organization. Of the religious side of the movement much has been said and well said; to its philanthropic activities and organization less attention has been given. It is to supply this lack that Mr. North offers this comprehensive and suggestive study. For it is hardly a treatise, and an enlargement is hinted at.

It is a commonplace of religious history that Wesley interpreted religion "in terms of life". But it is not so familiar that that interpretation was illustrated and enforced by a series of philanthropic enterprises and a variety of benevolent institutions almost without parallel in the history of religion. Mr. Wesley was not a social reformer in our sense of the term; he did not deal formally or scientifically with the issues of poverty or public health or ignorance; he dealt by personal and private initiative with poor, sick, and ignorant people. His social philosophy was very simple. To him the root of social evil was sin; the one efficient and sufficient remedy was the life of the Spirit which had its beginning in "conversion". Nevertheless, until the consummation of the Kingdom had been achieved it was necessary for disciples to bear one another's burdens and to minister as opportunity appeared or need demanded.

Like every other genius Mr. Wesley was a splendid borrower. Wherever he found a method of Christian or humanitarian work likely to be of service he adopted and adapted it. But if there was nothing novel about the method there was an impressive originality about the

motive and spirit in which the method was exercised. For Mr. Wesley informed every social activity with the distinctively religious emphasis which never for a moment overlooked the necessity of the "new birth" as prerequisite to the better social order. As Mr. North shows and argues, "The movement was missionary from the start and it was from just this atmosphere of spiritual energy that the philanthropy gained its fervent, persistent quality. In this atmosphere also benevolent motives were multiplied."

Mr. North commends his study by the manifest thoroughness of his preparation for it. His list of authorities and his use of them, as shown in his citations and inferences, are a tribute to his industry, scholarship, and breadth of view. He writes sympathetically but judiciously, and, while fully recognizing the exalted genius of Mr. Wesley, he does equal justice to Mr. Wesley's predecessors and contemporaries without whom the Wesleyan movement could not have been. The study is welcome for itself and all the more welcome as the promise of a larger and fuller treatise on a significant and epoch-marking humanitarian movement.

CHARLES M. STUART.

St. Privat: German Sources. Translations by Harry Bell, M.S.E., United States Army. (Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, Staff College Press, 1914, pp. 498.) Military students have been overworked during the last twenty years, and perhaps they will feel something of a shock, when they find this new book on St. Privat, containing much new matter that has not heretofore been available in the English language. Those, however, who do not regard it as ancient history are provided by the Staff College with a book of 498 pages, made up of an approved collection of the best information derived from German sources. This we are informed is the policy in aiding to the "intensive study" of modern wars. Moreover there is an appendix enumerating a well-selected list of books in other languages which are more accessible to our officers than the German. Thus the curious searcher after facts is provided with the best advice as to the material on which to base his independent judgment.

Of course we could not fail to find the familiar effort to build up certain reputations and to pull others down, so common and so discouraging in this particular class of military literature. This is quite prominent in the long argument of the relatively small points at issue between the Saxons and the Prussian Guards. Then there are war diaries, official accounts, biographical memoirs, and professional discussions, published during more than forty years, with some of the repetition that cannot be avoided in independent accounts of the same event.

Of course a more popular method would be to seek at once the companionship of the destructive critics such as Maude the Englishman,

Rousset the Frenchman, and Hoenig the German, some of whom have shed the light of genius upon that dark day. Filled with the wisdom that comes after great events they have shown the mistakes in Moltke's strategy, in Frederick Charles's tactics, in cavalry reconnaissance, in artillery preparation, and in infantry attack. Yet have they not failed to do homage to the initiative of the Saxon princes and to the valor of the Prussian Guards. And in doing this they have saved some of us a great deal of time in this world of many books.

After all the judgment of the student will probably be that the battle was well won in the way that it was won.

EBEN SWIFT.

An Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the Years 1757, 1758, 1759, and 1760. By Captain John Knox. Edited with Introduction, Appendix, and Index by Arthur G. Doughty. Volume II. [Publications of the Champlain Society, IX.] (Toronto, the Champlain Society, 1914, pp. xi, 617.) The second volume of Knox's *Journal* covers some thirteen months from August, 1759, to September, 1760. It begins on the morrow of the British repulse from the Beauport lines and ends with the capitulation of Montreal, including the final and most dramatic scenes in the conquest of Canada. Supplemented by notes which correct occasional small inaccuracies, the book is an invaluable chronicle of this *annus mirabilis*, written by a transparently honest gentleman, with an observant kindly eye for men, things, and landscapes. The chief blemish in it, already noted in the review of the first volume, is the absence of criticism, due to the writer's position and circumstances. Thus, Knox eulogizes Amherst in extravagant terms, as having exhibited "such eminent excellencies, in the art of War, as must excite the astonishment and admiration of all mankind"; whereas Amherst, if sure, was exceedingly slow, and, as the editor points out, he never seems to have appreciated the difficulties at Quebec. The account of Murray's defense of Quebec and of his subsequent advance on Montreal leaves, on the other hand, the impression of a man who was a soldier of high order, as he certainly was an excellent governor. He lost the battle of the Clouds or Sainte Foy, and severe criticism of his rashness by Sergeant John Johnson of the 58th Regiment will be found in the note on page 52; while Parkman, in the same connection, writes of him as "young in years and younger still in impulse". But in his frank, soldierly letter to his brother (p. 395, note) Murray makes out a good case for himself with regard to the fight, and in general his despatches to Amherst and Pitt are the letters of a man who had gauged a difficult situation and was equal to it.

Dr. Doughty has greatly added to the book by including these and other documents in his notes as well as by the notes themselves. Thus the notes on pages 47-48 and 209 show conclusively that to Wolfe himself and to no one else was due the merit of the successful landing

at the Foulon, that he finally carried out a plan which he had long had in his mind. Special value, as is pointed out in the editor's preface to the first volume, attaches to Knox's record of the winter siege and defense of Quebec. The battle of the Plains and the surrender of the city which followed, seemed at the time, as it seems still to those who know little of the history, to have ended the chapter. Murray was nearer the truth when he wrote to Amherst, "The fact is we were surprised into a victory which cost the conquered very little indeed" (p. 439, note). That Quebec was held through the winter was due to Murray's own firm leadership and to Tommy Atkins who was at his very best. Ill clothed, unpaid, the government being even reduced to borrowing money from the soldiers notably Fraser's thrifty Highlanders, punished for misconduct by death or one thousand lashes, with their strength halved by scurvy, none the less the soldiers, writes Knox, "contentedly and cheerfully submit to the necessity of the times, exerting all the man, and the good soldier, upon every occasion". When worsted at the battle of Sainte Foy and ordered to fall back, "growing impatient, some of them cried out, 'Damn it, what is falling back but retreating'".

C. P. LUCAS.

Nathan Hale, 1776: Biography and Memorials. By Henry Phelps Johnston, Professor of History in the College of New York. Revised and enlarged edition. (New Haven, Yale University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914, pp. x, 296.) This revised and enlarged edition of the biography and memorials of Nathan Hale contains, besides a fairly critical account of the life and martyrdom of its hero, some sixty letters and a diary which are of value to any student of the Revolution. The diary kept by Hale contains the melancholy record, so common in all such contemporary accounts, of the wretched inefficiency of the "armed citizenry", the much lauded "embattled farmers", whose sole commendation was that they exhibited on occasion a reckless bravery, but whose constant weakness was a lack of discipline and of all knowledge of war. Hale himself, a young man of intelligence, character, and high sense of responsibility, was much alarmed by the prevalent insubordination. When in an emergency he undertook the repugnant and hateful office of a spy, he reasoned, we are told, that "every kind of service necessary to the public good becomes honorable by being necessary". Though unfit for the undertaking, too frank and too open for deceit and evasion, he did it because "the exigencies of my country demand a peculiar service". Detected and captured, he made a full confession, and Sir William Howe, without the form of a trial, gave orders for his execution the following morning. A British officer in whose marquise he spent his last hour records that his dying words were, "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country." This tradition is a noble one to have in-

woven with our country's history. Probably no great nation is lacking in such a tradition. In truth Nathan Hale was one of those fortunate individuals in history, whose claim to fame was that a brave deed, common enough in the annals of mankind, and oft repeated in any great war, became through lucky chance the symbolic one for all noble actions of that type. Tradition took hold upon it, and surrounded it with a sentimental glamor, which brightened more and more as imagination bodied forth this virtue and gave to an heroic quality a local habitation and a name. Hale's personal charm, as in the case of Major André, greatly aided the magic of this process. In the tradition of Paul Revere a poet's pen gave distinction to a bold ride not unlike a hundred others in those romantic days before the telephone and the wireless telegraph had unhorsed the dashing couriers of war. In the case of Nathan Hale social position helped to seize and hold contemporary interest. He came of a family whose character and worth were attested by the names of a well-known divine, an eminent judge, a humanitarian of distinction, and others whose qualities and graces were such as to be handed down to later generations at least in local traditions. That Hale's historical place is secure whether owing to good fortune or not, seems established by the fact that ten books and some sixteen poems or dramas have been written about him, and that notices more or less extended are found in fifty-three other books, while twenty-six magazine articles and some forty newspaper sketches have been discovered by the assiduous author and editor of this volume.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

The Indian Stream Republic and Luther Parker. By Grant Showerman, Ph.D., Professor of Latin Literature, University of Wisconsin. [Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society, vol. XI.] (Concord, N. H., the Society, 1915, pp. vi, 272.) This first volume of *Collections* issued by the society since 1893 is a welcome example of such publication of original material as justifies the existence of historical societies. The Indian Stream Republic occupied disputed territory claimed by England and the United States, 1783-1842, between the Connecticut River and lakes on the east and the present northwestern boundary of New Hampshire. It is almost identical with the present township of Pittsburgh. Through its eastern portion, Francis Parkman passed in 1842 when a Harvard sophomore, on a trip described in "Exploring the Magall way", published in *Harper's Magazine*, XXIX. 735 (1864).

For forty years Indian Stream governed itself. Its remarkable constitution of 1832 proclaimed it a "sovereign state". It incorporated practically verbatim a large portion of the New Hampshire constitution's bill of rights, omitting those relating to support of religion, conscientious scruples against war, liberty of the press, separation of executive, legislative, and judicial departments, jury trial in civil cases,

standing army, and martial law. The most significant additions are the right of the majority to control the minority and "the right of controlling those vicious members of society who invade the rights of others". The general assembly of all adult males had no right of initiative, this being reserved to the council elected by the assembly. "The Indian Stream War" with Canada (1835) hastened the acceptance of New Hampshire's jurisdiction in 1836.

The book includes land and assembly records, the report of the Indian Stream Commissioners, and a journal of Luther Parker's daughter Ellen, giving interesting details of western pioneer life, subsequent to Parker's removal to Wisconsin in 1836. The great mass of details might have been occasionally lightened by the substitution of some interpretation, notably in the case of the constitution; but the work was worth doing, has been well done, and possesses some degree of unity through its picture of pioneer life east and west.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

Robert Fulton. By Alice Cary Sutcliffe. [True Stories of Great Americans.] (New York, Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. xi, 195.) The pleasure of writing the life of an ancestor whose fame has made his name immortal must be very great to an author possessed of real literary skill, and Mrs. Sutcliffe has given us a life of Fulton which has great merit. It is written for young people but will give most adults a fund of information about the great inventor and engineer which they could hardly find elsewhere in the same compass. The story of Fulton's career is very complete in a general way, although the limited space obviously shuts out details of the less important periods of his life. It is a great pleasure to note that Mrs. Sutcliffe has proved a fair and impartial biographer. She gives at considerable length an account of the work done by the other early inventors of steamboats, and recognizes that the peculiar merit of Fulton was the design of the steamboat on scientific principles so as to make it a commercial success.

The account of his invention of submarine torpedo warfare is adequate, and properly calls attention to the fact that Fulton had done all that was possible in this sphere with the motive power available.

In view of the fact that this book is for young people, Mrs. Sutcliffe deserves special commendation for emphasizing, again and again, that Fulton's success and fame are due not alone to his genius but mainly to hard work, assiduous care of details, and tenacity of purpose that surmounted all discouragements. This is true of all great inventors, but usually one hears only of the success and little or nothing of the hard work and persistence.

The style of the book is attractive and we can commend it as admirably fulfilling its aim of giving the true story of the life of one of America's greatest sons, and also of teaching some very useful lessons and inculcating high ideals in the young people for whom it is written.

Millard Fillmore: Constructive Statesman, Defender of the Constitution, President of the United States. By William Elliot Griffis, D.D., L.H.D. (Ithaca, N. Y., Ankrus and Church, 1915, pp. ix, 159.) Dr. Griffis has written an interesting little book in the effort to show that Millard Fillmore, "far from being the colorless man in American politics which rivals and enemies, the ignorant and copyists have made him", was "not the least in a line of rulers, which for ethical purity, high character and signal abilities, knows no superior in the world's long history". Filled with lively comments, pungent allusions to events contemporary and recent, picturesque descriptions of Congressional and social life in the fifties, the volume shows a refreshing unconventionality in its eulogy of the Unionist statesman, at the expense of abolitionists and extremists. But although Dr. Griffis has done his best, he has found the task of enlivening Fillmore's honorable record too much for even his vigorous pen. In spite of every effort Fillmore remains, as Dr. Griffis honestly admits, "rigidly conservative", "above all cautious", "tranquil", "methodical", of "imperturbable temper", and "correct habits". "He steered", declares the author, "according to the compass of the Constitution. To Millard Fillmore, this was as the finger of God pointing the way." Not even Dr. Griffis's vivacity can alter the essential commonplaceness of the respectable, moderate President. The only direct claim for Fillmore's leadership is made regarding the foreign policy of his administration, which is declared to be "fully equal . . . to Washington's in prudence, or to Grant's or Roosevelt's in firmness, or to Taft's or Wilson's in wisdom". No evidence is brought forward, however, to transfer from Webster to Fillmore the honor hitherto credited to the Secretary of State in the Huelsemann, Kossuth, and Lopez affairs, nor, for that matter, is there any full consideration of the relations of Webster, Fillmore, and the party leaders in the nominating convention of 1852. For any new light on the history of the Fillmore administration the book will be consulted in vain. Doubtless Dr. Griffis merely intended to touch on the high points and produce a lively narrative. This he has certainly succeeded in accomplishing.

THEODORE CLARKE SMITH.

Ulysses S. Grant. By Franklin Spencer Edmonds. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia, George W. Jacobs and Company, 1915, pp. 376.) This brief popular sketch of the life of General Grant is based upon secondary materials, of which a short bibliographical list is appended to the volume. There are three documentary appendices, containing, respectively, the letters interchanged between Grant and Sherman, in March, 1864, upon the occasion of the nomination of Grant as lieutenant-general the orders of May 2, 1864, to the Army of the Potomac, before the general advance of the next few days; and the letters exchanged by Grant and Lee in regard to the surrender at

Appomattox. The book is sufficiently indexed. The only illustration is the frontispiece, taken from a photograph of Grant by Gutekunst.

Mr. Edmonds writes in an easy style, and handles his subject with sympathy, but without excessive hero-worship. As would be expected, the most extensive and the best-executed part of the book is that devoted to the description of Grant's military career. This gives an excellent bird's-eye view of Grant's progress through all his commands. The need for compression results, however, in some omissions; for example, in that of any account of Grant's nagging of Thomas at Nashville. Grant's personal characteristics are portrayed with frankness, and both the good points of honesty and resoluteness, and the failings as to excessive drinking and failure to control political friends are brought out. Less satisfactory is the treatment of general political history. The summary of the causes of the Mexican War, for example, is hardly adequate, and the single chapter devoted to the eight years of Grant's presidency does not afford a satisfactory analysis of Grant's political conduct in that office.

As a whole, however, the book compares favorably with the best of those in the series in which it is included—the *American Crisis Biographies*.

Growth of American State Constitutions from 1776 to the End of the Year 1914. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D., Professor of Social and Political Science, Brown University. (Boston, Ginn and Company, 1915, pp. viii, 308.) In the preface of this book Mr. Dealey expresses the hope that it may serve as a text for the study of state constitutions and government in our colleges, and be of service to citizens and members of state legislatures and constitutional conventions who wish to understand our state political institutions. The book falls readily into three parts: (1) the History of State Constitutions (chs. I.-VIII.), (2) Provisions of existing State Constitutions (chs. IX.-XIX.), and (3) the Trend of State Constitutions (chs. XX.-XXII.). Part II. is a revision of the author's well-known study of constitutions which appeared in the *Annals* as a supplement for March, 1907. It is too well and favorably known to need comment here. All students of state government will welcome this revision.

The first and third parts are not so satisfying. The insistence of the author in his first chapter upon the overwhelming importance of the state governments seems in this day to be hardly justified. To describe the American system as "not an empire but a federation of republics" is a curious statement of our constitutional doctrine.

Part I. is not so much a contribution to an understanding of our constitutional development, as a mere description of changes in machinery. What was behind these constitutional changes? The author realizes the problem confronting him, for he says on page 51 that it would be tedious and confusing to enumerate in any detail the substance

of the new and revised constitutions "and the advantages gained by it are not obvious". He then proceeds, however, to give this detail without much discussion as to its significance. That "Ohio in 1873-4 held a convention whose constitution when submitted was rejected at the polls" (p. 82) is certainly not important enough for inclusion unless what was submitted is of interest or the reasons for rejection noteworthy. A catalogue of revision and amendment must be illumined and interpreted if it is to "arouse interest in our local institutions". Else it is merely a manual and not a study in the growth of American state constitutions.

According to the author the "really fundamental trend of change" in the last thirty years has been from a dominant legislature to a dominant electorate working through the convention. But an analysis of the author's own figures (p. 89) convinces the reader of exactly the opposite conclusion.

The last two chapters are based upon the proposals which have recently been made in many quarters for the reorganization of state government. Curiously, the author suggests a small, well-paid legislative body of capable men hired with "civic dignity", after he has concluded that legislatures exercise only a "small residue of petty powers" and that "a convention meeting periodically, and well supervised administrative departments with ordinance powers, might well perform all legislative functions with entire satisfaction" (p. 267). Why not then forego a legislature altogether? Such is the feeling produced by the author's argument.

The administrative proposals of the author seem hasty and confusing, but limitation of space forbids their consideration in this review.

C. A. DYKSTRA.

The Financial History of New York State from 1789 to 1912. By Don C. Sowers, Professor of Municipalities and Public Accounting, University of Oregon. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LVII., no. 2, whole no. 140.] (New York, Columbia University, 1914, pp. 346.) This is the thirteenth of a series of monographs on the financial history of the American commonwealths which has been written under the auspices of the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The other states thus far covered are California, Connecticut, Maryland, Ohio, Oregon, Vermont, and Wisconsin, the histories of which have been published; and Alabama, Colorado, Georgia, Montana, and North Dakota, which are still unpublished. Professor Sowers's monograph deals with the most important state in the list, and in bulk is one of the most ambitious. It is therefore with regret that the reviewer records his conclusion that the author has not lived up to his opportunity.

According to Webster, history is "a systematic written account of

events . . . and usually connected with a philosophical explanation of their causes". The present study is not lacking in philosophical explanations, but it is not a systematic account of events. There are great gaps in the narrative. For instance, in the chapter on Public Lands, there is nothing on the period from 1833 to 1880; the chapter on Banking stops with 1866; the chapter on Expenditures skips decades at a time; the chapter on Management of Funds jumps from 1831 to 1842, and from 1846 to 1860, etc.

The book has suffered severely from its too ambitious character; unable to investigate the whole field at first-hand the author has based his earlier chapters largely upon the work of others. The chapter on Banking is based upon Chaddock's *History of the Safety Fund Banking in New York, 1829 to 1866*, and makes no attempt to continue the narrative beyond 1866; the account of Internal Improvements is based upon the *History of New York Canals* published by the state in 1905; chapter VII. on Revenues draws largely from Schwab's *History of the General Property Tax*. On the other hand, the last four chapters contain the author's own contribution to the financial history of the state. These deal respectively with Revenues (other than the general property tax), Expenditures, Management of Funds, and State Funds. If the author had confined himself to these subjects and given us a clear account of the financial policy of the state such as Professor Bullock has published in his *Financial Policy of Massachusetts*, or an intensive study of the sources of revenue, like Haig's *History of the General Property Tax in Illinois*, the result would have been more satisfactory.

The last two chapters, together with the appendixes, constitute a really valuable account of the finances of New York, sketchy though it is. It is unfortunate that the author did not refer in the text itself to the tables in the appendixes, as they are carefully and thoroughly made and deserve a place in the body of the book. Only one who has made similar use of the hopelessly confused state financial reports can realize the labor involved in the compilation of these tables. Appendix IV. contains a table of the state debt from 1816 to 1912, but the subject is not discussed in the text, though public indebtedness should be included in a complete financial history of the state. There are some mistakes of fact and not a few typographical errors, but in view of what has been said it will not be necessary to particularize these.

E. L. BOGART.

Chronicles of the Cape Fear River: being Some Account of Historic Events on the Cape Fear River. By James Sprunt. With a preface by S. A. Ashe. (Raleigh, N. C., Edwards and Broughton Printing Company, 1914, pp. 594.) The author of this valuable work, for five years (1907-1912) German consul for North Carolina, since 1884 British vice-consul at Wilmington, and senior partner of the great

cotton export house of Alexander Sprunt and Son, has devoted much time in the course of a life charged with industrial activities to the prosecution and patronage of historical research. The *James Sprunt Historical Monographs*, continued as the *James Sprunt Historical Publications*, and issued by the University of North Carolina, in themselves constitute conspicuous incentive to historical investigation. The volume, *Tales and Traditions of the Lower Cape Fear*, the important historical monograph, *Tales of the Blockade Runners*, and fanciful tales of the sea, of which *What Ship is That?* is a characteristic example, exhibit the natural trend of the historical investigations of one who served as purser on the steamer *Lilian* and later on the steamer *Susan Bierne*, under the daring Confederate blockade runners, J. N. and E. Maffitt.

The present volume consecutively chronicles, in a long series of brief chapters, the principal historic events of a region in eastern North Carolina memorialized in the writings of the Davises, Hooper, McRee, Waddell, Alderman, Ashe, Meares (Mrs. K. deR.), Connor, and McKoy; and incidentally furnishes a compact catalogue of the industrial resources of that region. The author has included extensive excerpts from, and abstracts of, the writings of others, notably of Joseph Jefferson, S. A. Ashe, J. G. Burr, Iredell Meares, W. B. McKoy, G. J. McRee, John Wilkinson, J. H. Hill, M. P. Usina, J. A. Holmes, George Davis, Thomas E. Taylor, J. L. Cantwell, David MacRae, Mrs. W. M. Parsley, J. J. Blair, and A. M. Waddell. Notable for the charm of personal reminiscence and the wealth of historical detail are the chapters: Cape Fear Pilots, Blockade Running, and Confederate Heroes. In the important chapter, Financial Estimates of Blockade Running, the author, whose personal career and experience as financier give exceptional weight to his testimony, after elaborate analysis, hazards the estimate that "the blockade running traffic during the war, including the cost of the ships, amounted to about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars, gold standard". The paramount importance of this traffic to the Confederate government is shown in the intercepted despatch from General Lee to Col. Lamb, at Fort Fisher, in the course of the naval operations against that bulwark of the blockade runners: "If Fort Fisher falls, I shall have to evacuate Richmond." Chapters descriptive of the liberal culture, gracious social life, and lavish hospitality of the people of this famous region, are Plantations on the Northeast River, by the late Dr. John Hampden Hill, and the Thalian Association, abstracted from the monograph of the distinguished antiquarian, the late Col. James G. Burr. The elaborate personal researches of the author, the delightful style of the narrative, the wealth of information, the included chapters by skilled historical investigators, the solid economic substructure—all co-operate to make of this book the most important work yet brought out in North Carolina dealing with a city (Wilmington) and its environs. Conspicuous for its absence is any detailed

account of the "Revolution of 1898", the author, no doubt wisely at this date, contenting himself with a brief abstract from the Memoirs of Col. A. M. Waddell. The book is stoutly bound and clearly printed on thick paper of unusually good quality. The index of five and a half pages is entirely inadequate for a work of this size and importance.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Collections of the State Historical Society of North Dakota. Volume IV. (Bismarck, 1915, pp. 944) contains an unusual number of sketches designed to illustrate early territorial history. The history of McKenzie County portrays vividly the ranching life of the Bad Lands and the lawlessness of border communities. The Bohemian immigration to the state is described and considerable material is appended to the sketch regarding Bohemian organizations in the Northwest. The first Dunker colony is described in considerable detail with many sketches of the early pioneers. The longest local study is the history of the early Presbyterian Church by one of the pioneer preachers of the time. Besides these sketches, the territorial census of 1885 is given complete for seventeen of the early counties, and contains a wealth of local material covering a considerable range of interest. Two of the papers published in this volume concern matters entirely outside state history. The location and survey of the northern international boundary line between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky Mountains is discussed in an interesting fashion and much new material is made available to the student of history. This is true also of the historical sketch of Hudson's Bay and the Company and the Red River trade, to which are appended reprints of many interesting documents bearing on the subject—petitions, letters, memorials, resolutions, etc. A very interesting reprint is Judge Coltman's *Summary of Evidence in the Controversy between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company*. For the student of history in the section west of the Great Lakes the fur-trade war between these two great companies is of first-rate importance and this document throws much light on the facts of that long and bitter struggle. The Minutes of the Council of the Northern Department of Rupert's Land, 1830-1843, is a document printed here for the first time in this country, though lately printed also by the Canadian Archives, and gives in complete detail, year by year, the votes, business arrangements, and distribution of officers and men by this body representing the Hudson's Bay Company of London. This mass of official transactions throws a flood of light upon the inner workings of this great trading corporation and supplies exact information upon many disputed points. It is to be hoped that the publication of this portion of the Minutes of Council will result, without duplication, in bringing into print the proceedings covering the earlier and later years of the Hudson's Bay Company's history.

As in other volumes there is given here a carefully edited Indian

legend. In this case the legend is one belonging to the Hidatsa tribe and describes the origin and later life of the mythological patron of that tribe.

The Mining Advance into the Inland Empire: a Comparative Study of the Beginnings of the Mining Industry in Idaho and Montana, Eastern Washington and Oregon, and the Southern Interior of British Columbia, and the Institutions and Laws based upon that Industry. By William J. Trimble, Professor of History and Social Science, North Dakota Agricultural College. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, no. 638, History Series, vol. III., no. 2.] (Madison, the University, 1914, pp. 254.) This account of the occupation of the gold-bearing placer regions of the upper Fraser, Columbia, and Missouri rivers in the decade following 1855 exhibits three salient and dominating ideas of the author. This movement of population is viewed as "part of the formation and advance of an *eastward moving frontier*". The American frontier had in the decade from 1840 to 1850 leaped from the banks of the Missouri to the valleys of the Willamette and Sacramento. Now it recoiled eastward and met half-way the old frontier still advancing westward. Secondly, the writer is concerned in tracing the rise of mining camps, with many diverse elements of population suddenly congregated, into orderly, well-organized communities. His leading idea, however, has to do with the contrast between the courses of development of those under British jurisdiction and those under American authorities.

Professor Trimble's narrative is a remarkably clear, well-ordered, and comprehensive handling of a large and difficult subject. The physiographical features of the wilderness of the "inland empire", the Indian tribes in possession, and the sources of the population that took part in the "rushes" are graphically outlined. The vicissitudes of trial and hardship in getting to the remote locations of the different discoveries with supplies, and experiences of privation and danger in the early stages of the development of each camp, are well worked out and told largely in the language of reliable contemporary accounts of participants. Following a realistic survey of the salient features of the rushes to the different localities of gold discovery, the economic, social, and political, or law and order aspects, of these "mining advances" are brought out.

The fact that these mining communities were about equally divided between British and American jurisdiction, half situated north of the 49th parallel and half south of that line, afforded excellent opportunity to Dr. Trimble to give his history the quality of a record of social experiment and verification. He establishes convincingly that the physiography of these British and American localities and the constituent elements of the population of the respective groups of mining camps north and south of the Line were not divergent enough to account for

the contrasting types of life and institutions developed in them. In other words, the principle of economic determinism or that of the controlling sway of the self-maintenance *mores* does not find confirmation in the early history of the "inland empire". Moreover, the virtue and efficiency of the British tradition of law and administration quite outshine what is exhibited of social control on the American side. Constituted authorities are equal to the emergencies with one, while vigilance committees and lynch law have to function with the other to secure safety for life and property.

A carefully arranged bibliography of sources used is given. A few lapses in proof-reading occur that need attention when a second edition is issued.

F. G. YOUNG.

Canada and its Provinces: a History of the Canadian People and their Institutions, by a Hundred Associates. Edited by Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty. (Toronto, Publishers Association of Canada, 1914, 23 vols.) This is the most important work on Canadian history which has ever been produced. The plan is co-operative. Its general conduct has been under the skillful hands of Dr. Shortt, formerly of Queen's University, now Civil Service commissioner, and of Dr. Doughty, Dominion archivist at Ottawa. Each of the eleven sections into which the work is divided has its editor. The names of these chiefs of sections are such as to inspire the highest confidence. Thus, we have, for New France (volumes I. and II.), Professor Chapais of Laval University; for British Dominion (1760-1840, volumes III. and IV.), Dean F. P. Walton of McGill University; for United Canada (1840-1867, volume V.), Professor W. L. Grant; for The Dominion: Political Evolution (volumes VI., VII., and VIII.), Professor George M. Wrong; for The Dominion: Industrial Expansion (volumes IX. and X.), Dr. James Bonar; for The Dominion: Missions, Arts, and Letters (volumes XI. and XII.), Dr. Doughty. The remaining volumes, to XXII., deal with the political and industrial history, and the institutions, of the individual provinces, from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The twenty-third volume, soon to be published, will contain critical and explanatory notes (for few foot-notes accompany the texts) and a general index. The plan of the volumes is the familiar co-operative plan, calling for 153 special contributions, seven or eight to a volume upon the average. The best names among the historical scholars of Canada are to be found in the list of one hundred contributors, and in the main the chapters have been assigned to specialists of the highest competence. Two editions have been prepared, both very handsome and well supplied with illustrations marked by the highest interest and the highest quality of execution. The "Authors' Edition", the sale of which was confined to Canada, has already been disposed of. A vivid impression of Canadian national feeling and of Canadian interest in national history is obtained from the fact that

this whole edition of 875 copies, priced at something like \$350, was disposed of in Canada alone before the final volume was issued. The Edinburgh Edition, now announced, and of similar beauty of mechanical workmanship, will also consist of 875 sets, to be distributed among buyers in Great Britain and the United States.

Jefes del Ejército Mexicano en 1847: Biografías de Generales de División y de Brigada y de Coroneles del Ejército Mexicano por Fines del Año de 1847. Por Alberto M. Carreño. (Mexico, Secretaría de Fomento, 1914, pp. cccxxxiv, 259.) The essential portion of this volume consists of material compiled, Señor Carreño thinks, by General Gabriel Valencia. It is a series of copied or summarized (p. xii) records of generals and colonels—*hojas de servicios*—kept by the Mexican War Department, to which the editor has added a number of biographies, as well as extended or annotated others. The title-page promises a highly useful work, but one's hopes are not fully realized. The manuscript was prepared in 1840 (p. viii), and beyond that date we have only the more or less correct information supplied in a more or less random way by Señor Carreño. Nearly all of the official records are extremely meagre, and some of them are far enough from the truth. To Santa Anna, by all odds the foremost Mexican of the period, only thirty-nine lines are given (pp. 15, 16, 20). Of Valencia, in his palmy days a brute, sot, and revolutionist quite destitute of good qualities, it is said that he owed his promotions and high repute to his excellent civil and military conduct (p. 35). In the account of Ampudia, who commanded against Taylor at Monterey, we are told (p. 152) that "by the confession of the enemy themselves their loss in killed and wounded was 2204", whereas our figures—inclusive of the missing—were about five hundred. The record of Arista is particularly edifying. "Having been compelled", it states (p. 50), "to force the enemy to fight at the pass of Palo Alto, he gained great advantages, though on the following day in a second engagement fortune was adverse, and he had to retire with his Division to Matamoros after exposing himself a thousand times—even doing the duties of a common soldier—in the various charges led by him personally against the enemy, who through their superiority in artillery broke the columns at the head of which he was always found." The truth is, of course, that Arista lost instead of gaining in the wide, grassy plains of Palo Alto, and on May 9 remained in his tent until the battle had been won by the plain hard hitting of our infantry, upon which—after attempting one or two brave but futile charges—he fled precipitately with only a part of his troops. This account is, to be sure, taken by Señor Carreño from the year 1851, when Arista was president; but it shows how unreliable an *hoja de servicios* could be.

Introducing the biographical matter there is a longer prologue, done by the editor, sketching "the participation of the army in the political

life of Mexico during the first half of the nineteenth century". This is described by the author himself as "a most superficial summary" (p. cclxxi), and he also states that the time spent upon it was hardly two weeks (p. cccxxxiii). Criticism is therefore unnecessary; but some valuable first-hand material—particularly with reference to Paredes in pages clxv-clxxviii, and to the battle of "Contreras" in pages ccxc-cccviii—and signs of a wish to be correct should be mentioned. Naturally the false and irrational but consoling theory that the ruinous dissensions of Mexico were due to the machinations of our government is brought forth once more, and once more a simulacrum of Poinsett is banished to the wilderness as scapegoat.

The text is illustrated with poorly engraved portraits.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Inter-American Acquaintances. By Charles Lyon Chandler. (Seawanee, Tenn., University Press, 1915, pp. vi, 139.) The author explains in his preface that he is a railway employee, and modestly disclaims any attempt at historical excellence or completeness. His purpose, he says, is to furnish proof "that the moral and material aid and example of the United States were a factor in the Latin-American wars of independence", and that before and during those wars "much was spoken and written by both North and South Americans" which forecast the Pan-American movement. Chronologically, the book covers the period from the close of the war for the independence of the United States to the close of the wars for the independence of the Latin-American countries, though a few earlier and later facts appear.

The first chapter, on the Beginning of Pan-American Relations, comprises nearly three-fourths of the book and is its valuable contribution. The second, entitled Citizens of the United States of America who took Part in the Latin-American War of Independence, 1810-1826, covers twelve pages. The same amount of space is given in the third chapter to the Pan-Americanism of Henry Clay. The fourth, on the Pan-American Origin of the Monroe Doctrine, occupies nine pages. The fifth, entitled Diversions in Euscaran: a Study in Persistently Influential Heredity, also occupies nine pages. This last chapter is only remotely connected with the rest of the book, being a study of the widespread influence which the Basques have exerted in Spanish America. An Epitome of Dates, 1807-1826, occupies the last eight pages.

Many passages are quoted from letters, speeches, public documents, magazines, newspapers, and books, indicating that the author has patiently gone through a large amount of historical material. Unfortunately the places where these materials are to be found are very rarely indicated. Hence the value of the work is much less than it might have been. This criticism is disarmed, however, by the author's statement that his book is "intended to be suggestive rather than directly instructive—to stimulate perhaps a few of those now engaged in studying

South American history in its various phases in our colleges and universities to elaborate its material into historical or economic studies of permanent value". This desirable effect it will doubtless have.

There are no foot-notes in the book. Incidental mention is made here and there of the book or periodical from which facts or quotations were taken; and in the later chapters a few exact citations are inserted between parentheses in the body of the page. It would have been much better if this plan had been followed throughout, in spite of the consequent interruption. Much irrelevant or only slightly related matter which might properly have appeared in foot-notes is incorporated in the body of the page, interrupting the orderly development of the thought and obscuring the main points. Numerous abrupt transitions contribute to the same end. There are so many awkward constructions, misplaced modifiers, and perfectly obvious misspellings that one is almost led to think the proof was never corrected, in spite of the fact that the preface mentions three persons who are said to have read it.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

HISTORICAL NEWS

After twenty years' existence of this *Review*, its readers may be interested in a classified statement of the fields in which its many articles have lain. Following some such classification as that which has obtained in its section devoted to items of news, one may say that, of 397 articles, 48 have been general in their nature (chiefly the annual addresses of the presidents of the American Historical Association and the accounts of its meetings), that there have been 11 articles in ancient history, 19 in medieval history, 29 in modern (meaning articles in medieval and modern history not preferably classified under single countries), 61 in the history of Great Britain and Ireland, 30 in that of France, 16 in that of Italy or Spain, 9 in that of Germany, Austria, or Switzerland, 4 in that of Northern and Eastern Europe, 4 in that of the Far East. The articles in American history may be classified as follows: general, 18; economic, 12; diplomatic, 8; naval, 1; colonial and Revolutionary, 30; constitutional and political history of 1783-1861, 43; of the period of the Civil War and Reconstruction, 17; New England, 5; Middle Colonies or States, 8; South, 8; West, 10; Canada and Spanish America, 6. Too much stress should not be laid upon these details, for at least a third of the articles are of debatable classification; but the list has its significance as indicative of the interests of American historical writers. Equally significant data are however concealed in the larger items. Thus, it is a strange and not wholly creditable fact that out of nearly 400 articles only 8 have related to the history of Europe since 1815, and that, of the many articles in British history, only 11 have related to the eighteenth century and only one to the nineteenth.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association will take place in Washington on December 28-31, 1915 (four days, Tuesday to Friday inclusive). Headquarters will be at the New Willard Hotel. Organizations of similar purpose which will be meeting in Washington at the same time will be the Nineteenth Annual Congress of Americanists, the Anthropological Section of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Society of International Law, the Anthropological Association, the American Folklore Society, and the Archaeological Institute of America. While the programme is not yet complete, its outlines can now be announced. The presidential address of Professor H. Morse Stephens, together with that of Professor W. C. Willcox, president of the American Economic Association, will be delivered at a joint session of the two bodies on the first evening. Other

joint sessions will be held with the Congress of Americanists and with two sections of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, with papers by Professor Bernard Moses, Mr. W. R. Thayer, Dr. David J. Hill, and Hon. Henry White; with the Political Science Association, President A. L. Lowell and Professor G. M. Wrong speaking, on the Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire; with the Naval History Society; with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, in a conference of teachers of history; and, with several related societies, a joint meeting intended to promote the erection in Washington of a National Archive Building. The usual special conferences of historical societies and of archivists will be held. In the session devoted to ancient history the topic will be, Economic Causes for International Rivalries in Ancient Times (Professors W. S. Ferguson and G. W. Botsford); in that on medieval history, Medieval Colonization (Professors D. C. Munro, J. W. Thompson, H. L. Gray, and A. C. Howland); in that on modern European history, The Origin and Significance of Modern National Feeling (Professor J. H. Robinson); and there will be one session devoted to American history (Dr. Frances G. Davenport, Dr. O. G. Villard, Dr. Victor S. Clark, and Professor William I. Hull); and perhaps one specially devoted to Pan-American history. The business meeting will be held on Wednesday afternoon, December 29. It will be remembered that the Association will then be called upon to take action upon the report of the Committee of Nine appointed last December "to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the Association", including the relations between the Association and the *American Historical Review*.

The last prize essay, Miss Williams's *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*, is in press and should appear in November. The *Annual Report* for 1913, in two volumes, the second consisting of the Papers of James A. Bayard, edited by Miss Elizabeth Donnan, is being distributed to members at about the same time as the present number of the *Review*.

Writings on American History, 1913, the standard and invaluable bibliography prepared each year by Miss Grace Gardner Griffin, has just been issued by the Yale University Press. A volume of 193 pages, listing more than three thousand titles of books, pamphlets, and articles, it is an indispensable manual for the worker in American history. Members of the association are reminded once more of the importance of giving it their support.

In the *Original Narratives* series it is hoped that Mr. Bolton's *Spanish Exploration and Settlement in the Southwest* (California, New Mexico, and Texas, 1542-1690) will be issued by Messrs. Scribner this autumn, and that the final volume, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg of the Wisconsin State Historical Society, will appear in the spring.

PERSONAL

Joseph Vidal de la Blache was killed in battle on January 29, 1915. He was the author of several works published by the Historical Section of the French General Staff, of which the most important was *L'Évacuation de l'Espagne et l'Invasion de France, 1813-1814* (2 vols., 1914), and had prepared two similar volumes on the campaigns of Eylau and Friedland which are promised for publication after the war. He also wrote *La Régénération de la Prusse après Iéna* (1910). It is regrettable to note the long list of recent graduates and students of the École des Chartes who are listed as "morts sur le champ d'honneur".

Professor Heinrich Brunner of Berlin, one of the most eminent authorities in the history of law, died at Kissingen August 12, at the age of seventy-six.

Guy S. Callender, professor in Yale University, editor of *Selections from the Economic History of the United States*, and a valued contributor to this journal, died August 8, at the age of 49. Before his call to Yale in 1903 he had taught at Wellesley, Harvard, and Bowdoin.

Dr. Howard L. Gray of Harvard University has been made professor of European history at Bryn Mawr College.

Miss Katharine S. Alvord, hitherto of the University of Wisconsin, has been called to DePauw University as assistant professor of history.

Dr. William L. Schurz of the University of California has been called to the University of Michigan as lecturer in Spanish-American history.

In the historical department of the University of Chicago Dr. Conyer's Read has been made associate professor.

Dr. E. E. Robinson of Stanford University is spending the present academic year as resident lecturer in the University of Minnesota. Dr. A. C. Krey has been promoted to an assistant professorship in the latter institution.

Professor Jacob S. Schapiro, of the College of the City of New York, has been called to the State University of Iowa as professor of European history.

Dr. E. I. McCormac has been made associate professor of American history in the University of California, and Dr. Charles E. Chapman assistant professor. Messrs. K. C. Leebrick and Charles H. Cunningham have lately proceeded to Seville to work in the archives of the Indies, as agents of the university and of the Academy of Pacific Coast History.

Dr. Payson J. Treat of Stanford University has been given the full rank of professor. Professor Edward B. Krehbiel has leave of absence during the current year; his classes will be taken by Dr. Ralph H. Lutz of the State University of Washington.

GENERAL

The plans of the large series *Records of Civilization*, edited by Professor James T. Shotwell in collaboration with other Columbia professors, are disclosed, more fully than hitherto, in a recent circular. The aim of the series is to make accessible in English those sources of the history of Europe which are of prime importance in the understanding of western civilization. Much more extensive than the ordinary "source-book", the series, of which some seventeen volumes are already announced, will usually present all the significant parts of the sources most valuable for their particular period or portion of history, with such comments, studies, and bibliographies as will enable the reader to see the bearing of each source upon the modern fabric of history. A preliminary volume on the *History of History*—documents and commentary, edited by Professor Shotwell, is promised; but the first volume to appear will be *Hellenic Civilization*, edited by Professors G. W. Botsford and E. G. Sihler, to be issued this autumn by the Columbia University Press, from whom circulars describing the whole series can be obtained. This first volume will illustrate Greek civilization in all its aspects, from a wide variety of sources, more completely than has been done in any one preceding collection. Other volumes, of which at least parts can be expected within a year, are those on the Records of the Jews, edited by Professor Julius A. Bewer; on the Early Records of Christianity, by Mr. Harold H. Tryon; on the Medieval Historians (Orosius by Dr. Charles J. Ogden, and Gregory of Tours by Dr. Ernest Brehaut); on the Papacy, by Professor Shotwell and Miss Louise R. Loomis (*Liber Pontificalis*); and on Humanism and Critical Scholarship (part I, Laurentius Valla on the Donation of Constantine, by Professor Christopher B. Coleman). There is also provision for subsequent volumes dealing with the Hellenistic period and the early Middle Ages, with some plans also for the modern period. The undertaking is one of the greatest importance.

A new journal, *The Military Historian and Economist*, is shortly to begin publication, under the editorial conduct of Captain Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., of the Army Service Schools at Fort Leavenworth, and of Professor Robert M. Johnston, of Harvard University. The plan contemplates the inclusion of articles, of unpublished documents of high value, and of a certain number of book-reviews. The first number to be issued, January 1, 1916, is expected to contain the following articles: Sea Power and the German Coast, by Contre-amiral Degouy; Sources for the History of the Mexican War, by Dr. Justin H. Smith; the Psychology of German War Finance, by Oliver M. W. Sprague; the Question of Guam, by B. K. Richard; an article by Captain Conger and, as documentary material, the journal of General D. S. Stanley. American and foreign contributors of high competence have, it will be seen, been secured. Documents of great interest are also in prospect. The

journal should receive a very hearty welcome and is likely to be of great utility. The price of subscription will be \$3.00 per annum, and the address of the editors is 275 Widener Hall, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The *Report* of the Smithsonian Institution for 1914 contains a survey of recent studies respecting the early inhabitants of Western Asia, by Professor Felix von Luschan of Berlin, an account of recent excavations at Abydos, by M. Édouard Naville, and an article by M. Félix Regnault on the Rôle of Depopulation, Deforestation, and Malaria in the Decline of Certain Nations.

Professor Henry L. Moore's *Economic Cycles: their Law and Cause* (New York, Macmillan, 1914, pp. viii, 149) discusses the relations of weather conditions, represented chiefly by the rainfall in the central part of the United States, and of the resulting crops, to the successive periods of prosperity and depression in business. He shows, with excellent statistical methods and reasoning, the existence of cycles of approximately thirty-three and eight years in duration, and exhibits the rhythmically changing values and prices which flow from them.

The second, or July, number of the *Catholic Historical Review* continues, with the same earnestness and intelligence as its predecessor, its very important task of promoting the study of church history in the United States. The three chief articles are by Monsignor Charles W. Currier, on the Church of Ceba (a sketch, merely); by Dr. James A. Rooney, on Early Times in the Diocese of Hartford, Connecticut, 1829-1874; and by Rev. H. C. Schuyler, on Father Sebastian Rale. The interesting list of documents from the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association is continued, and a correspondence between Archbishop Purcell and Cardinal Barnabo is printed, relating to the establishment of the American College at Rome and to the question of army chaplains (1857, 1862). The reviews of books now appear without signature.

A useful and readable work is Mr. B. E. Hammond's *Bodies Politic and their Governments*, published by the Cambridge University Press.

The Negro, by Professor W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, a recent issue in the *Home University Library*, is a summary of the history of the negro in Africa as well as in this country.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. T. Shotwell, *The Discovery of Time*, I., II., III. (*Journal of Philosophy, Psychology, and Scientific Methods*, April 15, May 15, June 15); E. Oberfohren, *Die Idee der Universalökonomie bei Boisguillebert und Argenson* (*Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv*, April); C. Turgeon, *Essai sur la Conception de l'Histoire et du Progrès d'après Proudhon* (*Revue d'Économie Politique*, May).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General reviews: J. Toutain, *Antiquités Romaines, 1913-1914* (Revue Historique, May); C. Lécivain, *Antiquités Latines, Publications Étrangères, 1913-1915* (*ibid.*, July).

The Antiquity of Man in Europe, by Professor James Geikie (New York, Van Nostrand), is closely allied in interest with the volumes by Elliot and Sollas reviewed in this number.

A book of importance to the student of ancient history, lately issued by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, is the *Catalogue of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* (pp. lv, 596) by Professor John L. Myres of Oxford.

Volume XII. of Sir J. G. Frazer's *The Golden Bough* (Macmillan) consists of a bibliography and index, the former furnishing an excellent guide to the literature dealing with the customs of primitive mankind.

The Harvard University Press announces as in preparation *The Religious Thought of the Greeks from Homer to the Triumph of Christianity*, by Professor Clifford H. Moore, *Judaism at the Beginning of the Christian Era*, by Professor George F. Moore, and, in two volumes, *The Harvard Expedition to Samaria*, by Professor George F. Reisner, recording discoveries of the periods of Israelite, Babylonian, Greek, and Roman occupation, the former including the palace of Omri and Ahab, with contemporary ostraca giving the earliest known inscriptions in Hebrew, while those relating to the last period include the whole fortified city, with its temple of Augustus, founded by Herod the Great.

In a Princeton dissertation (University Press, 1915, pp. 94), *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Syria*, Dr. Gustave A. Harrer essays to establish the list of the governors of Syria, Syria Coele, and Syria Phoenice, A. D. 70-305, with some notes on earlier governors, on procurators, on the separation of Syria and Cilicia, and on the revolt of Pescennius Niger.

Mr. Wilfred H. Schoff has completed the third section to be issued by the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia in its "graphic history of commerce". This is *The Parthian Stations of Isidore of Charax*, which consists of the Greek text, with a translation on the opposite page, fragments of the writings of Isidore, and a commentary. The preceding issue was the *Periplus of Hanno*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Meyer, *Aegyptische Dokumente aus der Perserzeit* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1915, XVI.); J. Touzard, *Les Juifs au Temps de la Période Persane* (Revue Biblique, January); E. von Stern, *Die Politische und Sociale Struktur der Griechenkolonien am Nordufer des Schwarzmeergebietes* (Hermes, L. 2); A. Rosenberg, *Perikles und die Parteien in Athen* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 4); A. Wilhelm, *Bürger-*

rechtsverleihungen der Athener (Mitteilungen des K. Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, XXXIX.); R. Pichon, *Humanitarisme dans l'Ancienne Rome* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Das Weltreich des Augustus* (Die Neue Rundschau, May); L. Bréhier, *Constantin et la Fondation de Constantinople* (Revue Historique, July); A. Schulten, *Ein Keliberischer Städtebund* (Hermes, L. 2); F. Lot, *Les Migrations Saxonnes en Gaule et en Grande-Bretagne du III^e au V^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, May); G. W. Robinson, *Notes on the Fourth and Fifth Centuries* (Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, XXVI.).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

A distinctly popular, but well-written work on church history is Dean George Hodges's *The Early Church* (Houghton Mifflin), which extends to the fifth century.

In the second volume of his *Histoire Générale de l'Église* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1914, pp. 532), F. Mourret treats the fourth and fifth centuries, the period of the later Church fathers.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Jacquier, *Valeur Historique des Actes des Apôtres* (Revue Biblique, January); K. Bihlmeyer, *Die "Syrischen" Kaiser: Karakalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander, und das Christentum*, I. (Theologische Quartalschrift, XCVI. 4).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Mr. G. F. Hill is the author of *The Development of Arabic Numerals in Europe*, a volume of 126 pages, illustrated by 64 tables, published by the Oxford University Press.

Mr. Joseph McCabe's *Crises in the History of the Papacy* is announced by Messrs. Putnam.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Amélineau, *La Conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes*, I. (Revue Historique, July); C. Petit-Dutaillis, *De la Signification du Mot "Forêt" à l'Époque Franque* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January); E. Seckel, *Studien zu Benedictus Levita*, VIII. (Neues Archiv, XL. 1); A. Fliche, *Le Cardinal Humbert de Moyenmoutier: Étude sur les Origines de la Réforme Grégorienne* (Revue Historique, May); W. Miller, *The Geroese in Chios, 1346-1566* (English Historical Review, July); G. Schwartz, *Die Fälschungen des Abtes Guido Grandi* (Neues Archiv, XL. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The seventh volume of the *Transactions* of the Jewish Historical Society of England includes a paper on Crypto-Jews in the Canaries by Mr. Lucien Wolf, and one on Jewish Pioneers of South Africa by Sidney Mendelssohn.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has brought out in a pamphlet the declarations of the Hague Peace Conferences concerning the conduct of war on land and sea.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Dürr, *Ludwig XI., die Aragonesisch-Castilianische Heirat und Karl der Kühne* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXV. 2); E. Rott, *La Participation Helvétique aux Traités de Westphalie, 1646-1648* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 4); E. Heyck, *England und Holland im Kampf um die Seeherrschaft* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, March); Comte E. Frémy, *Causes Économiques de la Guerre de Hollande, 1664-1672* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIX. 4); A. Albert-Petit, *Comment l'Alsace est devenue Française* (Revue des Deux Mondes, May 1); J. Flach, *Les Affinités Françaises de l'Alsace avant Louis XIV.* (*ibid.*, July 1); Hubert Hall, *The League of Armed Neutrality* (Contemporary Review, August); Charles Kuhlman, *Pacifism as an Offspring of the French Revolution* (Mid-West Quarterly, July); R. Cessi, *Émile Gaudin et la Politique Française à Constantinople en 1792, d'après des Documents Vénitiens*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1914); W. M. Kozlowski, *Kosciuszeko et les Légions Polonaises en France*, I. (Revue Historique, May); H. Welschinger, *Les Préliminaires d'Iéna* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); A. Gérard, *L'Hégémonie Allemande et le Réveil de l'Europe, 1871-1914* (*ibid.*, May 15); F. Rachfahl, *Deutschland und die Balkanfrage im Wandel der Jahrhunderte* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, January, April).

THE GREAT WAR

The second Belgian Gray Book of *Correspondance Diplomatique relative à la Guerre de 1914-1915*, containing documents relating to the German invasion and occupation, and a French translation of the Italian Green Book, are issued by Hachette of Paris.

The elimination of the correspondent and the dry brevity of the daily official *communiqués* make it well-nigh impossible for the general reader to visualize for himself, in anything like a clear and comprehensive way, what is actually going on over a small section of the enormously extended front. Accordingly there has been attached to the British headquarters in France an official chronicler whose duty it is to prepare for the public narrative and descriptive accounts, based upon personal observation or compiled from reports of the operations of the British army. These accounts, which have appeared from time to time in the press, are now gathered together in a small volume, *Eye Witness's Narrative of the War: From the Marne to Neuve Chapelle, September, 1914-March, 1915* (London and New York, Longmans, 1915, pp. vii, 303). The volume, documented with general and special orders, extracts from soldiers' letters, etc., constitutes a genuine contribution to

the military history of the war, probably the principal contribution, for the phase to which it relates, that we shall have for some time. The style is simple and clear, devoid of technicalities, and possesses real literary merit.

Among the books on the causes, problems, and possible outcome of the present war, none in English presents a greater wealth of historical information or offers more stimulus to thought than *The War and Democracy* (London, Macmillan, 1915, pp. xiv, 390), a collaborative work by R. W. Seton-Watson, J. D. Wilson, A. E. Zimmern, and A. Greenwood. French reviewers are unanimous in bestowing the highest praise on *La Guerre* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915, pp. xii, 356) by Professor E. Denis of the Sorbonne, which has already reached its thirteenth edition. Monsignor Baudrillart has ably discussed *La Guerre Allemande et le Catholicisme* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915). Perhaps the finest presentation of the German ideals will be found in Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's *Reden aus der Kriegszeit* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1915), which has appeared in three parts containing eight addresses, including "Militarismus und Wissenschaft". A sensational volume is *J'Accuse, von einem Deutschen* (Lausanne, Payot, 1915, pp. 380; English translation, New York, Doran) which seeks "to break the evil charm" that holds the German people.

Under the title *La Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) are collected a series of lectures by E. Bourgeois, L. Renault, General Malletierre, R. G. Lévy, and D. Bellet on the causes of the war; Germany and international war; the war and the armies; the war and the finances; and modern industry and the war. French views on various problems connected with the war are set forth by François Charmes, the editor of the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, in *L'Allemagne contre l'Europe: la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); by René Moulin, in *La Guerre et les Neutres* (Paris, Plon, 1915); by Professor A. Chuquet, in *De Valmy à la Marne* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915); and by J. Finot, in *Civilisés contre Allemands* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915, pp. 347).

The general reader who wishes to acquaint himself with the French view as to the principal and more immediate causes of the war will find much of interest in *La Guerre Allemande: d'Agadir à Sarajevo (1911-1914)*, by Pierre Albin (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1915, pp. xv, 256). The author is of the opinion that since the establishment of the German Empire that power has mainly sought to prepare itself to take advantage of the propitious moment for imposing its leadership, by force of arms, upon Europe; and that since the incident of Agadir in 1911, this preparation passed from the expectant to the active plan. Starting from this point events, bearing upon Germany's relations with the other European powers, are recounted in some detail. Appendixes contain a chronology of the principal dates in European policy since

1871, and brief accounts of the triple alliance, the triple entente, and the Anglo-Japanese alliance.

Les Origines de la Guerre Européenne, by Auguste Gauvain (Paris, Armand Colin, 1915, pp. 333), is divided into two parts. The first part contains a rapid survey of the events, especially in the Balkan states, and of the diplomatic correspondence between the great powers that led up to the war. The second and considerably larger part consists of the writer's articles on European politics, that appeared in the *Journal des Débats* in June–August, 1915. The book does not add to our knowledge of the causes of the war, but the second part is an interesting exposition of the progression of French thought in the days before the opening of hostilities.

L. Cornet, the secretary of the French senate, has issued the first volume of 1914–1915, *Histoire de la Guerre* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1915, pp. 386), which carries the narrative to the battle of the Yser. A chronological account of the events in all the fields of operations to the close of 1914 is furnished by A. Masson, *L'Invasion des Barbares en 1914* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915). An excellent account of permanent value is *Dixmude: un Chapitre de l'Histoire des Fusiliers Marins, 7 Octobre–10 Novembre 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. xiii, 257) by C. Le Goffic. The *Chronik des Deutschen Krieger nach Amtlichen Berichten* in its second volume (Munich, Beck, 1915, pp. xxvi, 468) reaches January 17, 1915. Interesting accounts of the war conditions on the western front may be found in A. Fendricks, *Gegen Frankreich und Albion* (Stuttgart, Franckh, 1915, pp. 158); in Sven Hedin, *Ein Volk in Waffen* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1915, pp. v, 534); and in A. Tudesq, *Sur les Champs de Bataille, Choses Vues* (Paris, Tallandier, 1915).

A second volume of *La Guerre de 1914–1915: les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris, Fasquelle, 1915), by Joseph Reinach, has appeared. The weekly articles on *Deutschland und die Grosse Politik* by Professor Schieman of Berlin in the *Kreuzzeitung* to the close of 1914 have been collected in book form (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. iv, 352). *Alemania contra el Mundo* (Buenos Aires, Otero, 1915, pp. 274) is a reprint of the articles contributed to *El Diario* by Dr. F. A. Barroetaveña, who strongly favors the Allies.

D. Schäfer has reprinted from his *Aufsätze* four articles under the title *Deutschland und England in See- und Weltgeltung* (Leipzig, Wolff, 1915, pp. 192). Professor Eduard Meyer has published *England: seine Staatliche und Politische Entwicklung und der Krieg gegen Deutschland* (Stuttgart, Cotta, 1915, pp. xii, 213). Graf Ernst zu Reventlow expresses his anglophobia in *Der Vampir des Festlandes: eine Darstellung der Englischen Politik nach ihren Triebkräften, Mitteln, und Wirkungen* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, pp. viii, 185).

The Oxford University Press has published *The Chronicle of Twelve Days, July 23-August 4, 1914*, with an interpretation by Mr. William Archer.

Mr. J. W. Headlam has collected the diplomatic papers immediately preceding the outbreak of the war, in *The History of Twelve Days, July 24th to August 4th, 1914*, published by Fisher Unwin. The Doran Company has also published a volume entitled *Collected Diplomatic Documents relating to the Outbreak of the European War*.

Professor John W. Burgess in *The European War of 1914: its Causes, Purposes, and Probable Results* (McClurg) gives an exposition of "the state of mind" of the German nation.

A French view of German colonial activities will be found in *La Provocation Allemande aux Colonies* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915).

Though in only a minor part historical the small book called *Problems of Readjustment after the War* (New York, Appleton, 1915, pp. vi, 186) deserves mention in these pages because of the weighty and thoughtful treatment given to several of these important problems in the essays of which it is composed. Professor Seligman's, on the Economic Interpretation of the War, stands out particularly; but those of Professors Hart on the War and Democracy, Giddings on the Crisis in Social Evolution, W. W. Willoughby on the Relations of the Individual to the State, G. G. Wilson on the War and International Law, and E. R. Johnson on the War and International Commerce and Finance, and that of Rear-Admiral Goodrich on the Conduct of Military and Naval Warfare, are all noteworthy and profitable.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Bergsträsser, *Die Diplomatischen Kämpfe vor Kriegsausbruch* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIV. 3); Baron Beyens, *La Semaine Tragique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, June 1); E. de Martonne, *Les Conditions d'une Intervention Roumaine* (Revue de Paris, May 15); W. L. de Jaworski, *La Guerre Actuelle au Point de Vue de la Question Polonaise* (Scientia, May); M. Pavlovitch, *Deux Tactiques, Deux Plans de Guerre* (La Revue Politique Internationale, March); Count J. Andrassy, *Weltkrieg und Weltfreiheit* (Scientia, May); G. Alexinsky, *La Russie Démocratique et la Guerre, Réponse au Comte Jules Andrassy* (La Revue Politique Internationale, March); S. Schilder, *Weltwirtschaftliche Hintergründe des Weltkrieges* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, January).

GREAT BRITAIN

Professor Laurence M. Larson has written for the American historical series published by Henry Holt and Company, a volume entitled *A Short History of England and the British Empire*.

The Harvard University Press is soon to issue, as *Harvard Historical Studies* XXII., a volume on *English Field Systems*, discussing the struc-

ture of open-field townships and the transformations of the open field, by Professor Howard L. Gray, now of Bryn Mawr College. The press also announces as in preparation a volume of *Studies in Anglo-Norman Institutions*, by Professor Charles H. Haskins, and one of *Essays on English Agrarian History in the Sixteenth Century*, by Professor Edwin F. Gay.

The Canterbury and York Society at its annual meeting in July reported that additional parts of the registers of Bishops John de Pontisara, Hamo de Hethe, and Simon de Gandavo were in press, and installments of the rolls of Richard Gravesend and the register of J. Trevenant, bishop of Hereford, were almost ready for publication.

The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London, with an introduction on London and her gilds to the close of the fifteenth century, by Rev. A. H. Johnson (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2 vols.), is a substantial addition to economic history, executed with much thoroughness.

Studies in Tudor History, by Professor W. P. M. Kennedy of St. Michael's College, Toronto, ranges in subject from Henry VII. and his Policy to Elizabethan Parish Life.

Volume V. of the *Oxford Historical and Literary Studies* is an edition of the writings of Henry Tubbe, by Mr. G. C. Moore Smith. The editor has, in an excellent introduction of 64 pages, given a careful study of Tubbe's life along with his letters and literary studies. This is followed by his poems amply annotated and by his "meditations".

Quaker Women, 1650-1690, by Mabel R. Brailsford, is a sympathetic attempt to picture the ideals and the work of the first Quaker women of England.

The Yale University Press issues Dr. R. B. Westerfield's *The Middleman in English Industry, particularly between 1660 and 1760* (pp. 334).

In the series of *World's Classics* published by the Oxford University Press is an interesting volume entitled *Selected Speeches on British Foreign Policy, 1738-1914*, compiled by Mr. E. R. Jones.

Professor W. T. Laprade of Trinity College in North Carolina is editing for the Royal Historical Society a body of transcripts made by the late B. F. Stevens from the papers of John Robinson, manipulator of the parliamentary election of 1784. The originals are now in the possession of the Marquess of Abergavenny. Professor Laprade also has in preparation a volume on the beginnings of the ministry of William Pitt the younger.

The Clarendon Press has published *The War Speeches of William Pitt the Younger*, selected by Mr. R. Coupland.

Miss Helen Bosanquet's *Social Work in London, 1869-1912: a History of the Charity Organization Society*, useful to all social workers, is published in New York by E. P. Dutton and Company.

In the second edition of his *Joseph Chamberlain* Mr. Alexander Mackintosh has added chapters on Mr. Chamberlain's last years and death.

In the series of *Portrait Biographies*, a brief but sympathetic appreciation of Lord Roberts has appeared from the pen of Mr. Mortimer Menpes, illustrated by eight portraits of Lord Roberts; by the author.

In a little brochure of 52 pages Armand Colin, Paris, publishes *L'Angleterre et la Guerre*, a lecture delivered in Paris on May 2, 1915, by Henry Wickham Steed, foreign director of the London *Times* and for many years correspondent of the *Times* at Berlin, Vienna, and Rome, in which he rapidly traces the foreign policy of England, as regards Continental matters, since 1912.

J. B. Coissac recently presented as his theses at the Sorbonne, *Les Universités d'Écosse depuis la Fondation de l'Université de Saint-Andrews jusqu'au Triomphe de la Réforme, 1410-1560* (Paris, Larousse, 1914, pp. 311), and *Les Institutions Scolaires de l'Écosse depuis les Origines jusqu'en 1560* (*ibid.*, pp. 79).

British government publications: *A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office*, ed. Sir H. C. Maxwell-Lyte; *Calendar of the Fine Rolls*, vol. V., Edward III., 1337-1347, ed. Maxwell-Lyte, A. E. Bland, and S. C. Ratcliff; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters*, X., 1447-1455, ed. J. A. Twemlow; *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem*, Henry VII., vol. XI.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. E. Lunt, *Papal Taxation in England in the Reign of Edward I.* (*English Historical Review*, July); J. H. Round, *The House of Lords and the Model Parliament* (*ibid.*); W. Hooper, *The Tudor Sumptuary Laws* (*ibid.*); G. Constant, *L'Histoire Religieuse d'Angleterre depuis le Schisme jusqu'à nos Jours*, I. (*Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique*, XXIX. 4).

FRANCE

General review: C. Petit-Dutaillis, *Histoire de France, 1328-1498* (*Revue Historique*, July).

The northern and eastern provinces are dealt with in the third and final volume of Monsignor Duchesne's *Fastes Épiscopaux de l'Ancienne Gaule* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915).

Joseph Fabre has added to his numerous works on Joan of Arc a volume on *Les Bourreaux de Jeanne d'Arc et sa Fête Nationale: Notices sur les Personnages du Procès de Condamnation, Documents sur la Fête du Patriotisme* (Paris, Hachette, 1915).

The *Correspondance de Joachim de Matignon, Lieutenant-Général du Roi en Normandie, 1516-1548* (Paris, Picard, 1914, pp. lxii, 211)

has been edited by L. H. Labande, keeper of the Monaco archives, and dedicated to Prince Albert I. of Monaco on the twenty-fifth anniversary of his accession. M. Labande is preparing an edition of the correspondence of Marshal Matignon, the nephew of Joachim.

The Société de l'Histoire de France has published another volume of Jules Lair and Baron de Courcel's *Rapports et Notices sur l'Édition des Mémoires du Cardinal de Richelieu* (II. 2, Paris, Laurens, 1914, pp. 354), containing, among other articles: "Quelques Collaborateurs de Richelieu", by L. Delavaud; and "Les Différents Étapes de la Rédaction des Mémoires, les Manuscrits, et les Ouvriers des Mémoires", by R. Lavollée. Other recent issues by the same society are the first volume, 1674-1676, of the *Correspondance du Maréchal de Vivonne relative à l'Expédition de Messine* (*ibid.*, pp. 424), edited by Jean Cordey; the fifth volume, 1707-1710, of the *Mémoires de Saint-Hilaire* (*ibid.*, pp. 340), which also contains his correspondence and other documents for the same years edited by Léon Lecestre; and the *Campagnes de Jacques de Mercoyrol de Beaulieu, Capitaine au Régiment de Picardie, 1743-1763* (*ibid.*, 1915, pp. vii, 457), edited by the Marquis de Vogüé and A. Le Sourd.

The late A. Brette completed all except a portion of the proof-reading of the fourth volume of his *Recueil des Documents relatifs à la Convocation des États Généraux de 1789* (Paris, Leroux, 1915). The volume contains materials for the generalities of Montauban, Auch, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, Poitiers, and Tours. It is to be hoped that suitable provision will be made for the completion of this valuable publication.

C. Perroud has published the second volume of his edition of the *Lettres de Madame Roland* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. xx, 590) in the *Collection de Documents Inédits*.

The latest publication of the Commission de l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution is the first volume of *Les Cahiers de Doléances d'Angers pour les États Généraux de 1789* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. cclxv, 418), edited by Dr. A. Le Moy. The second volume is in press.

An important addition to the little group of studies of departmental administration under Napoleon is Benaerts's thesis, *Le Régime Consulaire en Bretagne: le Département d'Ille-et-Vilaine durant le Consulat, 1799-1804* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. xii, 383). In his supplementary thesis on *Les Commissaires Extraordinaires de Napoléon Ier en 1814 d'après leur Correspondance Inédite* (Paris, Rieder, 1915, pp. xxiii, 239) he has exploited some interesting materials which were left untouched by Houssaye and other earlier writers.

A biography of Jean Jaurès, *l'Homme, le Penseur, le Socialiste* (Paris, *L'Émancipatrice*, 1915, pp. x, 435) has been published by C. Rappoport.

Makers of New France (London, Mills and Boon, 1915, pp. xxi, 246) contains sketches of the present leaders in the political life of France by Charles Dawbarn. *Raymond Poincaré, a Sketch* (London, Duckworth, 1914, pp. 169) is anonymous. *My March to Timbuctoo* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1915, pp. 169), in 1894, by General Joffre is given in English translation with a biographical introduction by Ernest Dimnet.

Professor Aulard recently presented to the Comité des Travaux Historiques, Section d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, a report on the collection of historical materials relating to the present war and to the conditions in France as modified by the existence of the war. Acting upon this report and its approval by the committee, the Minister of Public Instruction in May sent circulars to the mayors of communes directing the collection and preservation of official documents; and to officers of learned societies, history teachers, and other persons presumably interested, suggesting proper subjects for report and methods of collecting and presenting the materials illustrating the actual administration and the condition of the country during the time of the war. The circulars are reprinted in the April-May issue of *La Révolution Française*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Krusch, *Die Neueste Wendung im Genovefa-Streit* (Neues Archiv, XL. 1); G. Monod, *Le Rôle de Paris dans la France du Moyen Âge* (Revue Historique, May); H. F. Delaborde, *Du Texte des Actes reproduits dans le Premier Registre de Philippe Auguste* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, January); A. Aulard, *Patrie, Patriotisme avant 1789* (La Révolution Française, April); *id.*, *Patrie, Patriotisme sous Louis XVI. et dans les Cahiers* (*ibid.*, June); L. Dubreuil, *Les Origines de la Chouannerie dans les Côtes-du-Nord, I.-III.* (*ibid.*, February, April, June); G. Vauthier, *Fourcroy, Conseiller d'État* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, October, 1914); H. Chouet, *Ney à Lons-le-Saulnier, 14 Mars 1815* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); Commandant Weil, *Les Cents-Jours* (Revue de Paris, July); H. Limbourg, *Le Duc d'Angoulême et sa Troisième Campagne d'Afrique, la Smalah, Novembre 1842 à Juin 1843* (La Revue Hebdomadaire, July 3, 1910).

ITALY AND SPAIN

I. del Lungo and P. Prunas have edited *N. Tommaseo e G. Capponi, Carteggio Inedito dal 1833 al 1874* (vols. I, II., Bologna, Zanichelli, 1914, pp. xii, 663; viii, 795). The third volume will cover the years after 1849.

Il Conte di Cavour e il suo Confessore (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915, pp. 142) is a recent volume by M. Mazziotti.

Quaderni della Guerra, published by Treves of Milan, are the Italian counterpart to the *Oxford Pamphlets*.

An essay on *El Elemento Germánico en el Derecho Español* (Madrid, Imp. Clásica Española, 1915, pp. 106) is by Professor E. de Hinojosa.

A. Paz y Melia has published an elaborate study of the historian of the reign of Isabella I., *El Cronista Alonso de Palencia, su Vida y sus Obras, sus "Décadas" y las Crónicas Contemporáneas, Ilustraciones de las "Décadas", y Notas Varias* (Madrid, Revista de Archivos, 1914, pp. lxxxvii, 473).

The fourth volume of the *Catálogo Razonado de Obras Anónimas y Seudónimas de Autores de la Compañía de Jesús, pertenecientes a la Antigua Asistencia Española* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1914, pp. vi, 606) by J. E. Uriarte, has appeared.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Croce, *La Storiografia in Italia dai Cominciamenti del Secolo Decimono ai Giorni Nostri*, I.-III. (La Critica, January, March, May); E. Crosa, *Lo Statuto del 1848 e l'Opera del Ministro Borelli, con Lettere Inedite di Carlo Alberto* (Nuova Antologia, June 16); L. Messedaglia, *La Campagna del 1848 nel Veneto e nell'Adriatico secondo Nuove Fonti* (ibid.); X., *Le Printemps à Rome, Mars-Mai 1915* (Revue de Paris, July); A. Chroust, *Der Tod des Don Carlos* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXV. 3).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General review: M. Buckner, *Zur Neuesten Literatur über die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegs* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 1).

Modern Germany and her Histories, by Antoine Guillaud, is announced by Messrs. Jarrold.

Among recent contributions to German constitutional history in the Middle Ages is F. Schönherr, *Die Lehre vom Reichsfürstenstande des Mittelalters* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1914, pp. viii, 156).

The Historical Commission for Hesse and Waldeck has published *Territorium und Reformation in der Hessischen Geschichte, 1526-1555* (Marburg, Elwert, 1915) by W. Sohm; while W. Kratz, *Landgraf Ernst von Hessen-Rheinfels und die Deutschen Jesuiten, ein Beitrag zur Konvertitengeschichte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg, Herder, 1915) is an issue of *Stimmen aus Maria-Laach*.

In commemoration of the fifth centenary of the House of Hohenzollern in Brandenburg, Dr. Georg Schuster, the keeper of the Hohenzollern archives, has published a collection of studies *Aus der Geschichte des Hauses Hohenzollern* (Berlin, Runge, 1915, pp. 264), which is most valuable for the earlier portions of the period. F. Hirsch has edited the twenty-first volume of the *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*, which is the thirteenth of the *Politische Verhandlungen* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915).

Professor Thorstein Veblen's *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution* (New York, Macmillan) is an important and stimulating discussion, by a brilliant economist, of the relations of German political and social history to the German industrial efficiency of the present day.

Paul Liman has written a sketch of *Der Kronprinz* (Minden, Köhler, 1914, pp. 299); and Bernhard von Hindenburg, of his brother *Paul von Hindenburg* (Berlin, Schuster and Löffler, 1915, pp. 74). F. Mittelman has edited *Ernst Bassermann: sein Politisches Wirken, Reden, und Aufsätze* (Berlin, Curtius, 1915) to set forth the character and ideas of the leader of the National Liberals.

Tom von Prince has published *Gegen Araber und Wahehe, Erinnerungen aus meiner Ostafrikanischen Leutnantszeit, 1890-1895* (Berlin, Mittler, 1914). Evans Lewin has written of *The Germans and Africa* (London, Cassell, 1915, pp. xviii, 317); and Gordon Le Sueur, of *Germany's Vanishing Colonies* (London, Everett, 1915, pp. 190). The English conquest of German New Guinea is told in *Australians in Action in New Guinea* (Sydney, Penfold, 1915, pp. 97) by L. C. Reeves.

Le Syndic Batin et la Réunion de Genève à la France en 1798 (Geneva, Kundig, 1914, pp. 226), by Marc Peter, has been added to the considerable list of recent publications on Geneva in the revolutionary period.

At the instance of the Swiss Labor Commission, Dr. William E. Rappard has prepared a most excellent account of *La Révolution Industrielle et les Origines de la Protection Légale du Travail en Suisse* (Bern, Stämpfli and Company, 1914, pp. vii, 343), relating chiefly to the period from 1798 to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Cosack, *Konrads III. Entschluss zum Kreuzzug* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXV. 2); J. Haller, *Heinrich VI. und die Römische Kirche*, I. (*ibid.*, XXXV. 3); F. Phillippi, *Zur Gerichtsverfassung Sachsens im Hohen Mittelalter* (*ibid.*, XXXV. 2); M. Klinkenborg, *Die Kurfürstliche Kammer und die Begründung des Geheimen Rats in Brandenburg* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXIV. 3); T. Neubauer, *Wirtschaftsleben im Mittelalterlichen Erfurt* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XII. 4); A. Westermann, *Zur Geschichte der Memminger Weberzunft und ihrer Erzeugnisse im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (*ibid.*, XII. 3, 4); J. Schlacht, *Dr. Johann Ecks Anfänge* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 2); J. Schweizer, *Der Frankfurter Deputationsstag vom Jahre 1590* (*ibid.*, XXXVI. 1); D. Bellet, *La Vérité sur l'Enrichissement de l'Allemagne* (Revue d'économie Politique, March); F. Matthesius, *Der Auszug der Deutschen Studenten aus Prag, 1409* (Mitteilungen des Vereines für Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen, LII. 3, 4, LIII. 1, 2); J. Grunzel, *Oesterreichs Volkswirtschaft im Kriege* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, April); F. Barbey, *Félix Desportes et la Réunion de Genève à la France en 1798* (Revue Historique de la Révolution Française et de l'Empire, July, 1914).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Belgian Democracy: its Early History (London and New York, Longmans, 1915, pp. xi, 250) is a translation by J. V. Saunders of the work by Professor Henri Pirenne published in 1910. It relates mainly to the medieval Flemish towns.

Dr. Hendrik Willem Van Loon, the author of *The Fall of the Dutch Republic*, has continued his sprightly narrative in *The Rise of the Dutch Kingdom, 1795-1813* (New York, Doubleday, Page, and Company, 1915, pp. xx, 279). An account of the ensuing period is by Frans Van Kalken, *Histoire du Royaume des Pays-Bas et de la Révolution Belge de 1830* (Brussels, Lebègue, 1914, pp. 254).

The latest issue in the series, *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt, is Belgien* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. vi, 118) by Dr. Paul Osswald. The author purposely abstains, as far as possible, from reference to events of the past year, and has creditably supplied the lack in German of a good brief survey of the history and conditions of Belgium. *La Belgique sous la Griffe Allemande* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915) is said to be the work of a prominent Brussels lawyer. The volume contains an appendix of the German laws and proclamations in force in Belgium. *Le Livre Rouge Belge: les Atrocités Allemandes en Belgique* (Paris, Bibliothèque des Ouvrages Documentaires, 1915, pp. 64) contains official reports. *Le Crime de Guillaume II. et la Belgique: Récits d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Paris, Auguste Picard, 1915, pp. xv, 255) is by Professor P. Van Houtte; and *La Belgique Sanglante* (Paris, *La Nouvelle Revue Française*, 1915) is by the well-known Belgian author, Émile Verhaeren.

Accounts of the military events of the present war in Belgium are presented in A. de Gobart, *La Campagne de 1914 en Belgique, Sous la Botte Allemande, Notes et Reportages* (Paris, Paris-Télégrammes, 1915, pp. 146), and in F. H. Grimaudy, *Six Mois de Guerre en Belgique, par un Soldat Belge, Août 1914-Février 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1915).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The Norwegian Commission for Historical Documents is issuing *Eirspennill*, an account of the lives of the kings of Norway, edited by Professor Finnur Jónsson.

An error was made in announcing the publication, in our July number, of a "History of Poland" by Dr. Robert H. Lord. Dr. Lord has in preparation a *History of the Second Partition of Poland*, which the Harvard University Press will bring out this autumn.

The former premier of Bulgaria, I. E. Guéchoff, has presented the Bulgarian view of the events of the past three years in *L'Alliance Balkanique* (Paris, Hachette, 1915). *Lés Pays Balkaniques* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915), by General Niox, is compiled from his lectures at the École Militaire. Some essays on the Rumanian situation are collected

in *La Roumanie Contemporaine: son Importance dans le Concert Balkanique et pour la Guerre Présente* (Paris, Plon, 1915) by C. D. Mavrodin. Professor E. Denis of the Sorbonne has given a full account of the fortunes of the several groups of Serbs, with a thorough study of the events in the nineteenth century and with special attention to the events of the past dozen years, in *La Grande Serbie* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915).

A readable book and one based on considerable first-hand knowledge is Captain Walter Christmas's *Life of King George of Greece* (McBride).

Albania, the Foundling State of Europe, by Mr. Wadham Peacock (Appleton), contains an able sketch of Albanian history.

Ahmed Emin, the author of *The Development of Modern Turkey as measured by its Press* (Longmans), received his historical training in this country. His is a thoroughgoing study which throws light on Turkish life and thought during two centuries.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Lipiriska, *La Lithuanie en 1812* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, March); M. Nettelau, *Bakunin und die Russische Revolutionäre Bewegung in den Jahren 1868-1873* (*Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung*, V. 3); Nélidow, *Souvenirs d'avant et d'après la Guerre de 1877-1878* (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, May 15, July 15).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

In the series of materials for the history of Japan which the Imperial Historical Commission is publishing, volume XII. of series 12 consists of documents relating to the embassy which was sent out by Masamune in 1613 and which proceeded to Mexico, Rome, and Spain, returning in 1617.

The Secret Memoirs of Count Ta'asu Hayashi, edited by* A. M. Pooley, covers the years from 1902 to 1908.

Ceylon: the Portuguese Era, by P. E. Pieris, a native Hindu, graduated from Cambridge, now in the Ceylon civil service (Colombo, the Apothecaries Company, 2 vols.), is a history of the island from 1505 to 1658.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress has recently acquired the diary of Samuel W. Crawford, and letters from F. W. Pickens, P. T. Beauregard, W. H. Trescot, and others, all relating to Fort Sumter in 1860-1861; 65 documents of Governor John Archdale of North Carolina, 1694-1706; letters of Silas Brown, 1805-1817, giving an account of a journey to Natchez; miscellaneous correspondence of Peter

Force, 1815-1865, some 350 letters; seven volumes of West Florida records transferred from the General Land Office; five volumes of transcripts of official records of Guam, 1721-1856; and six volumes of copies and translations of letters, 1717-1739, that passed between Great Britain and Spain, relative to British rights in American territory claimed by Spain.

In the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, III., no. 8, Don Pedro Torres Lanzas presents some documents relating to the foundation of the building now used for the archives, the Casa Lonja. In no. 9-10 Professor German Latorre continues his studies of American cartography, and reproduces a map of southern Bolivia of 1588 and a plan of Mendoza at the time of its foundation in 1562. Señor Manuel Serrano Sanz presents the first installment of an extended article on Spain and the Cherokees and Choctaws in the second half of the eighteenth century, with documents from the Archives of the Indies. The second installment appears in no. 11, which also has a list of Florida maps possessed by the Cuerpo de Ingenieros de Ejército.

American Diplomacy, by Professor Carl Russell Fish, has recently appeared from the press of Henry Holt.

The University of Minnesota has issued, as *Studies in the Social Sciences*, no. 2, *Federal Land Grants to the States*, with special reference to Minnesota, by Dr. Matthias N. Orfield, in which, after some study of colonial precedents, the federal land grants for educational purposes, those for internal improvements, the saline and swamp land grants, are studied in detail, with a careful chapter upon the authority of the federal government over the public domain and a full study of the administration of the public lands in Minnesota.

The best private collection of naval memorabilia in this country is, as is well known, that formed by the late Captain James Barnes, U. S. N. It embraces some 3500 printed volumes and a great mass of original manuscripts—letters, log-books, etc.—connected with the history of the United States Navy, embracing many invaluable items. This splendid collection Mr. James Barnes has generously presented to the Naval History Society, as a memorial of his father.

Volume VIII. (1790-1792) of Charles Evans's *American Bibliography* has come from the press (Chicago, the author).

The Magazine of History, in the February number, reprints from the Boston *Transcript* some notes concerning Washington's connections with Selby, England, and from the New York *Press* some materials, from the pen of Guido Bruno, upon the German-Dutch branch of the original Washington family. Other articles are: Some Public Services of Washington commonly overlooked, by W. Scott, and the *Constitution*: the Last of the Old Navy, by C. N. Holmes. The March-April number contains an article by Obed Edson on Stephen Brulé and his

visit to Western New York in 1615, one by Brigadier-General Philip Reade concerning Massachusetts at Valley Forge, chiefly relating to Colonels Michael Jackson, William Shepard, and John Baily, three letters written by Robert Biddulph from New York in 1779, some letters and extracts of letters from Ebenezer Huntington, Samuel Huntington, and David Wooster in 1775, from John L. Gervais to Henry Laurens in 1782, from Andrew Jackson to John Sevier in 1803, from John B. Floyd to C. J. Faulkner in 1859, from General Sherman to General Schofield in 1865, and from Sir Brook Watson, written from Montreal in 1775. The May number contains an article by Professor Lorenzo Sears on Joseph Hawley, the Counsellor of the Boston Patriots.

It is announced that Harper and Brothers have in press a new edition of *Harper's Encyclopaedia of United States History*.

The January-April and the May-August numbers of the *German American Annals* contain two installments of a paper by L. C. Baker on the German Drama on the New York Stage to 1830 and a continuation of C. F. Brede's account of the German Drama on the Philadelphia Stage.

Two articles of interest appear in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* for June. They are the Preservation of Catholic Documents, by L. M. Flicx, and "A Young Catholic Explorer", by J. J. Walsh. The latter article is a sketch of Harry V. Radford and an account of his explorations in Northwest Canada in 1913, which were ended by the murder of the explorer by the Eskimos.

Cardinal Diomede Falconio, formerly apostolic delegate in Washington, published not long since an historical work entitled *I Minori Riformati negli Abruzzi* (Rome, Tipographia Nazionale, 1913, 1914, 3 vols., pp. 282, 391, 524). The title may not lead the inquirer to the knowledge that several chapters deal with the history of the Franciscans in the United States and in Newfoundland in the last generation.

Messrs. Scribner have brought out a sixth revised and enlarged edition of A. H. Newman's *History of the Baptist Churches in the United States*.

The Recognition Policy of the United States, by Dr. Julius Goebel, jr., appears among the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law*.

Mr. Lawrence B. Evans of the Massachusetts bar has brought out through Callaghan and Company of Chicago a book of *Cases on Constitutional Law*. The cases are topically arranged and the great precedent-making cases are usually printed in extenso.

Rear-Admiral Chadwick, in *The American Navy*, one of the series entitled *American Books* published by Doubleday, Page, and Company, has given a condensation of our naval history and a bibliographical guide for further study.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

A. Roviglio is the author of *L'Umanesimo e la Scoperta dell'America* (Udine, Del Bianco, 1915 pp. 54).

An American Garland, a collection of ballads relating to America, 1563-1759, compiled and edited by Professor C. H. Firth, will probably interest a great many students of American history (Oxford, Blackwell).

Early Opera in America (New York, G. Schirmer), by Mr. Oscar G. Sonneck, chief of the Division of Music in the Library of Congress, rivals in thoroughness of research his former volume on *Early Concert Life in America*, and makes surprisingly great additions to our knowledge of operatic performances in America from 1735 to the end of the eighteenth century.

Captives among the Indians: First-Hand Narratives of Colonial Times, edited by Horace Kephart, has been issued as a volume of the *Outing Adventure Library* (Outing Publishing Company).

The June serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a letter of John Adams to William Plumer, March 28, 1813, describing the passage through Congress, in 1776, of the resolution for independence.

Volume V. of the *Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, has come from the press. The volume covers the years 1814-1816.

C. F. Heartman of New York has included in *Heartman's Historical Series* the *Narrative of Richard Lee Mason in the Pioneer West, 1819*.

The Military Order of the Loyal Legion, Wisconsin Commandery, has published volume IV. of its *War Papers* (Milwaukee, Burdick and Allen).

The Creed of the Old South, by Professor Basil L. Gildersleeve, published by the Johns Hopkins Press, contains two remarkable *Atlantic* articles by this famous scholar, profitable reading for every cultivated student of the Civil War.

Recollections of a Cavalryman of the Civil War after Fifty Years, 1861-1865, by W. D. Hamilton, is from the pen of an officer of the Ninth Ohio Cavalry (Columbus, the author).

Campaigns of the One Hundred and Forty-Sixth Regiment, New York State Volunteers, by Mary G. G. Brainard (Putnam), is a compilation of letters, diaries, newspaper fragments, and reminiscences of this regiment in the Civil War.

Lights and Shadows in Confederate Prisons, by Colonel Homer B. Sprague, relates the author's experiences as a prisoner during the last months of the Confederacy (Putnam).

In a pamphlet of 16 pages entitled *The Last Railroad Flag of Truce during the Civil War*, Mr. Dallas T. Ward (Franklinton, N. C.) describes the journey to Sherman to surrender the city of Raleigh to him, in March, 1865, a railroad journey in which the writer, then nineteen, acted as conductor on the train which carried the party to Sherman.

Mr. B. P. DeWitt's *The Progressive Movement* (New York, Macmillan, pp. xli, 376) may be recommended to the general reader as a fair-minded survey of one of the most interesting aspects of recent American history.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

The Acorn Club has issued as its latest publication (1915) the series of nine reports to the Board of Trade which Francis Fane, its legal adviser, made upon a long series of Connecticut statutes (387 in all), submitted to him for official examination. The laws, covering the period from the law-book of 1715 to 1731, were sent to Fane in 1732 but the last of his reports was not rendered until 1741. Though no action was taken upon them they contain interesting matter, to which Professor Charles M. Andrews has prefaced an introduction of 54 pages dealing with Fane and the processes of British examination of Connecticut statutes.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library announces a large addition (about 4500 pieces) to the papers of John Tayler and John Tayler Cooper, recent acquisitions of naval correspondence of the period just after the Civil War, and papers respecting the New Hampshire Grants, 1770-1775. A very important collection, of several thousand manuscripts, recently deposited in the library, embraces the papers of Peter Gansevoort, 1802-1813, of Peter Gansevoort, jr., 1819-1821, and especially of Abraham Yates, jr., chiefly 1754 to 1795, and including interesting material respecting the Constitution. It is expected that a volume or volumes of the Yates Papers, edited by Mr. Paltsits, will be published. Other accessions are: a body of papers relating to the Albany Basin, another relating to Schoharie County, a collection of 1272 papers of the Van Rensselaer and Livingston families, and a journal kept throughout the year 1798 by Thomas Boylston Adams when secretary to his brother J. Q. Adams at Berlin. This last will also be published. The July *Bulletin* contains a supplementary list of newspapers, embracing recent accessions. Of these the most notable are files of the *Moniteur* and *Journal Officiel*, the *Gaceta de Madrid*, and the *Gaceta de Puerto Rico*.

It is expected that the next volume (XXI.) of the *Harvard Historical Studies* will be a documentary volume, *Wraxall's Abridgment of the New York Indian Records, 1678-1751*, edited by Professor C. H. McIlwain. Since the burning of the New York State Library at Albany Professor McIlwain's transcription of these Indian records of New York has been the only one in existence.

The Long Island Historical Society has brought out the *Records of the Town of Jamaica, Long Island, New York, 1656-1751*, edited by Josephine C. Frost.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired a body of manuscripts of Commodore P. S. P. Conner; a collection of more than four thousand newspapers made by Richard Rush; two interesting letters written at Valley Forge by Colonel Israel Shreve and Colonel Alexander Scammell; 52 additions to the Gratz Collection, and 48 to the Dreer Collection.

The most considerable article in the July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* is a first installment of a contribution by Mr. Simon Gratz of Some Material for a Biography of Mrs. Elizabeth Ferguson, *née* Graeme, socially prominent in Philadelphia in the days of the Revolution and especially noted as the bearer of the famous Duché letter. The material includes many letters to her, from 1757 to 1795, among them letters from William Franklin, Richard Peters, Dr. William Smith, and Elias Boudinot. Other contents of this number are: the Passing of the Harmonites: a Story of a Successful Communistic Adventure, by Rev. C. E. Macartney, a continuation of the extracts from the diary of Thomas Franklin Pleasants, 1814, and a letter from John Morton to Anthony Wayne, 1776.

The June number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* includes a biographical sketch of Robert Goldsborough (1733-1788), member of the Continental Congress 1774-1776, a brief article, by Clayton C. Hall, on the Great Seal of Maryland, the replica of which was recently discovered, a paper, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, concerning John J. Crittenden's Maryland Correspondents, and some extracts from the Carroll papers, 1750-1757, being principally letters of Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

Maryland in National Politics, by J. F. Essary, is a series of sketches of distinguished Marylanders and their part in the nation's history (Baltimore, Murphy).

Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, archivist in the Virginia State Library, has carried out the systematic flat-filing of a section of the documents in the archive room amounting to more than fifteen thousand pieces, and the indexing of them. He is preparing a *Bulletin* of the Library on the establishment of counties by Virginian legislation. The archives also have completed lists of colonial soldiers of Virginia and of Virginia soldiers of the War of 1812.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the July issue, from a manuscript volume recently discovered by Mr. Charles F. McIntosh in the Norfolk County clerk's office at Portsmouth, some acts, orders, and resolutions of the general assembly of Virginia at the sessions of 1643-1647, which are not found in Henning. Mr. David I.

Bushnell's paper in this issue, in his series of studies of the Virginia frontier in 1778, relates to General Lachlan McIntosh. The magazine also prints in this issue an alphabetical list of the abstracts of wills, etc., contributed to the magazine by the late Lothrop Withington.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* reprints in the July issue, from Garland's *Life of John Randolph of Roanoke*, a chapter concerning the school-days of Randolph, and from the *Washington Post* of March 9, 1912, a letter of Robert L. Preston, discussing the question Did the *Monitor* or *Merrimac* revolutionize Naval Warfare?

The first number of the *Richmond College Historical Papers*, edited by Dr. D. R. Anderson, head of the department of history and political science in Richmond College, made its appearance in June. Among its contents are brief biographies of John Minor Botts, anti-secessionist, Richard Henry Lee, William Cabell Rives, and John Moncure Daniel. They are by Clyde C. Webster, Ethel Smithers, R. S. Wingfield, and A. N. Wilkinson, respectively. The most valuable part of the issue is a group of letters, 1775-1776, principally from Colonel William Woodford, Colonel Robert Howe, and General Charles Lee, to Edmund Pendleton, president of the Virginia Convention. The letters are found in the Virginia State Library and a few of them have been printed before. The *Papers* are to appear annually.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* continues in the April number Judge Henry A. M. Smith's papers on Old Charles Town and its Vicinity, etc., the Parish Register of St. James', Santee, supplied by Miss Mabel L. Webber, and the Order Book of John Faucheraud Grimké.

Professor Yates Snowden of the University of South Carolina has been making a study of early trade associations and labor combinations in South Carolina and has now brought some of these studies together in a pamphlet, to which he has given the title *Notes on Labor Organizations in South Carolina, 1742-1861*, and which he has published as a *Bulletin of the University of South Carolina* (Columbia, the University Press).

The Bureau of Education has issued as *Bulletin 12* of 1915 a *History of Public School Education in Alabama*, by Dr. Stephen B. Weeks (pp. 209).

The Louisiana Historical Society is causing to be prepared by Mr. William Price a calendar of the contents of 132 boxes of records of the French and Spanish régime, preserved in the Cabildo at New Orleans, and recently brought to light. These records extend from about 1714 to 1803 and comprise from 150,000 to 200,000 documents. The material thus far examined (the contents of the first box) is of the years 1714, 1717-1729, and consists mostly of papers coming before the Superior Council in its judiciary capacity. They include wills, marriage con-

tracts, accounts, petitions of all sorts, summonses, testimony in cases before the council, decisions, court orders, letters, etc. They throw much light on every-day life, on administrative and on economic history (prices of slaves and commodities, terms of labor and of land-holding, etc.), and are the more valuable as the bulk of the French archives of Louisiana are presumed to have been lost at sea, after the cession to Spain.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, makes the important announcement of an intention to publish the official letter-books kept by William C. C. Claiborne as governor of Mississippi territory, of the territory of Orleans, and of the state of Louisiana, 1801-1816. Six volumes are to be issued (Jackson, Miss., Archives Publishing Company).

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains an article on the Wisconsin constitution of 1847, by Professor Frederic L. Paxson; one on the Settlement of Michigan Territory, by Dr. George N. Fuller; and the conclusion of an article on the Methods and Operations of the Scioto Group of Speculators by Professor Archer B. Hulbert. Dr. Solon J. Buck of the Minnesota State Historical Society presents a comprehensive survey of recent historical activities in the Old Northwest. Among the notes, the chief is one by Dr. M. M. Quaife, upon the additional records of the Lewis and Clark expedition discovered since Dr. Thwaites edited their journals.

The official directors of state historical interests in the older Northwestern states are arranging plans for a co-operative search of Washington archives on behalf of all the institutions concerned.

Dr. I. Lippincott, in a privately printed book entitled the *History of Manufactures in the Ohio Valley to the year 1860* (Chicago, 1914, pp. 214), makes a solid contribution to the economic history of the United States, with careful attention to the earlier period of home manufactures, but with fuller treatment of the "mill period" of small manufacturing establishments from 1830 to 1860.

The Michigan Historical Commission has completed the work undertaken some years ago by the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society of translating, after collation with the originals, all the documents printed in Margry's *Découvertes et Établissements des Français*. In the interval before printing, the translations have been deposited in the Burton Historical Collection, in the Detroit Public Library. There they can be examined by students, and copies of particular portions can be furnished at the cost of the typewriting.

The Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society held its forty-first annual meeting at Lansing on June 2 and 3. Among the addresses delivered were the following: Manasseh Cutler's Relations to Higher Education in the Northwest, by Professor John C. Shedd, Historic Sites in

Detroit, by Mr. Clarence M. Burton, and the Story of the Government Operations in Surveying and Charting the Great Lakes from the Beginning of the Work in 1841 to the Present, by Mr. John Fitzgibbon. There was also a conference on the methods of co-operation on the part of public libraries, patriotic societies, and county historical societies with the Michigan Historical Commission in gathering and publishing materials relating to the history of the state.

The *Indiana Magazine of History* prints in the June number, under the title Steamboating on the Ohio and Mississippi before the Civil War, some reminiscences of Captain Wilson Daniels, author of *Sixty Years of Steamboating*. There are also two papers of reminiscences of the Civil War, chiefly relating to Andersonville prison.

The collection of Kaskaskia manuscripts found by Professor Alvord in 1905 has now been returned to the custody of the clerk of the circuit court of Randolph County, Illinois, at Belleville, after thorough repairing, mounting, and the provision by the county of a fireproof repository for it.

The Illinois Whigs before 1846, by C. M. Thompson, is published in the University of Illinois *Studies in the Social Sciences*.

The principal article in the June number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* is a first installment of a biography of General James Winchester, 1752-1826, treating chiefly of his services in the War of 1812. A roster of the Confederate government, 1861-1865, is a serviceable contribution from W. E. Beard. The documentary offering in this number of the *Magazine* is of more than ordinary interest, being a series of letters from William B. Campbell of Tennessee to Governor David Campbell of Virginia, written principally from Mexico in 1846 and 1847. Mr. Donald L. McMurtry's study of the Indian Policy of the Federal Government and the Economic Development of the Southwest, 1789-1801, is concluded.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has issued during the summer the volume of its *Proceedings* for 1914, and volume I. of a series of calendars of the Draper Manuscripts. Volume XXI. of the *Collections*, which is to be the index to volumes I. to XX., is appearing, at about the same time with this publication. The society has received as a gift a large collection, more than 180 bound volumes, of the letters and other papers of Cyrus Woodman, who for twenty years in the middle of the nineteenth century was prominent, as attorney and register of the land-office, in the affairs of southern Wisconsin. The annual address before the society at its approaching October meeting is to be delivered by Dr. Gaillard Hunt of the Library of Congress. The society expects to publish during the coming year the various Lewis and Clark records which have been brought to light among the Biddle Papers during the last year, including the journal of Sergeant Ordway, and a

body of extracts from the journal kept by Captain Mackay during explorations upon the upper Missouri in 1795-1797.

The Minnesota Historical Society has carefully arranged and filed the papers of Ignatius Donnelly, nearly fifty thousand in number, and the recently rediscovered papers of James W. Taylor, special agent of the Treasury Department in Minnesota from 1859 to 1868, and United States consul at Winnipeg from 1870 to 1893. The society has embarked upon a special effort to make a comprehensive collection of material for Scandinavian-American history. Volume XV. of the society's *Collections*, issued this spring, contains a committee report on the "Kensington Rune Stone" and articles on the Beginning of Railroad Building in Minnesota; Railroad Legislation in Minnesota, 1849-1875; the "Five Million Dollar Loan" (by Professor W. W. Folwell); the Public Lands and School Fund of Minnesota; the Little Crow Uprising, and the Sioux War. The society expects to publish the papers of Gov. Alexander Ramsey. The first volume of Professor Folwell's new history of Minnesota will probably be published early in 1916. No. 2 of the society's *Bulletin* contains an article by Herbert A. Kellar on the Minnesota State Archives, their Character, Condition, and Historical Value. The *Eighteenth Biennial Report* of the society (1913 and 1914), issued as a supplement of the *Bulletin*, has also appeared.

Mr. Jacob Van der Zee is the author of two articles in the July number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, an account of the "Neutral Ground", a strip of territory purchased from the Indians by the United States in 1830 and designed to serve as a barrier against intertribal war, and also an account of the Black Hawk War and the Treaty of 1832.

J. W. Cheney writes for the July issue of the *Annals of Iowa* the story of the L. J. Rose emigrant train, which left Iowa for California in the spring of 1858.

The Missouri Historical Society has lately acquired an unsigned journal of an expedition up the Missouri River in 1812-1813, conducted by Manuel Lisa. The journal is supposed to have been kept by John C. Luttig, storekeeper of the expedition. The society hopes to publish it in the course of a few months. It has also acquired a large collection of Chouteau manuscripts, and a significant letter written by Meriwether Lewis, dated Chickasaw Bluffs, September 16, 1809, a little more than three weeks before his death.

The principal article in the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review* is by Mr. Floyd C. Shoemaker, on Six Periods of Missouri History.

Articles of historical interest in the July number of the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* are: the Evolution of America (continued), by Frank L. McVey; Law versus Prerogative: a Sketch

of British Democracy, by Professor Chester Martin; Some Debt Histories of North Dakota Cities, by J. E. Boyle; Some Facts concerning the Germans of North Dakota, by W. G. Bek; and Some Recent Decisions of the Supreme Court of North Dakota, by Professor O. G. Libby.

A *Biography of Senator Alfred Beard Kittredge: his complete Life Work*, by Oscar W. Coursey, has been published in Mitchell, South Dakota, by the Educator Supply Company.

The July number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains, beside continued articles, a paper by O. G. Jones on Local Government in the Spanish Colonies as provided by the *Recopilación de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*.

Spanish Mission Churches of New Mexico, by ex-Governor L. B. Prince, has been issued by the Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

The contents of the July issue of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* include the Last Stand of the Nez Percés, by Nelson C. Titus; a Japanese View of the Monroe Doctrine, by Oshima Shoichi; Organizers of the First Government in Oregon, by George H. Himes; and a Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833, edited by Hon. Clarence B. Bagley. The latter is a journal kept by the superintendent of the Puget Sound Agricultural Company, a subsidiary of the Hudson's Bay Company, at Fort Nisqually.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for March contains an account, by Thomas W. Prosch, of the Indian War in Washington Territory in 1855 and 1856, an article by J. N. Barry, on Spanish and French Relics in America, and some correspondence (1843-1844) of Rev. Ezra Fisher, pioneer missionary of the American Baptist Home Mission Society in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon. The correspondence, which is edited by Sarah Fisher Henderson, Nellie E. Latourette, and Kenneth S. Latourette, is preceded by a brief biography of the missionary.

By act of June 3, 1915, the California legislature established an Historical Survey Commission of three members whose duty is to make a systematic record of historical materials in county archives, in other local repositories, and in private hands. The work will be carried out, under direction of the commission, by Mr. Owen C. Coy.

The Academy of Pacific Coast History expects before long to issue, in two volumes, the papers of the First Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, 1851, edited by Miss Mary E. Williams. A later publication will be an Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Pacific Coast, from Lower California up, to be edited by Professor Frederick J. Teggart, and to consist mostly of reproductions of manuscript maps.

The Public Archives of Canada have received by transfer from the Department of Indian Affairs more than a ton of old records, and now

contain nearly all the records of that department prior to Confederation. They have also received five account-books of the American Fur Company at Michilimackinac, 1817-1834, and various original maps and papers relating to the Northeast Boundary. Besides transcripts from the archives and prévôté of Quebec and the Seminary of St. Sulpice at Montreal, volumes of transcripts from Europe continue to be received— from the Colonial Office, War Office, and Admiralty Papers at the Public Record Office, from the various manuscript sections of the British Museum, from the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company (journals of York, Albany, and Prince of Wales forts, 1726-1729), from the Shelburne manuscripts at Lansdowne House, from the Royal Institution, from the Archives des Affaires Étrangères (Corr. Pol., États-Unis, vols. 20, 21, 1782), Colonies, Marine, Guerre, and from the Bibliothèque Nationale. Plans have been made for an extension of the building which would treble its capacity, but their execution has been halted by the war.

The Champlain Society has lately issued, as its eleventh volume, a third volume of Messrs. W. L. Grant and H. P. Biggar's edition of Lescarbot.

The Macmillan Company has published in the series *English History Source Books, Canada*, compiled by Mr. James Munro.

Bulletin No. 12 of Queen's University, Kingston, Canada, entitled *Life of the Settler in Western Canada before the War of 1812*, by Dr. Adam Shortt, is the account of a New Jersey farmer who in 1794 settled on a farm in Canada and at once began a diary of his fortunes, which supplies the subject-matter for this book.

The Oxford University Press announces the speedy appearance of *Selkirk's Colony in Canada*, by Professor Chester Martin.

The Yale University Press will publish this autumn *Economic Development of the British West Indies, 1700-1760*, by Frank W. Pitman.

In the *Revue Historique* for July E. Martin-Chabot gives a general review of the publications of 1904-1914 relating to Latin American history.

The contents of the March-April number of the *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* (Cuba) include the *real cédula* establishing the Real Compañía Marítima (1749) and "Memoria Histórica-Estadística sobre los Bienes de ex-Regulares de Bayamo", by M. V. [Valle], administrator of *rentas* at Manzanillo, December, 1854.

Pioneers in Tropical America, by Sir Harry H. Johnston, has been issued by the Dodge Publishing Company.

Dr. Walter Lichtenstein, librarian of Northwestern University, having been engaged for nineteen or twenty months, in 1913-1914, in

travels in South America for the purchase of books for several American libraries, has printed in the *Bulletin* of his university an interesting account of his bibliographical journey, entitled *A Trip to South America*, embellished with photographs of rare title-pages. The result of the journey will be a large addition to the South American material at Harvard, in the John Carter Brown Library, in that of the American Antiquarian Society (newspapers), and at Northwestern University.

S. de Ispizua has published an essay on *Bibliografía Histórica Sudamericana* (Bilbao, Eléxpuru, 1914, pp. 19). The names Ci—F are included in the second volume of G. de Santiago Vela's *Ensayo de una Biblioteca Iberoamericana de la Orden de San Augustin* (Madrid, Asilo de Huérfanos, 1915, pp. 722).

The years 1536 to 1810 are covered in R. D. Carbia, *Historia Eclesiástica del Rio de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, Alfa y Omega, 1914, 2 vols.). In the series of *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*, the fourth volume contains *Abastos de la Ciudad y Campaña de Buenos Aires, 1773-1809* (Buenos Aires, 1914, pp. xv, 595).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. W. Jernegan, *The Beginnings of Public Education in New England* (School Review, May-June); F. G. Baldwin, *Early Architecture of the Valley of the Rappahannock* (Journal of the American Institute of Architects, several articles); W. S. Carpenter, *Repeal of the Judiciary Act of 1801* (American Political Science Review, August); G. N. Tricoche, *Le Siège de Nauvoo ou la Bataille des Maladroits, Épisode de l'Histoire des Mormons* (Revue Historique, July); Thomas Rowland, *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861* (South Atlantic Quarterly, July); Gamaliel Bradford, *Edwin M. Stanton* (Atlantic Monthly, August); L. M. Sears, *French Opinions of our Civil War* (Mid-West Quarterly, July); D. K. Watson, *The Trial of Jefferson Davis; an Interesting Constitutional Question* (Yale Law Journal, June); W. R. Thayer, *Historical Writing: its Trend during the Years 1865-1915* (The Nation, July 8); *id.*, *The Close of John Hay's Career* (Harper's Monthly, August); *id.*, *John Hay's Years with Theodore Roosevelt* (*ibid.*, September); O. M. W. Sprague, *The Crisis of 1914 in the United States* (American Economic Review, September); L. Groulx, *Nos Luittes Constitutionnelles, 1791-1840: la Question des Subsidies* (Revue Canadienne, July); G. W. Bartlett, *The Diary of Robert Campbell, I., The Red River Settlement* (Canadian Magazine, August); George Bryce, *The Red Strathcona, II.* (*ibid.*).

The
American Historical Review

NATIONALITY AND HISTORY¹

IN the number of the *Contemporary Review* of London for July, 1887 (pp. 107-121), there appeared a short article on "Modern Historians and their Influence on Small Nationalities". After more than twenty-eight years, the writer of that article, greatly honored by election to the presidency of the American Historical Association, takes up the larger and more general topic of "Nationality and History" as the subject of his presidential address at the annual meeting of the Association. Throughout those twenty-eight years his thoughts have dwelt upon the influences which prevent the clear, accurate, and truthful statement of what has happened in the past; as student and teacher of history he has come to realize more and more the futility of pretended impartiality; and at the last he has yielded to the conviction that the first duty of the historical scholar is to grasp the fact that his limitations as a human being must ever debar him, even if the most complete material lies ready to his hand, from attempting more than a personal interpretation of some part or period of the past.

Every generation writes its own history of the past. It is not so much the acquisition or mastery of new material as the changing attitude of each generation that causes the perpetual re-writing of the long story of man living in community with his fellow-men. Each generation looks at the past from a different angle, and the historian is inevitably controlled by the spirit of his age. Every historian is unconsciously biased by his education and surroundings and in his historical works displays not only his interpretation of the past, but also the point of view of the period in which he lives. Honestly, under the inspiration of the truth-lovers of his time, whether they be bold thinkers or ardent men of science, the writer of history tries to discover and tell the truth, the whole truth, and

¹ Presidential address read before the American Historical Association, at Washington, December 28, 1915.

nothing but the truth. But, in his heart of hearts, if he be not a self-deceived fanatic, he knows well that he cannot free himself from his human limitations, and that his work, whether it be in research, in narration, or in interpretation, can only approximate the truth. To understand the writings of any historian, we of to-day know that our first duty is to study his personality and the point of view of his age. We no longer believe in the veracity of Thucydides or Tacitus; we know that the great Athenian colored his facts to make a dramatic story, and that the great Roman satirist and rhetorician was of the race of pamphleteers, more intent to score the failings of the rulers of a past generation and to insinuate their shortcomings than to recognize the way in which the early Roman emperors and their imperial system maintained the peace and order of the Mediterranean world. Since Clio was reckoned among the Muses, the Greeks regarded history as a branch of imaginative literature, demanding artistic presentation, and this idea was not dissipated until the eighteenth century. It was part of the business of an historian to assert his impartiality and to declare that his duty was to discover and tell the truth, but his work as an historian was not judged by his truthfulness and impartiality but by his literary skill. All students of history know Lucian's inimitable "The Way to write History", and how the witty Syrian declares that "the historian's one task is to tell the thing as it happened",² but they also recollect that his whole essay is concerned rather with the way in which the story is to be told than with the method by which truth and impartiality are to be attained. The example of the classical writers of Greece and Rome was supreme until the eighteenth century, and the protestations of truth-seeking and truth-telling were invariably followed by histories that exhibited either the personal views of the writer with regard to the past, or at the very least the influence of the age in which he lived.

It is curious to-day to read these protestations of impartiality and truth-seeking, which form the opening passages or prefaces of nearly all histories written in ancient, mediæval, and modern times. They are perfectly honest protestations, for most historians intended to tell the truth and were convinced that they had discovered and interpreted it. But "Methinks they do protest too much", and the very fact that they felt it necessary to protest at all reveals that at the back of their hearts lingered a doubt as to whether they would be implicitly believed, just as the skilled liar or romancer feels it necessary to preface his best stories with the remark: "I am going to tell

² *The Works of Lucian of Samosata* (translated by H. W. Fowler and E. G. Fowler, Oxford, 1905), II. 128.

the exact truth." Unswerving faith in Christianity formed the basis of the knowledge and the narratives of the medieval writers; even the scepticism of the Renaissance accepted the assumptions of the ancient historians of Greece and Rome; and the historical controversialists of the period of the Protestant Reformation were firmly convinced that their religious views were correct and interpreted the past in the light of their particular beliefs. We smile to-day at the legends in which our predecessors so firmly believed, and each generation sets up a new conception of the characteristics of the past, which it thinks justifies its smiles. The great historians of the eighteenth century, Gibbon, for instance, and Voltaire, were quite as certain that they understood the past correctly as Orosius and Bossuet, and regarded themselves as leading the world to the truth on the basis of pure rationalism as their predecessors on the basis of accepted Christianity.

Just as the believers and sceptics in revealed religion thought that they possessed the key to the right understanding of the past and sought the justification of their beliefs and unbeliefs in their interpretation of past happenings, so all political historians honestly believed in the all-importance of politics and expounded their own political theories and convictions in their narratives of events. "History is past politics", cried Professor Freeman of Oxford, "and politics is present history", and Professor Thomas Arnold, also of Oxford, declared that "the historian must be a good party man", showing the naïve idea that politics, and even a particular brand of politics, has been the only real force in the building of civilization. In this they had good warrant from the ancient classical historians whose works they knew so well and whose example had so deeply impressed them. The recurrence to a perverted and inaccurate view of the past as a source for political arguments in the present was no more extraordinary than the previous appeal to a perverted and inaccurate view of the past as a justification for any variety of religious faith or ecclesiastical organization.

This brings me to the actual subject of this address. The belief in nationality has been in the nineteenth century as fundamental a doctrine as the belief in Christianity or in monarchy or democracy or aristocracy in previous ages. Just as a fervent belief in Christianity, based upon history and dogmatic theology, led to a belief in the righteousness of slaying Mohammedans in the period of the Crusades; just as a fervent belief in Catholicism or Lutheranism or Calvinism, based upon history and dogmatic theology, was held to justify religious persecution and the religious wars of the sixteenth

and seventeenth centuries in Europe; just as a fervent belief in different political theories led, in part at least, to the civil wars in England in the seventeenth century and in the United States of America in the nineteenth century; so a fervent belief in the doctrine of nationality has led to enmity between nations in the nineteenth century. Historians had their share in creating and justifying the fervor of religious and political beliefs in the past; they have had their share also in creating and maintaining the national fanaticism of the present. Being men and not machines, they have felt the spirit of their times and expressed it. When Pope Urban II. preached the Crusade against Islam at Clermont, he spoke in all honesty and roused Latin Christendom with his eloquence, though the fundamental intolerance of Christian and Mohammedan against each other had long been felt; and the nationalist historians of the nineteenth century, though merely voicing the feelings of their contemporaries, must bear their share of the responsibility of setting the nations of the world against each other.

This is not the place to examine the history of the doctrine of nationality in minute detail. Nationality has been regarded as the legitimate and natural outcome of family, tribal, and racial organization; it has also been declared to be the result of neighborhood feeling. To some theorists, the chief bond of nationality appears to be that of a common language, which is obviously contradicted by the intense patriotism of the Swiss nation; to others the bond of race unity seems most attractive, in spite of the denial by the ethnologists that there is any such thing as a pure race; while to others again the most effective definition seems to be that of a common historic tradition, which binds together into one historic community people of different races and different languages. What is certain is that there is a radical contrast between historians like Gibbon, who looked upon the Roman Empire of the second century A. D., with its unity of administration in spite of the diversity of population, as the ideal of civilization, and writers like Stewart Chamberlain, who regard nationality in general, and one nationality in particular, as the greatest possible force making for human progress. In the later Middle Ages, the word "nation" seems to have been more especially used in the matter of university organization than as marking political or racial differences. Martin Luther, it is true, made his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation" in 1520, but even in his time the ruling idea was rather the unity of Western European civilization than its diversity among different nations. While the consciousness of national patriotism emerges especially in Spain,

France, and England in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the tendency of the eighteenth century was in the opposite direction. States were regarded as the political units rather than nations, and the changing of the control of Italy and the Catholic Netherlands, and, above all, the partitions of Poland marked the indifference generally felt towards the idea of nationality. Civilization was held to be European, not national; literature and science were cultivated in common by the scholars of different states; universal histories were in more favor than national histories; and Goethe could declare aloud that "above the nations was humanity".

All this changed with the French Revolution. Feeling itself at issue with the states of Europe, revolutionary France appealed to the pride of national patriotism. The first years of the Revolution and the Constitution of 1791 had abolished the old French provinces with their varying history, their different laws, their local institutions, and their provincial customs, and with the establishment on September 21, 1792, of the French Republic, "one and indivisible", a new national France was born. National fanaticism brought nearly all Frenchmen fit for war under arms, and the triumph of republican France over all her foes justified the principle of nationality in the eyes of Frenchmen. But not satisfied with the success of the national defense, republican France became aggressive. Having successfully defended herself, she now began to interfere with the national rights of others. Under the leadership of an Italian general, a professional army was developed from the army of national defense and the meteoric career of General and then First Consul Bonaparte culminated in his coronation as the Emperor Napoleon on December 2, 1804. Napoleon was a typical eighteenth-century thinker; he was an Italian with the cosmopolitan views of the Italians, who were accustomed to regard themselves as Florentines, or Venetians, or Neapolitans, and who had made no particular objections to being governed in their different states by Spanish or Hapsburg princes; he regarded Europe as a unit, which should not be divided into warring and hostile states, but benevolently administered according to the ideals of the enlightened despots; and since he was himself a man without a country, he had no sympathy with the ideas of nationality. The Napoleonic army was his army, and not a national French army; the Napoleonic empire was a European empire, and, as Professor Driault has pointed out, he had it in mind, if he had been successful in his Russian campaign, to move the capital of his dominions to Rome and there renew the glories of the ancient Roman Empire.

The cosmopolitan ideas of the statesmen and historians of the eighteenth century had their effect upon the political theories of Napoleon. Gibbon and the writers of universal history had dwelt upon the services rendered to European humanity by the unity of the Roman Empire and the extension of the *Pax Romana*, and had regarded its break-up as the beginning of barbarism. Consciously carrying out the spirit of his century Napoleon deliberately hoped and planned in his empire to restore the glorious peace of the days of Trajan and Hadrian and the Antonines.

Against these grandiose ideas, the Europe of the political sovereign states could not successfully contend. The Hapsburgs and the Hohenzollerns alike went down before the Napoleonic army. The princes of central Europe bowed the knee to the conqueror, who redistributed their states and made new kings and new states in the old high-handed imperial fashion of ancient Rome. Napoleon carried all before him until he came into conflict with the national idea, which had saved republican France and which he never understood. First in Britain arose a burst of national patriotism under the threat of invasion from the camp at Boulogne; the navy became the national service; Nelson became the national hero; national volunteers were raised and drilled for national defense; Tom Dibdin wrote his sea-songs; and Wordsworth in a series of splendid sonnets expressed the fullness of the national idea. From the divided country of the War of American Independence, from the unwilling opponent of republican France, governed by Pitt's coercion acts, with an army recruited from the jails and the poor-houses and a mutinous navy manned by the press-gang, arose a united and patriotic nation. Then came the insurrection of the Spaniards and the Portuguese against the interference of Napoleon and the assertion of their national spirit against foreign invasion. Some Frenchmen, notably Talleyrand, understood the writing on the wall, but not Napoleon. Secure in his belief in European imperialism, he refused to modify his ideas. The bitter opposition of the Tyrolese under Andreas Hofer in 1809 might have taught him that even central Europe would not submit permanently to Napoleonic control; the Duke of Brunswick and the gallant Schill might have warned him that even the Germans might resist; but convinced of the validity of his theory of empire and the grandeur of his aims he persisted in his policy. The invasion of Russia in 1812 was the beginning of the end; though hardly a century had elapsed since Peter the Great turned Muscovy into Russia and spread the boundary of Europe to the Ural Mountains, a Russian national spirit

showed itself and the Napoleonic Grand Army vanished in the snow and frost. The following year witnessed the uprising of Germany. Inspired by Prussian valor and organization, by the propaganda of such German enthusiasts as Vater Jahn, by such poems as Arndt's "The German Fatherland" and Körner's "Song of the Sword", a German national patriotism revealed itself, and a German nation did what Hapsburg and Hohenzollern had failed to do and ended Napoleonic imperialism. France refused to rise in her national might to support the adventurer, who had used her national armies to found his European empire, and the Napoleonic Empire came to an end. Nationalism had triumphantly asserted itself and the idea and the doctrine of nationality had been born.

When the diplomatists of Europe re-made the map of Europe under the guidance of Metternich in the Congress of Vienna, they showed themselves absolutely opposed to the doctrine of nationality. They united the Protestant and the Catholic Netherlands despite the difference of the prevailing religions and the historic separation of the two states; they sanctioned the union of Sweden and Norway; they refused to restore Poland, where Napoleon had, and there alone, aroused hopes of the recognition of national independence; they re-divided Italy into states ruled by foreign princes and gave to the Hapsburgs both Lombardy and Venetia; and they paid no attention to the demand for a united Germany. The inevitable result was to be seen in the insurrections in Belgium and Poland in 1830 and in the various national demonstrations in Italy and Germany, which preceded and succeeded them. Far more important was the Revolution of July, 1830, in France, which in its overthrow of Charles X. opened the way to the free expression of political thought in the country which was still intellectual leader of western Europe.

The rise of the principle of nationality during the Napoleonic period had been mainly marked by the poets, of whom Wordsworth in England and Arndt in Germany were the most typical, for the years of actual conflict were not favorable to historical study, or, indeed, to studies of any kind. But when peace had been restored, the nationalist point of view, which was to control the minds of men throughout the nineteenth century, began to influence both historical research and historical writing. As early as 1816 the great German statesman, Stein, who had been the chief German exponent of the German national idea in the German resistance to the Napoleonic Empire, had conceived the idea of quickening the taste for German history; in 1819 the Society for the Study of Early German History was founded; in 1824 the definite plan for the

publication of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* was promulgated; and in 1826 the first volume of the series appeared.³ But it was not until after the Revolution of 1830 that important national histories began to be written. In them the influence of the Romantic Movement and more particularly of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels can be seen in picturesqueness of literary style and the attention paid to dramatic episodes and individual personalities, but through them all runs the desire to bring out the persistence of the national element. Nowhere can this be more clearly seen than in Henri Martin's *Histoire de France*, of which the first edition appeared in 1838-1853. The aim of Martin is to show that the French nation has always preserved its identity in spite of its adoption of the Latin language under the Roman Empire to the almost complete extinction of its original Celtic tongue and in spite of the conquest by the Franks, which gave the land its modern name. Through such radical changes, Martin declares that a national character, illustrated in the *esprit gaulois*, persisted and that the settlement within its borders of German Franks and Scandinavian Northmen had not affected the national identity of the people of France. The key to French national history is, according to Martin, to be found in the continuance of Celtic ideas and Celtic characteristics. Augustin Thierry had gone a step further and in his *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, published in 1825, had rejoiced in the victory of France over England at Hastings as if it had been a battle between the nations that had fought at Waterloo. Jules Michelet, in his *Histoire de France*, published in 1835-1843, was almost dithyrambic in his portraiture of the French nation, which had become to him a personal hero. Nor should the name of Guizot be forgotten, for his services to the national history of France included not only his *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, published in 1828-1830, but also his foundation of the Société de l'Histoire de France in 1832 and his commencement of the publication by the French government in 1833 of the *Documents inédits sur l'Histoire de France*.

But, after all, the nationalistic tendency of French historians under the monarchy of July did not have a great political effect nor tend to change the condition of Europe. France had shown her glowing national spirit in the days of the Reign of Terror, and her nationalistic historians only worked to emphasize with some exaggeration the antiquity of the existence of such a spirit. It was otherwise in Germany and Italy. There the problem of the nationalist historians was to show that in spite of ancient political

³ Gooch, *History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century* (1913), p. 65.

divisions there had always been a German nation and an Italian nation. This is not an address on historiography or a summary of the growth of the effect of the national spirit in creating the modern German Empire or the modern Italian Kingdom. Bismarck is reported to have said that next to the Prussian army, it was the German professors of history who had done the most to create the new Germany under the hegemony of Prussia. The views set forth by the long list of eminent German historians from Dahlmann through Droysen and Sybel to Treitschke dwelt upon the historic unity of the German people and argued for the creation of the united German state, which had been foreshadowed in the united German movement against the Napoleonic Empire. Before 1848 the tendency of some German historians, especially in the south and west, was to promote a Germany which should have its main political centre between the Rhine and the Elbe and it is not without significance that the German Parliament of 1848, which was largely called together through the influence of professors, should have met at Frankfort; but the failure of the revolutionary movement of 1848 opened the way for union under the leadership of Prussia. The passionate nationalism of the new Germany was shown in its annexation of Schleswig-Holstein and Alsace-Lorraine, which were both claimed by the new Germany upon historic as well as upon linguistic and racial grounds, and is seen in the demands made for the inclusion in the German Empire of all territory in which the German language is spoken and that was once a part of the old Holy Roman Empire.

In Italy the movement of the Risorgimento was reflected in historical works as well as in poetry and romance, and in no work more typically than in Botta's *Storia dell' Italia*, intended as a continuation of Guicciardini and published in 1834.

In states that had long possessed national unity, there could not be any political result of the doctrine of nationality. There could only be, as in France, a deepening of the sense of national patriotism and a conviction that national unity should be an article of political faith, which implied the antagonism of every nation to every other nation. England waited long for its national historian. Although many English historians were fanatically nationalistic and supremely insular in their conviction of the superiority of their own over every other nation, it was not until 1874, when J. R. Green published his *Short History of the English People*, that a modern nationalist historian, with intent to insist, like Michelet, upon the personality of the nation, and to exaggerate, like Martin, the antiquity of national

unity, actually appeared. The immediate success of Green's book was not only the result of its extraordinary literary merit, but also of its expression of a national feeling, which had been steadily growing in intensity. Don Modesto Lafuente in his *Historia de España*, published between 1850 and 1867, has attempted a task for Spain resembling that undertaken for France by Henri Martin, but with hardly the same success. It would be ungracious in this presence to deal at any length with American nationalist historians, further than to point out that two former presidents of this Association, James Schouler, whose *History of the United States under the Constitution* was mostly published between 1880 and 1889, and John Bach McMaster, whose *History of the People of the United States* appeared from 1883 to 1914, show themselves to be inspired with the highest national and patriotic enthusiasm. It is curious to note that such nationalist histories as those of Green and Schouler and McMaster did not see the light until after the doctrine of nationalism had found its fullest expression in Europe in the foundation of the German Empire and the Kingdom of Italy.

But the most interesting phenomenon in the rise of the doctrine of nationality in the nineteenth century has been the revival of small nationalities. It is easy to understand how such great nations as France, England, and Spain caught the new spirit; it is easy to understand how the new national units like Italy and Germany were urged towards consolidation by historic national feeling; but it is not so easy to explain how small nationalities, that had been submerged, sometimes for centuries, and that had been trampled upon by their larger neighbors, responded to the new movement. Here the modern historian triumphed. He recalled to the smaller and submerged peoples the traditions of their former sovereign independence and stimulated their sense of nationality in the present by dwelling upon their glorious past.

This was the side of the question that was dealt with by your president in the article he published in 1887 upon "Great Historians and their Influence upon Small Nationalities". He had been invited to write the article upon Portugal in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and on that account had been led to the study of the Portuguese historical writers. He found one Portuguese historian towering above the others, the recognized founder of the modern historical school of Portugal. He perceived that it was the revival of interest in the glorious past of Portugal, as shown in the writings of her poets and historians of the nineteenth century, that had killed the Iberianist idea of the political union of Spain and

Portugal, and this led him to inquire if the same was true of other small nationalities of Europe, which had been united and famous in the past. The truth was evident, and the article of 1887 was the result. After sketching the work of Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo, whose *Historia de Portugal* was published in 1845-1850 and who started the series of national documents known as the *Portugalliae Monumenta Historica*, the writer dealt with Franz Palacký, whose *Geschichte Böhmens* appeared between 1836 and 1854, and who reminded the Czech population of Bohemia of the glorious days of Huss and Ziska. The result of Palacký's work was to stimulate the consciousness of Bohemian nationality, which had revived again in the nineteenth century after more than one hundred and fifty years of severe repression at the hands of the Hapsburg government. It would take too long here to cover again the ground occupied by the article of 1887. It is enough to state that the establishment of Rumania as a sovereign state was preceded by the revival of the study of Rumanian history, culminating in the great work of Alexandru Xenopol, *L'Histoire des Roumains de la Dacie Trajane*. In Finland and in Poland and in Croatia, in Sweden and in Denmark, and above all in Belgium, profound and passionate historical studies were published and the creation of a national spirit was even more pronounced, if that were possible, in these small states, that especially cherished the memory of their past, than in larger countries, which had a powerful present as well as a splendid past.

This brief account of nationalist historians of the nineteenth century and of their work in promoting the idea and consciousness of nationality leads back to the opening note of this address. Since the spirit of nationality was in the air they yielded to it. To them the fundamental righteousness of the national idea was as clear as the truth of the Christian religion was to the chroniclers of the Middle Ages. They did not argue about it, for it needed no arguments; they felt and expressed their feelings. From them and from their writings, which supported the instinctive cry of national poets and the careful policy of nationalist statesmen by appeals to the past, comes the conviction that nations are the only bases of progress in civilization, and that every nation owes it to the world to extend, by force if necessary, its particular brand of civilization to alien and therefore inferior peoples. National patriotism became the national creed. It filtered through the entire educational system of modern states. However excellent patriotism may be in itself, it has had some startling effects when based upon nationalist histories. The

idea of a common Christianity binding all Christian peoples together in one religion has disappeared; the belief in the brotherhood of man has had no chance. Americans are taught from childhood to hate Britishers by the study of American history, and not only the descendants of the men who made the Revolution, but every newly arrived immigrant child imbibes the hatred of the Great Britain of to-day from the patriotic ceremonies of the public schools. Germans were taught to hate Frenchmen by the study of German history, and the reply made by Ranke to Thiers in 1871, when the French historian visited Berlin after the overthrow of Napoleon III., and asked why the Germans were bent upon continuing the war with France, was the simple truth that "The Germans were fighting against Louis XIV." Hymns of hate are the inevitable outcome of national patriotism based upon national histories. Family blood-feuds, the vendettas of the Corsicans and the Kentucky mountaineers, are considered proofs of a backward civilization, but national hatreds are encouraged as manifestations of national patriotism.

Nationalist historians must bear their share of blame for this, but, as was said at the beginning of this address, every generation writes its own history of the past. The historian is influenced by the prevailing spirit of his age, and he feeds the spirit of national intolerance to-day as his predecessors fed the flames of religious intolerance in days gone by. Woe unto us! professional historians, professional historical students, professional teachers of history, if we cannot see, written in blood, in the dying civilization of Europe, the dreadful result of exaggerated nationalism as set forth in the patriotic histories of some of the most eloquent historians of the nineteenth century. May we not hope that this will be but a passing phase of historical writing, since its awful sequel is so plainly exhibited before us, and may we not expect that the historians of the twentieth century may seek rather to explain the nations of the world to each other in their various contributions to the progress of civilization and to bear ever in mind the magnificent sentiment of Goethe: "Above the nations is humanity".

H. MORSE STEPHENS.

THE TRUE ROGER BACON, I.

"MONOGRAPHS or studies concerning Bacon are numerous, perhaps too numerous", says a recent French writer.¹ Indeed, his *Opus Maius* has been analyzed and paraphrased so often that one marvels that all the juice has not been squeezed out of the orange. Not only his general philosophy, but his contributions to certain particular subjects have been repeatedly treated.² But the French writer goes on to say that in many of the monographs Bacon is misunderstood and misinterpreted, and that they must be read with the greatest caution. Also the catalogue of Bacon's works and fragments has been added to by recent discoveries.³ Thirdly, there are aspects of his learning which have hitherto not received special or proper treatment, namely, the astrology and magic to which he gives so much space and emphasis and which so seriously affect all his thought, but which probably did not affect his life and the attitude of his contemporaries to him in the way that so many have assumed. Finally, Bacon has been studied too much in isolation. He has been regarded as an exceptional individual; his environment has been estimated at his own valuation of it or according to some preconceived idea of his age; and his writings have not been studied in relation to those of his predecessors and contemporaries. Thought of as a precursor of modern science, he has been read to find germs of modern ideas rather than scrutinized with a view to discovering his sources. Yet his constant citing of authorities and the helpful foot-notes which Bridges, in his edition of the *Opus Maius*,⁴ gives to explain these allusions to other scientists, point insistently in the latter direction. When one has gone a step

¹ G. Delorme in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique* (Paris, 1910), II. 31. For bibliography of writings on Bacon see also the article "Roger Bacon" by Theophilus Witzel in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

² For example, Cardinal Gasquet opens his contribution to the collection of essays written in commemoration of the seventh centenary of Roger's birth by saying frankly: "The work of Roger Bacon in regard to the Vulgate is well known. His opinions as to the state of the text in the ordinary Bibles of the thirteenth century, and his suggestions as to the principles which should regulate any revision have been frequently set forth by those interested in the history of the Latin Vulgate, whilst many modern writers . . . have written specially upon this subject. Little therefore remains to be done but to follow in their footsteps." *Roger Bacon Essays* (collected and edited by A. G. Little, Oxford, 1914), p. 89. This will henceforth be cited as Little, *Essays*. I have reviewed this book in the *American Historical Review*, XX. 386-388.

³ The latest bibliography of Bacon's writings is contained in Little, *Essays*, pp. 376-425.

⁴ The *Opus Majus* of Roger Bacon (ed. J. H. Bridges, Oxford, 1897, and a third volume in 1900). This will henceforth be cited as Bridges.

further and has read for their own sake the works of men like Adelard of Bath, William of Conches, and Daniel Morley in the twelfth century, or William of Auvergne, Robert Grosseteste and Albertus Magnus in the early and middle thirteenth century, the true position of Roger Bacon in the history of thought grows clearer. One then re-reads his works with a new insight, finds that a different interpretation may be put upon many a passage, and realizes that even in his most boastful moments Roger himself never made such claims to astounding originality as some modern writers have made for him. Conversely, one is impelled to the conclusion that Bacon's writings, instead of being unpalatable to, neglected by, and far in advance of, his times, give a most valuable picture of medieval thought, summarizing, it is true, its most advanced stages, but also including much that is most characteristic, and even revealing some of its back currents. It is from this standpoint that we shall consider Roger Bacon and endeavor to refute misconceptions that have grown up concerning his life and learning.

Past estimates of Bacon's learning have been greatly affected by their holders' views of his life; but his biography is gradually being shorn of fictions and losing that sensational and exceptional character which gave countenance to the representation of his thought as far in advance of his age. We cannot tell to which of several families of Bacons mentioned in feudal registers and other documents of the times he belonged, and the exact date and place of his birth are uncertain.⁵ But he speaks of England as his native land, and in 1267 looks back upon a past of some forty years of study and twenty years of specialization in his favorite branches of learning.⁶ Also he speaks of one brother as rich, of another as a student, and of his family's suffering exile for their support of Henry III. against the barons.⁷ He implies that up to 1267 he had not been outside France and England,⁸ but he had sent across the

⁵ Charles Jourdain, "Discussion de Quelques Points de la Biographie de Roger Bacon", in his *Excursions Historiques et Philosophiques à travers le Moyen Age*, pp. 131-145.

⁶ See pages 65 and 59 of *Fr. Rogeri Bacon, Opera quaedam hactenus inedita* (ed. J. S. Brewer, London, 1859), in vol. XV. of *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores (Rolls Series)*. This will henceforth be cited as Brewer. The volume includes part of Bacon's *Opus Tertium*, part of the *Opus Minus*, part of the *Compendium Philosophiae*, and the *Epistola de Secretis Operibus Artis et Naturae, et de Nullitate Magiae*.

⁷ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 16 and 13; see also, Rev. F. A. Gasquet, "An Unpublished Fragment of a Work by Roger Bacon", in the *English Historical Review*, XII. 502. This latter article will henceforth be cited as Gasquet. This fragment published by Gasquet is evidently the first part of the *Opus Minus*.

⁸ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 318. If however we accept as a genuine work of Bacon the letter on retarding the accidents of old age which he is supposed to have sent to Pope Innocent IV. (1243-1254), we shall have to admit that he had been "in partibus Romanis". See Little, *Essays*, pp. 4 and 399.

seas for material to assist his special investigations and had spent large sums of money.⁹

Before he became a friar he had written text-books for students, and had worked so hard that men wondered that he still lived. When or why he joined the Franciscans we are not informed, but his doing so is no cause for wonder, for both orders were rich in learned men, including students of natural science. Bacon tells us that after becoming a friar he was able to study as much as before, but "did not work so much", probably because he now had less teaching to do. For about ten years before 1267, instead of being imprisoned and ill treated by his order, as was once believed without foundation, he was, as we now know from his own words discovered in 1897, in poor health and "took no part in the outward affairs of the university". This abstention caused the report to spread that he was devoting all his time to writing, especially since many were aware that he had long intended to sum up his knowledge in a *magnum opus*, but he actually "composed nothing except a few chapters, now about one science and now about another, compiled in odd moments at the instance of friends". At least this is what he told the pope in 1267 when trying to excuse himself for having had no completed work ready to submit to the supreme pontiff.¹⁰

R. H. Major's *Prince Henry the Navigator*¹¹ is responsible for the spread of the story that in 1258 Brunetto Latini saw Friar Bacon at the Parliament at Oxford and was shown by him the secret of the magnetic needle, which Roger dared not divulge for fear of being accused of magic. The supposed letter of Brunetto Latini to the poet Guido Cavalcanti, from which these data are drawn, seems to have been a hoax or fanciful production appearing first in 1802 in the *Monthly Magazine*¹² among "Extracts from the Portfolio of a Man of Letters", who is said to have translated them from "the French patois of the Romansch language". Certainly the mariner's compass was pretty well known in Bacon's time, nor are we informed of any case where it involved its possessor in a trial for magic. Bacon says in one passage that if the experiment of the magnet with respect to iron "were not known to the world, it would seem a great miracle".¹³ In another place he grants that even the common herd of philosophers know of the magnetic needle; he merely criticizes their belief that the needle always turns towards

⁹ Gasquet, p. 502.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 500, and *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 65.

¹¹ Brewer, p. 58.

¹² *The Monthly Magazine or British Register*, XIII. 449.

¹³ Bridges, II. 218.

the north star; Roger thinks that it can be made to turn to any other point of the compass if only it has been properly magnetized.¹⁴ Perhaps the Latini story was suggested by a third passage, where Bacon says, in order to illustrate his statement that philosophers have sometimes resorted to charms and incantations to hide their secrets from the unworthy, "As if, for instance, it were quite unknown that the magnetic needle attracts iron and someone wishing to perform this operation before the people should make characters and utter incantations, so that they might not see that the operation of attraction was entirely natural".¹⁵

Bacon's career centres about a papal mandate which was despatched to him in the summer of 1266. Guy de Foulques, who became Clement IV. on February 5, 1265, had at some previous time requested Bacon to send him the *scriptum principale* or comprehensive work on philosophy which he had been led to think was already written.¹⁶ On June 22, 1266, he repeated this request in the form of a papal mandate, which is extant.¹⁷ The former letter is lost, but both Bacon and the pope refer to it.¹⁸ Somehow writers on Bacon have paid little heed to this first request, have assumed that Bacon wrote his three works to the pope in about a year¹⁹ despite the "impediments" upon which he dwells, and have therefore been filled with admiration at the superhuman genius which could produce such works at such short notice while laboring under such difficulties.²⁰ But this is assuming that Roger had done nothing in the considerable interval between the two mandates.

¹⁴ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 383-384.

¹⁵ *Epistola de Secretis Operibus Artis*, Brewer, p. 525.

¹⁶ Gasquet, p. 511: "Scripto principali, quod vestra postulat reverentia". *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 58: "Propter vestrae gloriae mandatum, de quo confundor et doleo quod non adimplevi sub forma verborum vestrorum, ut scriptum philosophiae mitterem principale." Also p. 18.

¹⁷ Brewer, p. 1; Bridges, I. 1-2, note; Wadding, *Annal. Minor.*, IV. 265; Martene, *Thesaurus Novus Anecdotorum*, II. 358.

¹⁸ Brewer, p. 1: "Opus illud quod te dilecto filio Raymundo de Landino communicare rogavimus in minori officio constituti." *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14: Bacon says that Albert and William of Shyrwood could not send the pope what he has written, "infra tantum tempus . . . a vestro mandato; et sicut nec ab ultimo, sic nec a primo". Gasquet, p. 500: "Sed licet pleno desiderio quod iunctum est complere pro posse meo, sim teste Deo paratissimus, cum quoniam in minori officio constituti postulastis non fuerunt composita quae iussistis" and "utrumque mandatum" and "antequam primum vestre dominationis recepi mandatum." The following sentence (*Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 13) also seems to refer to the former mandate, despite the "ultimo", "Non enim quando ultimo scripsistis fuerant composita quae iussistis, licet hoc credetatis."

¹⁹ Little, *Essays*, p. 11: "His first project was an elaborate one, including a systematic and scientific treatment of the various branches of knowledge; he worked at this, writing parts of the *Communia Naturalium* and *Communia Mathematicae*, for some months ('till after Epiphany', i. e. January 6, 1267), but found it impossible. He then started again on a more modest scale and wrote in the next twelve months the preliminary treatise known as the *Opus Maius*, which was supplemented by the *Opus Minus*, and, subsequently, by the *Opus Tertium*."

²⁰ Brewer, p. xlv.

And why does he keep apologizing for "so great delay in this matter", and "your clemency's impatience at hope deferred"?²¹ Moreover, his excuses do not all apply to the same period, and most of them are excuses for not having composed a full exposition of philosophy rather than for not having composed sooner the *Opus Maius*, which Roger regarded as a mere preamble to philosophy. One set of excuses explains why he had no comprehensive work ready when the first request arrived.²² A second set explains why he had not written it in the interval between the two mandates.²³ A third set explains why he finally does not write it at all but sends instead an introductory treatise, the *Opus Maius*, supplemented by two others, the *Opus Minus* and *Opus Tertium*. Of course some excuses hold equally good for all three periods. But he states in the third treatise that in writing the second he was free from some of the "impediments" which had hampered his composition of the *Opus Maius*.²⁴ As he also says that one reason for writing the *Opus Minus* was lest the *Opus Maius* be lost amid the great dangers of the roads at that time, one infers that the latter work was despatched before the other. Moreover, the *Opus Minus* opens with a eulogy of the pope which is absent in the *Opus Maius*,²⁵ in which there are very few passages to suggest that it is addressed to the pope, or written later than 1266.²⁶

²¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14: "Non igitur mirandum si ego dilationem tantam fecerim in hac parte." *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17: "Multotiens dimisi opus, et multotiens desperavi et neglexi procedere." *Ibid.*, p. 17: "Tanta dilatio in hoc negotio . . . vestrae clementiae taedium pro spe dilata", and other passages.

²² These excuses are listed in Gasquet, p. 500, to "antequam primum vestre dominationis recepi mandatum"; and are repeated in part in *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 13.

²³ To this period the difficulties listed in *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 15-17 (middle), would seem to apply. In Brewer, p. 16, and Gasquet, p. 502, Bacon states that to get money to meet the expenses incident to the composition of his work he had sent to his rich brother in England, but received no response because "exiles and enemies of the king occupied the land of my birth", while his own family had been exiled as supporters of the crown and ruined financially. All this must have occurred before the arrival of the second papal letter in 1266, for Simon de Montfort had been slain and the barons defeated in 1255.

²⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 5: "Et impedimentorum remedia priorum nactus".

²⁵ As Bacon himself states in the *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 7, "Primo igitur in opere Secundo".

²⁶ I cannot agree with Gasquet, p. 497, that it "is obvious from numberless expressions in the work itself" that the *Opus Maius* was "addressed to the pope directly". The last chapter of the first book in Bridges's text is evidently addressed to the pope, but it is identical with a portion of the *Opus Minus* and evidently does not belong in the *Opus Maius* and is not found in the two oldest manuscripts. Similarly a passage of some 16 pages in Bridges on calendar reform, which gives the present year as 1267, is practically identical with a chapter of the *Opus Tertium* and was evidently transferred from that work to the *Opus Maius* at some later date. When we have excluded these passages the work is surprisingly free, compared to the other two works, from passages suggesting that it is addressed to the pope. The one mention of the "Apostolic See" (Bridges, I. 77; III. 94) is impersonal and does not imply that Foulques was pope, and

The *Opus Maius*, therefore, was practically finished, if not already sent, when the papal mandate of 1266 reached Bacon. When Roger learned that Foulques as pope was still interested in his work, visions of what the apostolic see might do for his programme of learning and himself flashed before his mind, and, after a fresh but vain effort at a *scriptum principale*, which kept him busy until Epiphany, he composed the supplementary treatise, the *Opus Minus*, with its adulatory introduction to Clement IV., with its excuses for sending or having sent a preambulatory treatise instead of a complete work of philosophy, with its hints that such a final treatise can be successfully completed only with the financial backing of the unlimited papal resources, with its analysis of the preceding work for the benefit of the busy pope and its suggestions as to what portions of it he might profitably omit, and with its additions of matter which in the *Opus Maius* Roger had either forgotten or at that time had not been in a position to insert. The third work, *Opus Tertium*, is of the same sort but apparently more disorderly in arrangement, and looser and more extravagant in its tone. Presumably it was undertaken to remind the pope again of Bacon's existence and proposals; it is even conceivable that Roger was a little unstrung when he composed it; it has been suggested that it was left unfinished and never sent to the pope, who died in 1268. A part at least of the *Opus Tertium* was written in 1267.²⁷

The extant papal mandate orders Bacon not only to send his book, but to state "what remedies you advise for the matters indicated by you recently on so critical an occasion", and to "do this without delay as secretly as you can".²⁸ This allusion to a crisis

does not occur in one of the manuscripts. Epithets such as "Your Wisdom" (Bridges, I. 17, 23, 305), "Your Highness" (I. 210; II. 377), "Your Glory" (I. 305; III. 96), "Your Reverence" (I. 376; II. 219), "Your Holiness" (I. 81; III. 101), "Your Beatitude" (I. 2, 72; III. 88) do not occur frequently and are either equally applicable to a cardinal, or not found in all the manuscripts, suggesting the possibility of their having been inserted later.

²⁷ Such seems to me the most plausible theory of the writing of the three works and the one which agrees best with Bacon's own statements; but it is only a hypothesis from the printed texts of his works which should be verified by examination of the manuscripts. Probably some of Bacon's statements can be interpreted to conflict with this hypothesis, but they sometimes conflict with each other, and he could not even keep the *scriptum principale* and *Opus Maius* distinct in his own mind according to Brewer's text (p. 3, "duo transmissi genera scripturarum: quorum unum est principale", and p. 5, "principalis scripturae", whereas at p. 60 we read, "Patet igitur quod scriptum principale non potui mittere"). See also Gasquet, p. 503, and *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 58. I have been stimulated by but cannot accept the conclusions of Father Mandonnet's "Roger Bacon et la Composition des Trois 'Opus'", *Revue Néo-Scholastique* (Louvain, 1913), pp. 52-68, and 164-180. Mandonnet holds that the *Opus Maius* was written *after* the other two works, which were never finished nor sent, but from which Roger took some passages to insert in the *Opus Maius*, which Mandonnet believes was sent only in 1268.

²⁸ "Quae tibi videntur adhibenda remedia circa illa, quae nuper occasione tanti discriminis intimasti: et hoc quanto secretius poteris facias indilate." Brewer, p. 1.

and this injunction of secrecy have cast a certain veil of mystery over the three works and the relations of Roger and the pope. The recent critical occasion may have been the time when Guy de Foulques as papal legate was refused admission to England; or, if we judge from the contents of Bacon's replies, the crisis would seem to be either the menace of the Tatars to the western Christian world, or the near advent of Antichrist, in which Bacon with many others of his century seems to have believed, or the situation in the contemporary world of learning, which Roger certainly regarded as requiring the immediate application of remedies. Observance of secrecy may have been intended to guard against such frauds of copyists as we shall soon hear Bacon describe, or to secure some alchemistic arcana or practical inventions which the pope had been led to expect from him. Indeed, so far as alchemy was concerned, Bacon observed the injunction of secrecy so strictly that he divided his discussion of the subject among four different treatises sent to the pope at different times and by different messengers, so that no outsider might steal the precious truth. It must be added that even after receiving all four installments, the pope would not have been much nearer the philosopher's stone than before.²⁹

Another moot question in Bacon's biography besides that of the composition of the three works is that of his relations with the Franciscan order. We have seen that it was natural for him to join it, and that the change, at first at least, seemed one for the better. Bacon, however, found irksome the rule made by the order in 1260, as a consequence of the publication in 1254 of Gerard's heretical *Introductorius in Evangelium Aeternum*, that in the future no Franciscan should publish anything without permission.³⁰ Roger wished to employ amanuenses even in composing his works, and these men, he tells the pope, would often divulge "the most secret writings" and so involve one in unintentional violation of the above rule. "And therefore", says Bacon, "I did not feel the least bit like writing anything".³¹ For a man so easily discouraged one cannot feel much sympathy. There is however another important inference from his statement: instead of his writings being neglected by his age, they are so valued that they are pirated before they have been published. Moreover, this rule of his order

²⁹ Part of the *Opus Tertium* of Roger Bacon (ed. A. G. Little, Aberdeen, 1912), pp. 80-82. This passage is the fourth one and in it Bacon lists the three earlier statements: "Scripsi in tribus locis Vestre Glorie de huiusmodi secretis." Roger ultimately decides that he will not reveal the whole secret even in this fourth installment, because alchemists never put the full truth into writing; he therefore "reserves some points for word of mouth".

³⁰ See the article on "Roger Bacon" by Theophilus Witzel in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*.

³¹ Gasquet, p. 500. "Et ideo componere penitus abhorrebam", etc.

should not have hampered Bacon much in writing for the pope; indeed, Roger himself implies that he was exempted from this restriction in the earlier request from the cardinal as well as in the later papal mandate. Raymond of Laon, Bacon grants, had correctly informed "Your Magnificence, as both the mandates state", concerning this regulation, though he had given a wrong impression as to what Bacon already had written.³²

We have heard from Bacon's own mouth that he did little public teaching after becoming a friar, that he had as much time for private study as ever, and that everybody supposed him to be at work at his *magnum opus*. Yet in the *Opus Minus* he grumbles that "his prelates were at him every day to do other things"³³ before he received the first mandatè from the cardinal, and that even thereafter he was unable to excuse himself fully from their demands upon his time, "because Your Lordship had ordered me to treat that business secretly, nor had Your Glory given them any instructions".³⁴ In the *Opus Tertium* he describes the same situation in stronger language: "They pressed me with unspeakable violence to obey their will as others did", and "I sustained so many and so great set-backs that I can not tell them".³⁵ On how we interpret a few such passages as these depends our estimate of the attitude of the Franciscan order before 1267 to Bacon and his ideas and researches. He gives so many other reasons why he has no comprehensive work of philosophy ready for the pope that this attitude of his superiors seems a relatively slight factor. He needed much money, he needed expensive instruments, he needed a large library, he needed "plenty of parchment", he needed a corps of assistant investigators and another of copyists with skilled superintendents to direct their efforts and insert figures and other delicate details. It was a task beyond the powers of any one man; besides, he was in ill-health, he felt languid, he composed very slowly. Shall we blame his superiors for not providing him with this expensive equipment; and are we surprised, when we remember that the mandates directed him to send a book supposed to be already finished, that his superiors continued to ask of him the performance of his usual duties as a friar? Surely their attitude cannot be called persecution of Bacon nor hostility to his science.³⁶

³² Gasquet, p. 500.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

³⁵ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 15.

³⁶ P. Feret, "Les Emprisonnements de Roger Bacon", *Revue des Questions Historiques*, L. 119-142 (1891), shows how through the nineteenth century the legend of Bacon's persecution kept receiving additions at the hands of imaginative writers. Abbé Feret wrote in 1891; the fragment discovered in 1897 by Gasquet renders the legend even more untenable.

In 1272 in the *Compendium Philosophiae* Bacon lays bare the failings of "the two orders" as if he belonged to neither, but he then proceeds to refute indignantly those masters at Paris who have tried to argue that the state of the higher secular clergy, such as bishops, is more perfect than that of the religious.³⁷

In 1277 however we learn "solely on the very contestable authority of the Chronicle of the XXIV Generals"³⁸ that at the suggestion of many friars the teaching of "Friar Roger Bacon of England, master of sacred theology", was condemned as containing "some suspected novelties", that Roger was sentenced to prison, and that the pope was asked to help to suppress the dangerous doctrines in question. It has been a favorite conjecture of students of Bacon that he incurred this condemnation by his leanings toward astrology and magic; when I come to discuss his opinions on those points, I shall show how unfounded is this supposition. Suffice it here to note that the wording of the chronicle suggests nothing of the sort, but rather some details of doctrine, whereas had Bacon been charged with magic, we may be pretty sure that so sensational a feature would not have passed unmentioned.

This is about all that we know of Bacon's life except the dates of one or two more of his works. Mr. Little regards it as "certain that Roger's last dated work was written in 1292",³⁹ but the evidence for this is a single passage in one manuscript; other statements in the work in question sound as if penned earlier.

We turn from Bacon's life to his writings, and shall centre our attention upon his three works to the pope. In them he had his greatest opportunity and did his best work both in style and substance. They embody most of his ideas and knowledge. Two of them are merely supplementary to the *Opus Maius* and are parallel to it in aims, plan, and contents. Its two chief aims were to demonstrate the practical utility of "philosophy", especially to the Church, and secondly, to reform the present state of learning according to Bacon's idea of the relative importance of the sciences. Having convinced himself that an exhaustive work on philosophy was not yet possible, Roger substituted this introductory treatise, outlining the paths along which future study and investigation should go. Of the thirty divisions of philosophy he considers only the five which he deems the most important and essential, namely,

³⁷ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 399, 425, 431.

³⁸ G. Delorme, "Roger Bacon", in Vacant and Mangenot, *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique*, II. (1910); "Ce fait, basé uniquement sur l'autorité fort contestable de la chronique des xxiv généraux", *Analecta Franciscana* (Quaracchi, 1897), III. 460.

³⁹ *Essays*, p. 27; Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (second ed.), I. 248, questions this date.

the languages, "mathematics", perspective or optic, "experimental science" (including alchemy), and moral philosophy, which last he regards as "the noblest" and "the mistress of them all".⁴⁰ Treated in this order, these "sciences" form the themes of the last five of the seven sections of the *Opus Maius*. Inasmuch as Roger regarded himself as a reformer of the state of learning, he prefixed a first part on the causes of human error to justify his divergence from the views of the multitude. His second section develops his ideas as to the relations of "philosophy" and theology.

The mere plan of the *Opus Maius* thus indicates that it is not exclusively devoted to natural science. "Divine wisdom", or theology, is the end that all human thought should serve, and morality is the supreme science. Children should receive more education in the Bible and the fundamentals of Christianity, and spend less time upon "the fables and insanities" of Ovid and other poets who are full of errors in faith and morals.⁴¹ In discussing other sciences Bacon's eye is ever fixed upon their utility "to the Church of God, to the republic of the faithful, toward the conversion of infidels and the conquest of such as cannot be converted".⁴² This service is to be rendered not merely by practical inventions or calendar reform or revision of the Vulgate, but by aiding in most elaborate and far-fetched allegorical interpretation of the Bible. To give a very simple example of this, it is not enough for the interpreter of Scripture to know that the lion is the king of beasts; he must be so thoroughly acquainted with all the lion's natural properties that he can tell whether in any particular passage it is meant to typify Christ or the devil.⁴³ Also the marvels of human science strengthen our faith in divine miracles.⁴⁴ Bacon speaks of philosophy as the handmaid of "sacred wisdom";⁴⁵ he asserts that all truth is contained in Scripture, though philosophy and canon law are required for its comprehension and exposition, and that anything alien therefrom is utterly erroneous.⁴⁶ Nay more, the Bible is surer ground than philosophy even in the latter's own field of the natures and properties of things.⁴⁷ Furthermore, "philosophy considered by itself is of no utility".⁴⁸ Bacon believed not only that the active intellect (*intellectus agens*) by which

⁴⁰ Gasquet, p. 509.

⁴¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 54-55.

⁴² This was a favorite formula with Bacon; see *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 3-4, 20; Gasquet, pp. 502, 509.

⁴³ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 388.

⁴⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 52.

⁴⁵ Gasquet, p. 509.

⁴⁶ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 81.

⁴⁷ Bridges, I. 43.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

our minds are illuminated was from God and not an integral part of the human mind,⁴⁹ but that all philosophy had been revealed by God to the sainted patriarchs and again to Solomon,⁵⁰ and that it was impossible for man by his own efforts to attain to "the great truths of the arts and sciences".⁵¹ Bacon alludes several times to sin as an obstacle to the acquisition of science;⁵² on the other hand, he observes that contemporary Christians are inferior morally to the pagan philosophers, from whose books they might well take a leaf.⁵³ All this gives little evidence of an independent scientific spirit, or of appreciation of experimental method as the one sure foundation of scientific knowledge. We see how much of a medieval friar and theologian and how little of a modern scientist Roger could be. It must, of course, be remembered that he is trying to persuade the Church to support scientific research; still, there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting his sincerity in the above statements, though we must discount here as elsewhere his tendency to make emphatic and sweeping assertions.

Writers as far back as Cousin⁵⁴ and Charles⁵⁵ have recognized that Bacon was interested in the scholasticism of his time as well as in natural science. His separate works on the *Metaphysics* and *Physics* of Aristotle are pretty much the usual sort of medieval commentary;⁵⁶ the tiresome dialectic of the "Questions on Aristotle's *Physics*" is well brought out in Duhem's essay, "Roger Bacon et l'Horreur du Vide".⁵⁷ Bacon's works dedicated to the pope, on the contrary, are written to a considerable extent in a clear, direct, outspoken style; and the subjects of linguistics, mathematics, and experimental science seem at first glance to offer little opportunity for metaphysical disquisitions or scholastic method. Yet, here too, much space is devoted to intellectual battledore and shuttlecock with such concepts as matter and form, moved and mover, agent and patient, element and compound.⁵⁸ Such current

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 41. Bacon is believed to have rather misrepresented the position of William of Auvergne on this point, when he says that William twice reproved at Paris those who held the active intellect to be part of the soul. N. Valois, *Guillaume d'Auvergne* (Paris, 1880), pp. 289-290; E. Charles, *Roger Bacon: sa Vie, ses Ouvrages, ses Doctrines* (Bordeaux, 1861), p. 327.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 45; Gasquet, p. 508; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 24.

⁵¹ Bridges, I. 45.

⁵² *Ibid.*, II. 170; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 405, 408.

⁵³ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50: "Mirum enim est de nobis Christianis, qui sine comparatione sumus imperfectiores in moribus quam philosophi infideles. Legantur decem libri Ethicorum Aristotelis et innumerabiles Senecae, et Tullii, et aliorum, et inveniunt quod sumus in abyso vitiorum."

⁵⁴ V. Cousin, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, p. 467.

⁵⁵ Charles, *Roger Bacon*. This work will hereafter be cited as Charles.

⁵⁶ Little, *Essays*, p. 4: "They are in the prevalent dialectic style, and perhaps might be put into the class of works which Bacon afterwards ridiculed as 'horse-loads'."

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 241-284.

⁵⁸ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 360-367.

problems as the unity of the intellect, the source of the *intellectus agens*, and the unity or infinity of matter are introduced for discussion,⁵⁹ although the question of universals is briefly dismissed.⁶⁰

Two other characteristic traits of scholasticism are found in the *Opus Maius*, namely, continual use of authorities and the highest regard for Aristotle, "summus philosophorum",⁶¹ as Bacon calls him. Because in one passage in his *Compendium Philosophiae* Bacon says in his exaggerated way that he would burn all the Latin translations of Aristotle if he could,⁶² it has sometimes been assumed that he was opposed to the medieval study of Aristotle. Yet in the very next sentence he declares that "Aristotle's labors are the foundations of all wisdom". What he wanted was more, not less Aristotle. He believed that Aristotle had written a thousand works.⁶³ He complains quite as much that certain works of Aristotle have not yet been translated into Latin as he does that others have been translated incorrectly. As a matter of fact, he himself seems to have made about as many mistakes in connection with the study of Aristotle as did anyone else. He thought many apocryphal writings genuine, such as the *Secret of Secrets*,⁶⁴ an astrological treatise entitled *De Impressiombus Coelestibus*,⁶⁵ and other writings concerning "the arcana of science" and "marvels of nature".⁶⁶ He overestimated Aristotle and blamed the translators for obscurities and difficulties which abound in the Greek text itself. He declares that a few chapters of Aristotle's *Laws* are superior to the entire corpus of Roman law.⁶⁷ His assertion that Robert Grosseteste paid no attention to translations of Aristotle is regarded as misleading by Baur.⁶⁸ He nowhere gives credit to Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas for their great commentaries on Aristotle,⁶⁹ which are superior to any that he wrote. He bases some of his own views upon mistranslations of Aristotle, substituting, for instance, "matter" for "substance"—a mistranslation avoided by Albert and Thomas.⁷⁰

⁵⁹ Bridges, I. 38, 143; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 120.

⁶⁰ Bridges, I. 42.

⁶¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 6.

⁶² *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 469.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 473. *Compendium Studii Theologiae* (ed. H. Rashdall) in vol. III. of *British Society of Franciscan Studies* (Aberdeen, 1911), p. 34.

⁶⁴ He wrote a commentary on it; see Tanner MSS., 116, Bodleian Library.

⁶⁵ Bridges, I. 389.

⁶⁶ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 473.

⁶⁷ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 422.

⁶⁸ Ludwig Baur, *Die Philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912; Bd. IX. in Baumecker's *Beiträge z. Gesch. d. Philos. d. Mittelalters*), p. 15.

⁶⁹ Cousin, *Journal des Savants*, 1848, p. 300, concludes that because Bacon asserts that the *Politics* of Aristotle is not yet in use among the Latins, Albertus and Aquinas did not write their commentaries on this work until after 1266.

⁷⁰ K. Werner, "Die Kosmologie und Allgemeine Naturlehre des Roger

Despite its theological and scholastic proclivities Bacon's mind had a decidedly critical bent. He was, like Petrarch, profoundly pessimistic as to his own times. Church music, present-day sermons, the immorality of monks and theologians, the misconduct of students at Oxford and Paris, the wars and exactions of kings and feudal lords, the prevalence of Roman Law—these are some of the faults he has to find with his age.⁷¹ The *Opus Maius* is largely devoted, not to objective presentation of facts and discussion of theories, but to subjective criticism of the state of learning and even of individual contemporary scholars. This last is so unusual that Bacon excuses himself for it to the pope in both the supplementary treatises.⁷² Several other works of Bacon display the same critical tendency. The *Compendium Philosophiae* enlarges upon the complaints and criticisms of the three works. In the *Tractatus de Erroribus Medicorum* he detected in contemporary medicine "thirty-six great and radical defects with infinite ramifications".⁷³ But in medicine, too, his own contributions are of little account. In the *Compendium Studii Theologiae*, after contemptuous allusion to the huge *Summae* of the past fifty years, he opens with an examination of the problems of speculative philosophy which underlie the questions discussed by contemporary theologians. As far as we know that is as far as he got. And in the five neglected sciences to which his *Opus Maius* was a mere introduction he seems to have made little further progress than is there recorded; it has yet to be proved that he made any definite original contribution to any particular science or branch of learning.

After all, we must keep in mind the fact that in ancient and medieval times hostile criticism was more likely to hit the mark than were attempts at constructive thought and collection of scientific details. There were plenty of wrong ideas to knock down; it was not easy to find a rock foundation to build upon, or materials without some hidden flaw. The church fathers made many telling shots in their bombardment of pagan thought; their own interpretation of nature and life less commands our admiration. So Roger Bacon, by devoting much of his space to criticism of the mistakes of others and writing "preambles" to science and theology, avoided treacherous detail—a wise caution for his times. Thus he constructed a sort of intellectual portico more pretentious than he

Bacon", in *Sitzungsberichte* of the Vienna Academy, ph.-hist. Cl. (Vienna, 1879), XCIV. 495. For further errors by Bacon concerning the text of Aristotle see Duhem, "Roger Bacon et l'Horreur du Vide", in Little, *Essays*, pp. 254 and 259.

⁷¹ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 302, 304; *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, pp. 412, 429, 399, 418 ff.; and *Opus Tertium*, pp. 84 ff.

⁷² Gasquet, p. 503; Brewer, pp. 29-30.

⁷³ Little, *Essays*, p. 347; E. Withington, "Roger Bacon and Medicine".

could have justified by his main building. To a superficial observer this portico may seem a fitting entrance to the temple of modern science, but a closer examination discovers that it is built of the same faulty materials as the neglected ruins of his contemporaries' science.

Merely to have assumed a critical point of view in the Middle Ages may seem a distinction; but Abelard, Adelard of Bath, William of Conches, and Daniel Morley were all critical, back in the twelfth century. Moreover, our estimate of any critic must take into account how valid, how accurate, how original, and how consistent his criticisms were and from what motives they proceeded. Some of Bacon's complaints the reader of medieval literature has often listened to before. What student of philosophy in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries had not sighed at the invasion of the Roman Law into school and Church and State? What devotee of astronomy had failed to contrast its human interest and divine relationships with the dry drubbing of the jurists? What learned man had not expressed his preference for the wise and the experts (*sapientes*) over the *vulgus* or common herd? The great secrets of learning and the danger of casting pearls before swine were also quite familiar concepts. If Bacon goes a step farther and speaks of a *vulgus studentium* and even of a *vulgus medicorum*, he is only refining a medieval commonplace.

In Bacon's discussion of the four causes of human error his attack upon undue reliance on authority has often seemed to modern readers most unusual for his age. But all his arguments against authority are drawn from authorities;⁷⁴ and while he seems to have got a whiff of the spirit of rationalism from such classical writers as Seneca and Cicero, he also quotes the *Natural Questions* of his fellow-countryman, Adelard of Bath, who in the early twelfth century had found the doctrine of the schools of Gaul as little to his liking as was that of Paris to Roger's taste, and who had gone to Spain and the Saracens for new ideas, and of whose originality and scientific standpoint I have treated elsewhere.⁷⁵ Bacon does

⁷⁴ Rashdall says in the introduction to his edition of Bacon's *Compendium Studii Theologiae* (Aberdeen, 1911), p. 3: "There is a certain irony in the fact that the writer's argument in favor of independent thinking as against authority consists chiefly of a series of citations."

⁷⁵ Bridges, I. 5-6, and also p. 7, where Bacon quotes another sentence from Adelard without naming him, "Et ideo multi . . . cur a tergo non scribitis." Adelardus Bathoniensis, *Questiones Naturales* (Louvain, 1480). Also at Eton College, MS. 161, of the twelfth century. I have discussed Adelard somewhat in a lecture on "Natural Science in the Middle Ages", *Popular Science Monthly*, September, 1915, pp. 271-291; and in *Nature*, February 4, 1915, pp. 616-617, "Adelard of Bath and the Continuity of Universal Nature", where I show that a theory in physics whose origin Professor Duhem attributes to Bacon is found earlier in Adelard.

not cite another twelfth-century Englishman, Daniel Morlay; but his fourth cause of human error, the concealment of ignorance by a false show of learning, might well have been suggested by passages in Daniel's preface to the Bishop of Norwich. There Daniel satirizes the *bestiales* who occupied chairs in the schools of Paris "with grave authority", and reverently marked their Ulpian with daggers and asterisks, and seemed wise as long as they concealed their ignorance by a statuesque silence, but whom he found "most childish" when they tried to say anything. He also warns his readers not to spurn Arabic clarity for Latin obscurity; it is owing to their ignorance and inability to attain definite conclusions that Latin philosophers of his day spin so many elaborate figments and hide "uncertain error under the shadow of ambiguity".⁷⁶

Bacon's criticisms have usually been taken to apply to medieval learning as a whole, but a closer examination shows their application to be much more limited. In the first place, he is thinking only of the past "forty years" in making his complaints; in the good old days of Grosseteste, Adam Marsh, William Wolf, and William of Shyrwood things were different and scholarship flowed smoothly, if not copiously, in the channels marked out by the ancient sages;⁷⁷ nor does Bacon deny that there was a renaissance of natural science and an independent scientific spirit still farther back in the twelfth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ *Philosophia Magistri Danielis de Merlai ad Iohannem Norwicensem Episcopum*, Arundel MSS., 377 (British Museum), fols. 88-103, thirteenth century. A little of it has been printed by T. Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lit.* (London, 1846), II. 227-230; and by V. Rose in *Hermes*, VIII. (1874). Rose's list of the authorities cited by Daniel is woefully incomplete. Daniel seems to have lived in the late twelfth century and to have been a pupil of Gerard of Cremona.

⁷⁷ Bridges, I. 17; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 70, 91, 187.

⁷⁸ See the excellent but little known treatise of Charles Jourdain, *Dissertation sur l'État de la Philosophie Naturelle en Occident et principalement en France pendant la Première Moitié du XIIe Siècle* (Paris, 1838). For a brief general survey of natural science in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see my lecture referred to in note 75.

It is still difficult even for the reader of French and German to find out much about medieval natural science or medicine or pharmacy. One must, then, go back to the original Latin sources, if not to the Arabic and other languages, and these sources are not easy to get at, existing in many cases only in rare old editions or in manuscript. Histories both of science in general and of the individual sciences are usually compiled chiefly from old and dubious secondary sources; devote little space to the Middle Ages; and too often give little more than biographical and bibliographical detail, which is often wrong, rather than estimate the authors' subject-matter. In such works, too, occult science and magic, which played so large and important a part, are generally neglected or misinterpreted.

Such works, however, as the following are of considerable service: F. Danne-mann, *Die Naturwissenschaften in ihrer Entwicklung und in ihrem Zusammenhange*; E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Botanik* (Königsberg, 1855); M. Cantor, *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik* (Leipzig, 1913, latest ed.); E. Gerland, *Geschichte der Physik* (Munich, 1913); E. Gerland and F. Traummüller, *Geschichte der Physikalischen Experimentierkunst* (Leipzig, 1899); F. Picavet, *Esquisse d'une Histoire Comparée des Philosophies Médicinales* (Paris, 1905); and the writings of Daremberg on the history of medicine and of Delambre on that of

Secondly, except for his tirades against the Italians and their civil law, Bacon's criticisms apply to but two countries, France and England, and two universities, Oxford and Paris. Also those few contemporaries whom he praises are either his old Oxford friends or scattered individuals in France. Of the state of learning in Italy, Spain, and Germany he says little and apparently knew little. Amid his sighing for some prince or prelate to play the patron to science, he never mentions Alfonso X. of Castile, who was so interested in the "mathematics" and occult science which were so dear to Bacon's heart;⁷⁹ Roger even still employs the old Toletan astronomical tables of Arzachel instead of the Alfonsine tables issued in 1252, the first year of that monarch's reign.⁸⁰ While complaining of the ignorance of the natures and properties of animals, plants, and minerals which is shown by contemporary theologians in their explanation of Scriptural passages, Bacon not only slights the encyclopedias which several clergymen like Alexander Neckam, Bartholomew of England, Thomas of Cantimpré, and Vin-

astronomy. In English there is an entertaining history of medicine with a good bibliography by E. Withington (London, 1894). In medicine and mathematics there are also periodicals dealing with the history of those fields such as *Janus* and *Bibliotheca Mathematica*. Dealing more specially with the Middle Ages are the following: Berthelot, *La Chimie au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1893), an admirable research bringing out many new points but after all based on the study of only a few of the numerous available manuscripts in medieval alchemy and chemistry; Millot-Carpentier, "La Médecine au XIII^e Siècle", in *Annales Internationales d'Histoire* (Congrès de Paris, 1900, 5e section, Histoire des Sciences); R. von Töply, *Studien zur Geschichte der Anatomie im Mittelalter* (Leipzig, 1898); F. A. Pouchet, *Histoire des Sciences Naturelles au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1853), limited chiefly to an estimate of Albertus Magnus as a natural scientist; Strunz, *Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart, 1910, 120 pp., no notes). On medieval lapidaries see L. Pannier, *Les Lapidaires Français du Moyen Age* (Paris, 1882), and the writings of F. de Mély. Several essays by Valentine Rose in such periodicals as *Hermes* and *Zeitschrift für Deutsches Alterthum* deal with matters of medieval science and superstition, and call attention to neglected manuscripts. The numerous publications of Moritz Steinschneider upon Hebrew and Arabian writings and the Latin translations thereof often touch on natural science, alchemy, and astrology, but chiefly from the bibliographical and biographical standpoint. Helpful in a similar way are "The Reception of Arabic Science in England", *English Historical Review*, January, 1915, and other recent articles by C. H. Haskins. Cousin and Hauréau in their well-known works, though interested primarily in scholasticism, occasionally touch on science in their researches into the manuscript sources. The *Histoire Littéraire de la France* sometimes describes the contents of medieval works of natural and occult science, as well as the biography and bibliography of their authors.

Of the medieval Latin texts some, like Bacon's *Opus Maius* and the complete works of Albertus Magnus, have received separate modern editions; others, if written by Englishmen or by ecclesiastics of the twelfth century, are sometimes found in the *Rolls Series* or Migne's *Patrologie Latine*; while many formerly little known works are now being published in the two series, *Abhandlungen zur Geschichte der Mathematischen Wissenschaften* (Teubner), and *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters* (herausgegeben von C. Baumker.) J. L. Pagel has edited some hitherto inaccessible works of medicine.

⁷⁹ Bacon's ignorance of Spanish would probably in any case have prevented him from securing Alfonso as a patron.

⁸⁰ Bridges, I. 192, 196, 271, 298, 299, note.

cent of Beauvais had compiled; he also says nothing of the school at Cologne of Albertus Magnus, whose reputation was already established by the middle of the century,⁸¹ who personally investigated many animals, especially those of the north, and often rectified the erroneous assertions of classical zoologists, whom the historian of botany has lauded,⁸² whose students too were curious to know not only the theoretical botany that passed under the name of Aristotle, but also the particular characteristics of plants, and who in his five books on minerals discusses the alchemy and indulges in the same occult science and astrology which Bacon deemed so important. Yet Albert was a noted theologian and biblical commentator as well as a student of nature. In his lamentation over the sad neglect of astrology among the "Latins"⁸³ Bacon ignores the voluminous Latin treatise on that art by his contemporary, Guido Bonati of the University of Bologna, though it shows wide reading in both classical and Arabian astrologers.⁸⁴ Bacon grieves at the neglect of the science of optic by his age, and says that it has not yet been lectured

⁸¹ Ptolemy of Lucca (Muratori, XI., col. 1150 ff.) says that Albert and his pupil Aquinas were flourishing in the time of Pope Alexander IV. (1253). After resigning the bishopric of Ratisbon, Albert spent the last 18 years of his life (1262-1280) teaching at Cologne. Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant* (second ed.), I. 36, places the beginning of the publication of Albert's great works in philosophy about 1245, though he puts his birth in 1206 instead of 1193, the traditional date. Albert seems to have spent only a few years of his life in France, perhaps about 1248 (*Hist. Litt. de la France*, XIX. 362-381).

In saying that Bacon does not mention Albert's work in natural science, I of course do not mean to imply that he never mentions Albert. He excuses his delay in answering the pope by declaring that the most noted Christian scholars, such as Brother Albert of the Order of Preachers and Master William of Shyrwood, could not in ten years produce such a work as he transmits; and he incidentally observes that William is a far abler scholar than Albert (*Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 14). I am suspicious however of the integrity of the passage (*Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 426) where Bacon sneers at the theological teaching of "the boys of the two Orders, such as Albert and Thomas and the others who enter the Orders when twenty years or under". It seems incongruous for Bacon to speak of his senior, Albert, as a boy. Other passages in Bacon's works which have been taken to apply to Albert, though he is not expressly named, seem to me not to apply to him at all closely; and if meant for him, they show that Bacon was an incompetent and unfair critic. Not only was Albert only for a short time in Paris; he does not seem to have been in sympathy with the conditions there which Bacon attacks. Nor can I see that Bacon is meant in the passage at the close of Albert's *Politics* (*Opera*, ed. Borgnet, VIII. 803-804, and Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, p. 332), where he declares that its doctrines, as in his books on physics, are not his own theories but a faithful reflection of peripatetic opinion; and that he makes this statement for the benefit of lazy persons who occupy their idle hours in searching writings for things to criticise; "Such men killed Socrates, drove Plato from Athens to the Academy, and, plotting even against Aristotle, forced him into exile." Such a passage seems a commonplace one. Both Adelard of Bath and William of Conches express the same fear of setting forth new ideas of their own, and medieval writers not infrequently in their prefaces apprehend with shrinking "the bite of envy" which both their Horace and personal experience had taught would follow fast on publication.

⁸² E. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Botanik*, IV. 39-40.

⁸³ Bridges, I. 389.

⁸⁴ Guido Bonati, *Liber Astronomicus* (Augsburg, 1491), 422 fols.

on at Paris nor among the Latins except twice at Oxford;⁸⁵ he does not mention the important work of Witelo, a Pole who travelled in Italy.⁸⁶ Perhaps the books of Witelo and Bonati were not yet published when Bacon wrote in 1266 and 1272, but they were probably well under way and their production can scarcely be attributed to his influence.

Thirdly, while Bacon occasionally makes bitter remarks about the present state of learning in general, it is the teaching of theology at Paris and by the friars that he has most in mind and that he especially desires to reform. Though himself a friar and master of theology, he had been trained and had then himself specialized in the three learned languages, Hebrew, Greek, and Arabic, in optic and geometry, in astronomy and astrology, in alchemy and "experimental science", and in the writings of the classical moralists. Consequently he thought that no one could be a thorough theologian who did not go through the same course of training; nay, it was enough to ruin the reputation of any supposed scholar in Bacon's sight, if he were unacquainted with these indispensable subjects. Bacon held that it was not sufficient preparation for theology merely to study "the common sciences, such as Latin grammar, logic, and a part of natural philosophy, and a little metaphysics".⁸⁷ However, it was not that he objected to these studies in themselves, nor to the ordinary university instruction in the arts course; in fact, he complains that many young friars start in to study theology at once and "presume to investigate philosophy by themselves without a teacher".⁸⁸ Bacon has a low opinion of the scholarship of Alexander of Hales because his university education had been completed before the chief authorities and commentaries in natural philosophy and metaphysics had been translated. Against another friar generally regarded by the academic world as its greatest living authority Bacon brings the charge that "he never heard philosophy in the schools", and "was not instructed nor trained in listening, reading, and disputing, so that he must be ignorant of the common sciences".⁸⁹ Such passages show that to represent Bacon's writings as full of "sweeping attacks" upon the "metaphysical subtleties and verbal strifes" of his age is to exaggerate his position.⁹⁰ There are not many direct attacks upon scholastic method in his works.

⁸⁵ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 37.

⁸⁶ Baeumker, *Witelo, ein Philosoph und Naturforscher des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Münster, 1906).

⁸⁷ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, p. 324.

⁸⁸ *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 426.

⁸⁹ *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 326-327.

⁹⁰ Bridges, I. xxx.

It is true that Bacon complains of the lack of good teachers in his day, saying in the *Opus Minus* that he could impart to an apt pupil in four years all the knowledge that it had taken himself forty years to acquire,⁹¹ and in the *Opus Tertium* that he could do it in a half or a quarter of a year, and that he could teach a good student all the Greek and Hebrew he need know in three days for each subject.⁹² But aside from the young friars who presume to teach theology, the teachers against whom he rails most are those in his favorite subject of "mathematics". Bacon could teach more useful geometry in a fortnight than they do in ten or twenty years⁹³—a hint that much time was given in those days to the study of mathematics. These boasts are not, however, as wild as they may at first seem; after all Roger did not know a vast amount of geometry and Greek and Hebrew, and he had no intention of teaching any more of mathematics and the languages than would be of service in his other sciences, in theology, and in practical life.

It is easy to discern the personal motives which actuated Bacon in his criticism. He grieved to see the neglect by his fellow theologians of the subjects in which he was particularly interested, and to see himself second in reputation, influence, and advancement to the "boy theologians". It angered him that these same narrowly educated and narrow-minded men should "always teach against these sciences in their lectures, sermons, and conferences".⁹⁴ And after all, as he tells the pope, he does not wish to revolutionize the curriculum nor overthrow the existing educational system, "but that from the table of the Lord, heaped with wisdom's spoils, I, poor fellow, may gather the falling crumbs I need". Comment would only weaken the force of this confession.

Bacon's allusions to and dates for events in the history of medieval learning are sometimes hard to fit in with what we learn from other sources, and he has been detected in misstatements of the doctrines of other scholars.⁹⁵ His personal diatribes against the Latin translators of Greek and Arabian science seem overdrawn and unfair, especially when he condemns the first translators for not knowing the sciences in question before they ventured to translate, whereas it is plain that the sciences could not be known to the Latin world until the translations had been made. Indeed, it may be doubted if Roger himself knew Arabic well enough to read

⁹¹ Gasquet, p. 507.

⁹² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 65.

⁹³ Gasquet, p. 507.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 504-505; and Bridges, I. 31; see also *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 59.

⁹⁵ See notes 49 and 68.

scientific works therein without a translation or interpreter. Especially unjustifiable and ill advised seems his savage onslaught upon William of Meerbeke,⁹⁶ whom Aquinas induced to translate Aristotle from the Greek, who was like Bacon interested in occult science, and to whom Witelo dedicated his treatise on optic. As William held the confidential post of papal chaplain and penitentiary under Clement IV., and as he became archbishop of Corinth about the time that Roger was condemned to prison, there may have been some personal rivalry and bitterness between them.

It should be said to Bacon's credit that his own statements do not support the inference which others have drawn from them, that he was alone in the advocacy or pursuit of the studies dear to him. In the *Opus Minus* he says to the pope, with rather unusual modesty it must be admitted, "I confess that there are several men who can present to Your Wisdom in a better way than I can these very subjects of which I treat".⁹⁷ And though the secrets of the arts and sciences are neglected by the crowd of students and their masters, "God always has reserved some sages who know all the necessary elements of wisdom. Not that anyone of them knows every detail, however, nor the majority of them; but one knows one subject, another another, so that the knowledge of such sages ought to be combined".⁹⁸ Combine it Bacon does for the pope's perusal, and he is not ashamed to speak on its behalf, for though there are fewer Latins conversant with it than there should be, there are many who would gladly receive it, if they were taught.⁹⁹ Thus he speaks not merely as an exponent of his own ideas, but as the representative of a movement with a considerable following at least outside of strictly theological circles.

Bacon has been given great credit for pointing out the need of calendar revision three centuries before the papacy achieved it; but he says himself that not only wise astronomers but even ordinary *computistae* were already aware of the crying need for reform,¹⁰⁰ and his discussion of the calendar often coincides verbally with Grosseteste's *Computus*.¹⁰¹ When Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly over a century later again urged the need of reform upon Pope John

⁹⁶ In the *Compendium Philosophiae*, written about 1272 (Brewer, p. 472). Mandonnet, *Siger de Brabant*, p. 40, rejects Bacon's aspersions upon William's translations. On William's career and writings see *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXI. 146.

⁹⁷ Gasquet, p. 505: "Quamvis autem fatear quod plures sunt qui hec eadem que tracto possunt meliori modo quam ego vestre sapientie referre."

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 502.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 504.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 515; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 274, 275, 295.

¹⁰¹ L. Baur, "Der Einfluss des Robert Grosseteste auf die Wissenschaftliche Richtung des Roger Bacon", in Little, *Essays*, p. 45.

XXIII., he cited Grosseteste often, but Bacon seldom or never.¹⁰² The treatment of geography in the *Opus Maius* is simply an intelligent compilation of well-known past writers, including the wretched work of Ethicus, supplemented from writings of the friars who had recently visited the Tatars. The Parisian version of the Bible, against which Bacon inveighs as a corruption of the Vulgate, was in the first instance the work of a conscientious Hebrew scholar,¹⁰³ and the numerous corrections and changes made in it since, though deplored by Bacon, show the prevalent interest in such matters. While Bacon holds that there are very few men who understand the theory of Greek, Hebrew, and Arabic grammar, or the technique of the sciences which have to be studied from those languages, he admits that many men are found among the "Latins" who can speak those tongues, and that there are even plenty of teachers of Greek and Hebrew at Paris and elsewhere in France and England.¹⁰⁴

LYNN THORNDIKE.

(To be continued.)

¹⁰² Petrus de Alliaco, *De Correctione Kalendarii*, in an edition of the works of d'Ailly and Gerson printed about 1480.

¹⁰³ S. A. Hirsch, "Roger Bacon and Philology", in Little, *Essays*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁴ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 34, and *Compendium Philosophiae*, Brewer, p. 434.

THE COLONIAL POST-OFFICE

THE first arrangements of a postal character introduced into the North American colonies were made for the purpose of amending defects in private arrangements which had been in operation since the foundation of the colonies. From the time the Dutch settled on Manhattan Island and on the shores of the Hudson, and the English in Virginia and Massachusetts, continuous though irregular communication was maintained with the respective mother-countries by means of trading vessels. On the European side the arrangements were subject to few inconveniences. If the sailing-masters, on their arrival in Holland and England, were regardful of their trust, they would see that the letters placed in their mail-bags by the colonists were posted at the nearest post-office, and the postal systems in those countries could be depended on to do the rest. With the colonists the situation was less happy. As there were no post-offices, those sending or expecting letters had to depend on their own exertions or on the precarious goodwill of friends for information as to the time of arrival or departure of vessels, and for the necessary visits to the vessels. The first colony to apply a remedy for these inconveniences was Massachusetts Bay. On November 5, 1639, the general court of that colony issued an ordinance¹ directing that all letters arriving at Boston from beyond seas should be taken to Richard Fairbank's tavern. Fairbank's tavern seems to have been something of a public institution. Returns to the surveyor-general were made there and committees on trade and on other public matters held their meetings in its rooms. Fairbank undertook to make a proper delivery of the letters received by him, and he was authorized to take as compensation a penny for each letter so delivered. But the ordinance went further and in a qualified way conferred on him the other functions of a postmaster. He was licensed to accept letters from citizens for despatch across the sea, but the court were not minded to bestow a monopoly on him. The ordinance laid it down plainly that "no man shall be compelled to bring his letters thither except he please".

The Dutch West India Company, which governed New Netherland, made somewhat similar provision against the delays and failures in the delivery of its correspondence. In a letter² to the

¹ *Collections of the Mass. Hist. Soc.*, third series, VII. 48.

² *New York Colonial Documents*, XIV. 186.

director-general of New Netherland written on August 6, 1652, the directors in Amsterdam state that, having observed that "private parties give their letters to this or that sailor or free merchant, which letters to their great disadvantage are often lost through neglect, remaining forgotten in the boxes or because one or the other removes to another place", they have had a box set up at their place of meeting in which all letters may be deposited for despatch by the first ship sailing; and they advise that the same measure be taken in New Amsterdam. In 1659 they became peremptory, and ordered that any sailing-master found carrying letters otherwise than in the sealed bag made up for him at the company's offices, should be subject to a fine of one hundred guilders for each offense.³

The lack of common interests among the colonial groups accounts for the absence of an inland postal system, but there were two occasions before the issue of the Neale patent when the presence of a common danger drew the groups together, and each time the question of communications among them by regular posts was agitated. On the outbreak of the war between the English and their maritime rivals, the Dutch, in 1672, Governor Lovelace, at the direction of the king, set on foot inquiries as to what could be done towards establishing a regular postal service throughout the colonies. He arranged for a monthly courier service between New York and Boston.⁴ There was no road between the two places and Governor Winthrop was asked to provide an expert woodsman, who might guide the courier by the easiest road. The courier was directed to blaze the route, and it was hoped that a good road might be made over it. The courier had made only a few trips when New York was captured by a Dutch fleet. The town was restored to the English in 1674 but, with the disappearance of the danger, the service was dropped.

The other occasion was in 1684, when the pressure of the French and their Indian allies brought together all the colonies into a conference at Albany, at which the Iroquois took part. Colonel Dongan, governor of New York, threw out the proposition to establish a line of post-houses along the coast from the Acadian boundary to Carolina. The king was much pleased with the scheme, and directed Dongan to farm out the enterprise to some capable contractor.⁵ In March, 1685, he had an ordinance adopted in the

³ *Ibid.*, p. 446.

⁴ *Coll.*, Mass. Hist. Soc., fifth series, IX. 83-84.

⁵ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial, America and West Indies*, 1681-1685, no. 1848.

council of New York,⁶ providing for a post-office through the colonies, and fixing the charges for the conveyance of letters at threepence for each one hundred miles of carriage. Dongan's jurisdiction did not however extend beyond the colony of New York and the records of the other colonies are silent on the subject. No evidence has been discovered to show that the extensive scheme contemplated was carried into effect but it is tolerably certain that a regular service was in operation between New York and Boston. The narrative of the grievances against the tyrannical misrule of the usurper Leisler contains a statement that on January 16, 1690, the public post on his way to Boston was detained by a warrant from Leisler and his letters confiscated, and the terms of the statement make it clear that the post was a regular institution.⁷

In July, 1683, a weekly post was established in Pennsylvania. Letters were carried from Philadelphia to the Falls of Delaware for threepence; to Chester for twopence; to New Castle for fourpence; and to Maryland for sixpence.⁸

As part of the scheme of James II. for the confederation of the New England states under a royal governor, a postmaster was appointed for the united colonies. The choice fell upon Edward Randolph, who had just previously been selected as secretary and registrar of the new province. The appointment was dated November 23, 1685.⁹ He seems to have performed the duties of his office¹⁰ until the fall of the Andros government, which followed closely upon the deposition of James II. in 1689.

Until this time, then, the post-office would be classed generally among the merely temporary conveniences of the state, and not among its permanent institutions. It was William III. who established the first postal system in the colonies. When he had become firmly seated on his throne and had an opportunity to look about, the affairs of the North American colonies engaged his attention. They had been growing rapidly, and at the end of the period of the Revolution in England the population was estimated at about 200,000. The greater part of the increase was in the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, though the colonies of Maryland and Virginia showed considerable gain,

⁶ Quoted by Miss M. E. Woolley in *Early History of the Colonial Post-Office*, as from *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, vol. III. Miss Woolley's essay is in the *Publications of the Rhode Island Hist. Soc.*, 1894, and is reprinted in the *Papers from the Historical Seminary of Brown University* (ed. J. Franklin Jameson).

⁷ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 682.

⁸ Winsor, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Am.*, III. 492.

⁹ *Edward Randolph*, I. 270 (*Publications of the Prince Society*).

¹⁰ "Our letters that come by post now pass through hands of Councillour Randolph", Samuel Sewall to Thomas Glover, July 15, 1686. *Sewall Letter-Books*, I. 21.

and a beginning was made in the settlement of the Carolinas. The king resolved to have postal communication between Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania. In 1691 he granted a patent¹¹ to the Master of the Mint, Thomas Neale, empowering him to establish a postal service between these colonies, and to open post-offices in the chief places. Neale seems to have been one of those parasitic creatures who manage to bask in court favor and to batten upon sinecures. He was at one time or another, and to a large extent simultaneously, master of the mint; groom porter to Charles II., in which capacity he was authorized to license and suppress gaming houses; conductor of government lotteries; patentee of the postal service in America; and commissioner of wrecks on the coast of Bermuda.¹² If the deputies he chose to conduct all these offices were as adequate to their duties as his deputy postmaster-general in America, the public service at least would not suffer from his pluralism.

Neale's patent as postmaster-general of the British possessions in America is a document of great importance and, if extraneous circumstances had not cut its life short, was well fitted to be the charter of the American post-office. The patent, which had a duration of twenty-one years, authorized Neale to establish a postal system throughout the British possessions in America. It prescribes in all needful detail the functions of such a service and gives him the exclusive privilege of letter conveyance within the territory covered by the system. Neale was obligated to see that the post-office was carried on efficiently; in case of dissatisfaction or of his failure to set the service on foot within two years the patent was to be determined. The postage charges were to be based on the rates in operation in England, or to be such other rates "as the planters and others will freely give for their letters or packets upon the first settlement of such office or offices". Letters for England, which are excepted from the monopoly, if sent from American post-offices, were to be fully prepaid to the first post-office in England, where they would be subject to the inland charges in that country. For the privileges conferred by the patent Neale was to pay nothing, except the nominal sum of six shillings and eight pence, which was to be remitted to the Exchequer each year at the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel.

Neale appointed as his deputy Andrew Hamilton, an Edinburgh merchant, who after seven years' residence in New Jersey was made

¹¹ A complete copy of the patent appears as an appendix to *The Early History of the Colonial Post Office*, by Miss Woolley.

¹² *Dict. of National Biography*, art., "Thomas Neale", and *Publications of the Prince Society*, VII. 385, note.

governor of that province in 1692. It was on April 4 of that year that he was made deputy postmaster-general. Neale was fortunate in his selection. Hamilton's course in relation to the post-office shows him to have been a man of energy and ability, with diplomatic powers of a high order. His success in his dealings with the colonial legislatures leaves no doubt on these points.

The patent furnished him with no warrant for high-handedness in carrying out its terms. He was authorized simply "to take such rates and sums of money as the planters shall agree to give". During the year 1692 Hamilton addressed himself to the legislatures of the colonies within the scope of his scheme, setting forth his plan, and begging that they might "ascertain and establish such rates and terms as should tend to quicker maintenance of mutual correspondence among the neighboring colonies and plantations, and that trade and commerce might be better preserved". The several legislatures looked on the proposition with favor, and Hamilton prepared a bill which he submitted for their consideration. This bill provided for a general post-office or chief letter-office in the principal town of each colony, the postmaster of which was to be appointed by Hamilton. As the patent conferred a monopoly on the holder, the proposed bill confirmed this monopoly, imposing considerable penalties for its infringement. The postal charges, as well as the privileges and appurtenances to be granted to postmasters and mail couriers, were settled between Hamilton and each of the legislatures. There was some variety in the privileges allowed to postmasters and couriers. In Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut, the mail couriers were conceded free ferriage over the rivers and water courses which lay along their routes. In the acts passed by New York and New Hampshire there was no mention of ferriage, but in each a somewhat curious exemption is made in favor of the postmasters; that they should not be subject to excise charges on the ale and other liquors which formed the stock-in-trade of their business as innkeepers. The postmasters in all the colonies were exempted from public services, such as keeping watch and ward and sitting on juries. Shipmasters on arriving at a port with letters in their care, were enjoined to deliver them to the nearest post-office, where they would receive one half-penny for each letter.¹³

The principal postal rates were as follows. On letters from Europe or from any country beyond sea, if for Massachusetts, New

¹³ The several colonial acts were as follows: New York, passed November 11, 1692 (*Laws of Colony of N. Y.*, I. 293); Massachusetts, June 9, 1693 (ch. 3, 1 sess., 1693, *Province Laws*, I. 115); Pennsylvania, May 15, June 1, 1693 (*Duke of York's Laws*, p. 224); New Hampshire, June 5, 1693 (*N. H. Prov. Laws*, p. 561); Connecticut, May 10 1694 (*Pub. Rec. of Conn.*, 1689-1706, p. 123).

Hampshire, or Pennsylvania, twopence; if for New York, nine pence. Letters passing between Boston and Philadelphia, and New York and Philadelphia were charged fifteen pence, and four and one-half pence respectively. There was a peculiarity in the postage on letters passing between Boston and New York. It differed according to the direction the letter was carried. A letter from New York to Boston cost twelve pence; while nine pence was the charge from Boston to New York. This was one of the consequences of the separate negotiations between Hamilton and the different legislatures. The Massachusetts act fixed the rates on letters to Boston, while the New York act settled the charge on letters going to New York. From Virginia to Philadelphia, to New York, and to Boston, the charges were nine pence, twelve pence, and two shillings respectively. All the acts concurred in the stipulation that letters on public business should be carried free of charge.

The foregoing is the substance of the acts passed in New York and Pennsylvania. Massachusetts went a step further. While as willing as the others to concede a monopoly of letter conveyance to Hamilton, it thought fit to impose on him the obligation of providing a satisfactory service. Accordingly, the Massachusetts legislature after authorizing Hamilton to establish a post-office in Boston, fixing the charges, and conferring on him the exclusive privilege of letter-carrying, added a clause binding him to maintain constant posts for the carriage of letters to the several places mentioned in the act, to deliver letters faithfully and seasonably, and imposed a fine of five pounds for each omission. In order to place a check on the post-office, the postmaster was required to mark on each letter the date of its receipt in his office. New Hampshire followed Massachusetts in inserting this clause in its Post-Office Act.

The four acts were sent to London, and submitted to the king in council for sanction. The acts of New York, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire passed council, and became law, while on the advice of the governors of the post-office, the Massachusetts act was disallowed.¹⁴ The grounds for the discrimination against Massachusetts are difficult to understand. The Massachusetts act undoubtedly contained departures from the terms of the patent, but they were such departures as might be expected where an act is drawn up by a person unlearned in the law, who, having the patent before him, aims at substantial rather than at literal conformity therewith. There can be no question that the drafts presented to

¹⁴ Note to this effect attached to the act (ch. 3, 1 sess., 1693, *Province Laws*, I. 117).

the several assemblies were prepared by one person. Their practical identity establishes the fact. There can be equally little doubt that the draftsman was Hamilton himself. The governors of the post-office, who framed the objections,¹⁵ note first that the patent provides that the appointment of Neale's deputy shall, at his request, be made by the postmaster-general; whereas the Massachusetts act appears to appoint Andrew Hamilton postmaster-general of the colonies independent of the postmaster-general of England and not subject to the patent. The patent requires Neale to furnish accounts at stated intervals to enable the Treasury to establish the profits from the enterprise; it also stipulates for the cancellation of the patent in certain cases. Both these terms are omitted from the act. Insufficient care was taken in safeguarding the post-office revenue, and no provision was made for a successor in case of the removal of Hamilton from his position.

The points to which the post-office drew attention were, as will be seen, far from wanting weight, and if they had not been pressed against the Massachusetts bill alone, would have excited little comment. But the Massachusetts general court noted and resented the discrimination. When Neale was informed of the disallowance he begged the governors of the post-office to prepare a bill which they would regard as free from objections, and to lend their efforts to have it accepted by Massachusetts.¹⁶ A bill was drawn up and Lord Bellomont, the governor of New England, was instructed to invite the favorable consideration of the Massachusetts legislature to it.¹⁷ The bill was laid before the general court on June 3, 1699, and it was ordered to be transcribed and read.¹⁸ Five days later, it came up for consideration, but it was resolved that the committee on the bill should "sit this afternoon",¹⁹ and it appeared in the assembly no more. The rejection of the bill, however, was of little or no practical consequence. The post-office was too great a convenience to be refused, and so it was established and conducted as if the bill were in operation, except that it had no monopoly in that colony. But the legislature, which was evidently desirous of extending in its own way all reasonable aid to Hamilton, passed an order in 1703²⁰ requiring shipmasters to deliver all letters they brought with them from over sea, at the post-office of the place of their arrival, for which they were to receive a half-penny each from

¹⁵ *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 2234.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 1696-1697, no. 505.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1286.

¹⁸ *Prov. Laws of Mass.*, I. 263.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 420.

²⁰ *Coll., Mass. Hist. Soc.*, third series, VII. 64.

the postmaster. Massachusetts equally with the other colonies made an annual grant to the post-office for the conveyance of its public letters.

The narrative so far deals only with the northern colonies, but the proposition for a post-office was submitted to Virginia and Maryland as well. These colonies were approached directly by the English court, and they were without the advantage of the draft bill which was laid before the legislatures of the other colonies and of Hamilton's advocacy. In the minutes of council of both governments²¹ it is recorded that the proposition was presented to them by the queen. This fact will account for the way it was treated in these colonies. When the scheme was submitted to the house of delegates of Maryland on May 13, 1695,²² it was set aside and nothing more was heard of it.

Virginia gave the proposition from the queen attentive consideration, though the ultimate results were no greater than had been obtained in Maryland. There had been since 1658 an arrangement for the transmission of letters concerning the public affairs of the colony.²³ An order was issued that year by the council that all letters superscribed for the public service should be conveyed from plantation to plantation to the place and person named, and the penalty for delaying any such letter was fixed at a hogshead of tobacco. No arrangements of a systematic nature were made for the conveyance of private letters. When advice of the patent for a post-office reached Virginia, the colony showed immediate interest. The council, on January 12, 1693, appointed Peter Heyman deputy postmaster,²⁴ and proceeded to draw up a post-office act. This act, which became law on April 3, 1693,²⁵ authorized Neale to establish a postal system in the colony at his own expense. He was to set up a general post-office at some convenient place and settle one or more sub-post-offices in each county. As letters were posted in the colony or reached it from abroad, they were to be forthwith dispersed, carried, and delivered in accordance with the directions they bore, and all letters for England were to be despatched by the first ship bound for any part of that country. The rates of postage were to be threepence a single letter within a radius of eighty miles, four

²¹ Minutes of council, Virginia, January 12, 1693, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 21; minutes of council, Maryland, September 24, 1694, *ibid.*, no. 1339.

²² Minutes of council, Maryland, *ibid.*, no. 1816.

²³ Henning's *Statutes at Large*, I. 436.

²⁴ Minutes of council, Virginia, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, no. 20.

²⁵ Henning's *Statutes at Large*, III. 112; *Journals of the House of Burgesses*, 1659/60-1693, pp. 444-446.

pence half-penny outside the eighty-mile radius, and eighteen pence for each ounce weight. Public letters were to be carried free. No provision was made for postage on letters addressed to places beyond the limits of the colony, and it was expressly stipulated that the act did not confer a monopoly on Neale.

There is an engaging simplicity in the extent of the colony's requirements as compared with the limited character of its concessions. Neale at his own cost was to establish a postal system, comprising a general post-office at a place agreed upon and sub-offices to the number desired in each county. Couriers were to be available to take letters anywhere within the colony—without postage if on public business, at rates fixed by the colony if they were private letters—but no person need employ the post-office should other more convenient or cheaper mode of conveyance be available.

This act seems to have been adopted by the legislature before it was made aware of Hamilton's connection with the American post-office. When the council of Virginia were advised of Hamilton's appointment they opened communication with him. The notes of the correspondence as they appear in the minutes of council²⁶ do not give much information, but they show that Hamilton's proposition as submitted was not found to be acceptable, and as subsequent correspondence failed to remove the difficulties, matters remained as they were until Neale's patent expired. In 1710 the subject was reopened and the governor reported to the Board of Trade that he had been expecting a visit from Mr. Hamilton for the last two months, for the purpose of opening a post-office and connecting it with the other colonies. He foresaw a difficulty owing to the lack of a suitable currency, tobacco, which was the only specie, being, in the governor's words, "very incommodious to receive small payments in and of very uncertain value".²⁷

The line of posts established by Hamilton extended from Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to Philadelphia, and mails were carried over it weekly each way.²⁸ The postage collected throughout British North America during the four years from 1693 to 1697 was £1456-18-3, an average of considerably less than £400 a year. The expenses during those years amounted to £3817-6-11.²⁹ The deficit fell upon Neale. But the business augmented rapidly, so that by the end of the sixth year, the revenue covered all the expenses

²⁶ Minutes of council, Virginia, May 25, November 10, 1693, October 19, 25, 1694, May 3, July 25, 1695, *Cal. St. P. Col., Am. and W. I.*, 1693-1696, nos. 371, 671, 1430, 1454, 1804, 1975.

²⁷ *Spotswood Letters* (published by Virginia Hist. Soc.), I. 22.

²⁸ Minutes of council, New Hampshire (*N. H. Provincial Papers*, 1686-1722, p. 100).

²⁹ Treasury, II. 256 (G. P. O. Record Room).

except Hamilton's salary.³⁰ In 1699 Hamilton went to England and joined Neale in an appeal to the Treasury.³¹ They made a particular point of the necessity of securing a complete monopoly of the over-seas conveyance, and of increasing the postage charges. The postmasters-general were favorable to the former proposition, but were of opinion that it would be well to weigh carefully before adopting the proposal to increase the rates.³² In the course of the discussion, an idea was thrown out by the postmasters-general which was eagerly grasped at by Neale and Hamilton. It was that there was much reason to doubt whether a post-office in the colonies in private hands could ever succeed as it would require all the authority of the sovereign to induce the colonial governments to acquiesce in the monopoly, which was the indispensable condition to success. Neale at once offered to surrender his patent to the government upon equitable terms.³³ After some delay the government resumed the patent, and carried on the post-office in the colonies under the terms of the patent.³⁴ Its fortunes were no better under the change of management. In 1709 there was a deficit of £200 and much discontent arose among the postmasters, as Queen Anne would not allow her losses to be augmented by paying their salaries.³⁵

In 1711 an act was passed by the British Parliament which affected profoundly not only the post-office of Great Britain but that of the colonies as well.³⁶ Owing to a variety of causes the act of Charles II., under which the post-office was operated, had become insufficient. The new act was comprehensive in its scope, embracing for the first time the postal arrangements of the colonies. The whole system throughout the empire was placed under the direction of the postmaster-general of England, who appointed his deputies for the different colonies. The act swept away the several head offices in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, and replaced them by one principal office at New York,³⁷ to which all the others were to be subordinate. The charges for the conveyance of letters were no longer a matter of negotiation between the postal authorities and the local legislatures but were fixed by this act of the British Parliament. As one of the purposes of the act of 1711 was to raise money to help defray the expenses of the War of the

³⁰ *Cal. Treasury Papers*, 1697-1702, p. 289.

³¹ *Treasury*, II. 253 (G. P. O. Record Room).

³² *Ibid.*, p. 256.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

³⁴ *Treasury*, VI. 205 (G. P. O. Record Room). John Hamilton was appointed deputy postmaster-general by the crown in 1707.

³⁵ *Coll.*, Mass. Hist. Soc., third series, VII. 69.

³⁶ *Statutes of United Kingdom*, 9 Anne, ch. 10.

³⁷ New York did not become the centre of the postal system until a reconstruction of the department was made in 1772.

Spanish Succession, there was a general augmentation of the rates. Thus the charge on a letter from New York to Philadelphia was raised from four and one-half pence to nine pence; that on a letter from Boston to Philadelphia from fifteen pence to twenty-one pence. These charges were for single letters weighing less than one ounce. If a letter weighed over one ounce, the charges were fourfold those given.

The act also greatly enhanced the charges on letters passing over-seas. In place of the penny or twopence which Americans had been accustomed to pay the captains of vessels bringing to them the letters which their correspondents had deposited in the bags in the London coffee-houses, the post-office now exacted a shilling for a letter consisting of a single sheet weighing less than an ounce, and four shillings if it weighed as much as an ounce. The captains were also impressed with the necessity of co-operating with the post-office, by a heavy fine for any captain's failure to hand to the postmaster nearest his port of arrival all letters in his charge.

It is somewhat strange, and is perhaps evidence of a disposition on the part of Americans to accept the view enunciated later by Franklin that postal charges were not taxes, that only one colony made a remonstrance against this great increase in the postage. Virginia not only refused to pay the increased rates but countered effectively on the attempts of the post-office to enforce the statute. There was no postal system in this colony at the time this act came into operation. Nor did there seem to be any necessity for one. In 1699 Hamilton reported on the proposition to extend the colonial system southward to Virginia.³⁸ He gave it as his opinion that the desire for communication between the northern colonies and Virginia and Maryland was so slight that there would be scarcely one hundred letters a year exchanged; while the cost of the service would be £500 a year. Practically all the correspondence of these southern colonies was with Great Britain and Europe. In the autumn of 1717 the time was thought ripe for the inclusion of the two southern colonies in the colonial postal system. Postmasters were appointed in each colony, couriers conveyed the mails into several of the more populous counties, and a fortnightly exchange was arranged between Williamsburg and Philadelphia. This was satisfactory until the people learned what the charges were and what the monopoly of the post-office meant. Then there was a vigorous clamor of protest.³⁹ Parliament, they declared, could levy no tax

³⁸ Treasury, II. 253 (G. P. O. Record Room).

³⁹ Governor Spotswood to the Board of Trade, June 24, 1718. *Va. Hist. Coll.*, new series, II. 280.

upon them but with the assent of their assembly; and, besides, they maintained that their letters were exempt from the monopoly of the postmaster-general, because they nearly all, in one way or other, related to trade. This was putting an unwarrantably broad interpretation on an exemption, which appears in all post-office acts, in favor of letters relating to goods which the letters accompany on the vessels. It has always been the practice to allow shipmasters, carrying a consignment of goods, to deliver the invoice to the consignee with the goods, in order that the transaction might be completed with convenience. But the scope of the exemption is clearly defined and has never been allowed to include ordinary business letters not accompanying merchandise.

The Virginians however did not leave their case to the uncertain chances of a legal or constitutional argument. They set about nullifying the post-office act by an effective counter measure. The legislature brought in a bill which, while acknowledging the authority of the post-office act, imposed on postmasters certain conditions which it was impossible to fulfill and attached extravagant penalties for the infraction of those conditions. The postmasters were to be fined five pounds for every letter which they demanded from a shipmaster and which the statute exempted from the postmaster-general's exclusive privilege. Now every ship's letter-bag would certainly contain many letters relating to goods on board the ship, as well as many which had nothing to do with goods. But how was the postmaster to distinguish the letters he might rightfully claim for the post-office from those which came within the exemption? With a penalty of five pounds hovering over him for every mistake in judgment his position would be unenviable. Another clause in the bill contained a schedule so exacting that observance of it would have been impossible. In case of failure, which would frequently have been unavoidable, the bill provided a fine of twenty shillings for every letter delayed.⁴⁰ The bill was disallowed by the governor but the legislature achieved its purpose, as the deputy postmaster-general relinquished his attempt to establish a post-office in the colony. It was not until 1732, when the governor, Alexander Spotswood, became deputy postmaster-general, that Virginia was included in the American postal system.

With the exception of this episode, the period of forty years succeeding the act of 1711 produced little that is noteworthy. In 1721 a change was made in the relations between the postmaster-general and the post-office in America, in virtue of which the former

⁴⁰ *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, May, 1718, *passim*.

was relieved of all expense for the maintenance of the American service. On the withdrawal of the deputy postmaster-general, John Hamilton, who was a son of the founder of the American post-office, there were arrears of salary due him amounting to £355. In recommending Hamilton's claim for this amount to the Treasury, the postmaster-general stated that the post-office in America had been put on such a footing that if it produced no profit it would no longer be a charge on the revenue.⁴¹

The line of undistinguished administrators of the post-office in America came to an end in 1753 when Benjamin Franklin was made deputy postmaster-general jointly with William Hunter of Virginia. Besides being a man of pre-eminent practical ability, Franklin had had a large experience in post-office affairs.⁴² He had been postmaster of Philadelphia for sixteen years before his appointment to the deputyship; and for some time before had acted as controller for the whole postal service. The post-office at this time offered a fine field for Franklin's administrative ability. The service had been steadily declining for some years. It took six weeks to make the trip from Philadelphia to Boston and back, and during the three winter months the trips were made but once a fortnight. Franklin and his associate made the service weekly throughout the year, and had the time reduced by one-half.⁴³ There were a number of other improvements introduced. For a time the financial results offered little encouragement. In 1757, when the outlay reached its highest point and the public response to these efforts to accommodate them was still feeble, the post-office was over £900 in debt to the deputy postmasters-general. But the public did not remain unappreciative. Three years later this debt was wiped out and replaced by a surplus of £278. In 1764 the surplus reached £494, and this sum was transmitted to the general post-office in London. The receipt of this first remittance gave great satisfaction to the postmaster-general. For a generation past the post-office in America had been nearly forgotten. It had cost the Treasury nothing since 1721, and it had been allowed to plod along unregarded. Opposite the entry of the receipt in the Treasury Book are the words, "This is the first remittance ever made of its kind."⁴⁴ Thereafter the remittance from the North American post-

⁴¹ August 10, 1722. Treasury, VI. 206-207 (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁴² Franklin was appointed postmaster of Philadelphia in 1737, and deputy postmaster-general in succession to Colonel Spotswood. He was but little in America during his incumbency as deputy postmaster-general. He resided in London as agent for his province from June, 1757, until November, 1762, and from November, 1764, until his dismissal.

⁴³ "The Ledger-Book of Benjamin Franklin", in the Boston Public Library.

⁴⁴ Treasury Letter-Book, 1760-1761, p. 96 (G. P. O. Record Room).

office became an annual occurrence. In his *Autobiography* Franklin observes with pride that at the time of his dismissal the American office yielded a revenue three times that from Ireland.⁴⁵

Franklin's success, judged by reference either to the immediate past of the American service or to the contemporary British service, was remarkable. He showed an early grasp of the truth that monopoly alone does not assure prosperity, and that in order to gain business it was essential to make his service attractive to the public. For the first three years of his administration, the total revenue was £938-16-10; the revenue for 1757 alone was £1151, and this was about the normal revenue for some time. His method was the old simple one, familiar to all men of business. As already stated, he found on entering on his office that it took six weeks for a letter and its answer to pass between Boston and Philadelphia. He at once reduced this time by one-half. But this was not enough. At the beginning of 1764 the post-riders between New York and Philadelphia made three trips each way weekly, and at such a rate of speed that a letter could be sent from one place to the other and the answer received the day following.⁴⁶ In reporting this achievement Franklin stated that the mails travelled by night as well as by day, which had never before been done in America. He planned to have trips of equal speed made between New York and Boston in the spring of that year, and the time for letter and reply between the two places reduced from a fortnight to four days. When his arrangements were completed a letter and reply might pass between Boston and Philadelphia in six days.

It was during this period that the agitation which had been going on upon both sides of the Atlantic for regular packets devoted exclusively to the conveyance of mails was crowned with success. As the troubles which culminated in the Seven Years' War were approaching a head, an appeal was made to the British government by Governors Shirley of Massachusetts, De Lancey of New York, Dinwiddie of Virginia, and Lawrence of Nova Scotia, for a more regular means of communication between the mother-country and the colonies, so that help might be obtained, if required.⁴⁷ The appeal was vigorously supported by the Board of Trade, but the Treasury could not be induced to undertake the expenditure until their eyes were opened by the defeat of Braddock at Fort du Quesne. They were then quite in a mood to approve of a further

⁴⁵ *Works of Benjamin Franklin* (Federal ed.), I. 256.

⁴⁶ Franklin to Todd, January 16, 1764. Smyth, *Life and Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, IV. 215.

⁴⁷ Public Record Office, C. O. 5.

representation of the Board of Trade made on September 18, 1755,⁴⁸ and the postmaster-general was directed that a line of packet-boats should make monthly trips between Falmouth and New York. The vessels employed were of two hundred tons burden, and carried thirty men. The conveyance of merchandise was forbidden. The service was a most expensive one and, when peace was concluded in 1762, the question of its continuance was at once discussed. During the seven years of its course, the New York service cost £62,603, while its revenue in postage was only £12,458. The service was popular, however, and as the efforts of the postmaster-general to lower the cost had been successful and hopes were entertained that the service would be self-sustaining before very long, the Treasury sanctioned the amended terms.⁴⁹

So far as its connections extended, this service was very satisfactory. All the services on the land routes north of Virginia were made subsidiary to the transatlantic service, and all the northern colonies had fairly close communication with the mother-country. But the southern colonies derived little or no benefit from the packets. To remedy this state of things an entire rearrangement of the southern service was made in 1764.⁵⁰ These colonies were withdrawn from the northern service altogether and with the Bahama Islands were erected into a distinct postal division with headquarters at Charleston. The packets from Falmouth, after calling at the West Indies, extended their voyages to Pensacola, Fort St. Augustine, and Charleston, before returning home. As this was found to be too long a route, it was resolved to break up the connection between the mainland and the West Indies, and to have separate monthly packets between Falmouth and Charleston. To secure the greatest measure of advantage from this service a courier was despatched to Savannah and St. Augustine with the mails as soon as they arrived at Charleston from England.

There were thus at the end of British rule in the American colonies three lines of sailing packets carrying mails between England and those colonies—one to New York, another to Charleston, and the third to the West Indies. There was still however a defect in the arrangements. They failed to provide connections between

⁴⁸ Public Record Office, C. O. Bundle 7.

⁴⁹ Treasury, vol. VIII. (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁵⁰ The first deputy postmaster-general for the southern division was Benjamin Barons, who was appointed December 19, 1764. Orders of the Board, II. 126 (G. P. O. Record Room). He resigned on August 26, 1766, and was succeeded by Peter Delancy. The latter was killed in a duel with Dr. John Hale, in August, 1771, and George Roupel was appointed in his stead. The last-named retained office until displaced at the Revolution. Orders of the Board, 1737-1770, II. 211 b.

the several colonial systems except through the mother-country. A letter from New York to Charleston or to the West Indies had to go to London on its way to its destination. To connect the two systems in the mainland, a courier travelled from Charleston to Suffolk, Virginia, where he met the courier from New York. The gap between the West Indian and continental services was filled by small forty-five ton vessels running from Jamaica to Pensacola, and Charleston.⁵¹

A complete survey of the postal service of the colonies in 1774 can be extracted from the *Journal*⁵² of the trip of inspection made by Hugh Finlay in that year. Finlay, who had been postmaster of Quebec since 1763, had just been promoted to the general surveyorship of the northern district. He travelled from Falmouth (now Portland) in the north, to Savannah in the south, inspected all the post-offices, and received communications of all kinds in the course of his journey. From this *Journal* it appears that there was only one route, in the country—that between New York and Philadelphia—over which mails were carried as frequently as three times a week. From New York northward to Boston, and thence to Portland, the courier travelled twice weekly each way. Southward from Philadelphia to Suffolk, North Carolina, there was a weekly courier.

In passing from this northern district, which covered the full extent of Franklin's jurisdiction, to the southern district, which was under the control of another deputy postmaster-general, one is struck with the enormous difference between them. Although the service throughout the northern district in no way corresponds with what the greatly improved facilities make possible and even necessary to-day, it still afforded a basis on which improvements would naturally be made. This could not be said of the service in the south. From Suffolk to Charleston, there was a post-road four hundred and thirty-three miles in length. The couriers visited, on the way, the post-towns of Edenton, Bath, New Bern, Wilmington, Brunswick, and Georgetown. They left each end of the route once a fortnight, and took forty-three days to make the through journey. Of these forty-three days, twenty-seven were occupied in travel, while during the remaining sixteen the mails lay at connecting points on the route. The district south of Charleston as far as Savannah and St. Augustine had regular mails only once a month, the courier leaving Charleston on the arrival of the packet from England.

⁵¹ Treasury, vol. II. (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁵² *Journal kept by Hugh Finlay, Surveyor of the Post Roads on the Continent of North America, 1773-1774* (published by Frank H. Norton, Brooklyn, 1867).

While Finlay was in the south changes were taking place affecting not only his personal fortunes but the whole colonial postal system. Before he reached New York on his return, Franklin had been dismissed for his connection with the disclosure of the Hutchinson correspondence and Finlay had been appointed to succeed him.⁵³ Franklin was thus set free to place his ability and experience at the service of the colonials in the organization of their postal system. And steps were already being taken towards the establishment of such a system. In March, 1774, the committee of correspondence in Boston wrote to the committee in Salem suggesting that independent postal arrangements be set up, and introducing William Goddard as a suitable man for such an undertaking.⁵⁴ Goddard was the son of the postmaster of New London, and had himself been postmaster of Providence for a period of two years. His mission to Salem was successful, as the committee of that place, replying a few days later to the committee in Boston, declared that the act of the British Parliament establishing a post-office in America was dangerous in principle and demanded peremptory opposition. Goddard had a plan for an independent American post-office⁵⁵ which with the encouragement he received at Boston and Salem, he laid before the committees of correspondence in all the colonies. His proposition was that the colonial post-office should be established and maintained by subscription and that its control should be vested in a committee to be appointed annually by the subscribers. The committee should appoint postmasters and post-riders and fix the rates of postage. The immediate management was to be under the direction of a postmaster-general to be selected by ballot, who should hold his office by a yearly tenure.

But Goddard was not permitted to bring his plan into execution. In September, 1774, the delegates of the colonies assembled in congress at Philadelphia, and by degrees took upon themselves all the functions of government. The question of providing for the speedy and secure conveyance of intelligence was submitted to the congress on May 29 following,⁵⁶ and a committee, of which Franklin was the leading member, was directed to make a report. On July 26,⁵⁷ with the report of the committee before it, the congress resolved to appoint a postmaster-general for the united colonies, whose headquarters should be at Philadelphia, and who was em-

⁵³ Orders of the Board, January 31, 1774.

⁵⁴ March 21, 1774. Pickering Papers, manuscript, in possession of the Mass. Hist. Soc., XXXIX. 38.

⁵⁵ April 4 or 20, 1774. *Ibid.*, XXXIII. 75, 86.

⁵⁶ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, II. 71.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 208-209.

powered to appoint a secretary and as many postmasters as he considered proper. A line of posts should be established from Falmouth (Portland) to Savannah, with as many cross-posts as the postmaster-general thought desirable.

Goddard was a candidate for the position of postmaster-general, but Franklin was chosen. He then sought the secretaryship but disappointment again awaited him. Franklin selected his son-in-law, Bache, for the place. In recognition however of his services in organizing the colonial post-office, he was appointed surveyor of the posts.⁵⁸

Congress, after establishing the colonial post-office, debated the question of suppressing the existing or imperial postal system.⁵⁹ Much was said on both sides, but the question was settling itself more effectually in another fashion. As early as March, 1775, the postmaster-general in London notified his deputies in America that all that was to be expected of them was that they should act with discretion to the best of their judgment.⁶⁰ He ceased to give positive directions. Finlay, who at some personal risk had managed to get to New York, reported that the post-office was doing but little business as the rebels were opening and rifling the mails and were notifying the public that it was unconstitutional to make use of the king's post-office. Finlay foresaw that the post-office could not long continue, and he proposed that the work of distributing the mails should be done on one of the war vessels in New York harbor.⁶¹ At last, on Christmas Day, 1775, the post-office at New York gave notice⁶² that on account of the interruptions to the postal service in several parts of the country, the inland service would cease from that date, and thus was closed the royal post-office in the colonies.

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⁵⁸ *Am. Archives*, fourth series, VI. 1012.

⁵⁹ *Journals of the Continental Congress*, III. 488.

⁶⁰ *American Letter-Book*, 1773-1783, p. 62 (G. P. O. Record Room).

⁶¹ *Public Record Office*, C. O. 5: 135.

⁶² *Am. Arch.*, fourth series, IV. 453.

AMERICAN COTTON TRADE WITH LIVERPOOL UNDER THE EMBARGO AND NON-INTERCOURSE ACTS

It is generally recognized that the production of cotton in the United States and its manufacture in Lancashire present one of the classic examples of international specialism. At the beginning of the last decade of the eighteenth century both industries were in their infancy. The amount produced in the United States in 1790 is estimated at the comparatively small figure of 1,500,000 pounds.¹ In the following year the imports into Liverpool amounted only to sixty-four bags.² At this time the "mule" was still regarded as a "great and extraordinary" discovery, and was only just beginning to be introduced into Manchester.³ The cotton used for spinning by the recently invented machinery was obtained from the West India Islands, from South America, and from the French island of Bourbon, that from the latter place being the premier cotton for fine yarns, and commanding the highest price in the Liverpool market.⁴ As early as 1795 however American "Georgia" had gained a prominent place among the purchases of a Manchester spinning firm, from whose records the information contained in this article is mainly derived, but, apparently, the resultant product was not wholly satisfactory, as complaints were not infrequent of the yarn spun from the "yellow wool". A Glasgow agent may have summed up the chief objection when, in 1796, he stated that it was new to the manufacturers and consequently they were not fond of it. Three years later however complaint was still made that although "Georgia" produced a stronger yarn than "Bourbon", when spun into numbers over 120^s it was fit only for weft. Notwithstanding the objections, by the beginning of the nineteenth century other growths rarely appeared among the purchases of the firm.⁵

The usual method by which the Manchester cotton spinner obtained his raw cotton at this time was by purchase from a Manchester cotton dealer who sold on long credit. Under this system, the spinner had but a secondary interest in the Liverpool market, but it was customary to receive from a broker weekly letters which

¹ Bogart, *Economic History of the United States*, p. 117.

² Smithers, *Liverpool: its Commerce, Statistics and Institutions*, p. 147.

³ *Autobiography of Robert Owen*, p. 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁵ An account of this firm and its business relationships is given in the *Economic Journal*, June, 1915. See also *Autobiography of Robert Owen*, p. 23, and Smiles, *Industrial Biography*, pp. 381-388.

contained information relating to imports, prices, purchases, etc. These brokers, or commission agents as they are better termed, occupied an important place in regard to Liverpool transactions. Cotton was only one of numerous imported articles concerning which they kept their clients informed; they also received goods, arranged for shipments, and effected insurances. Moreover, the system was not peculiar to Liverpool; it obtained on the Continent and in America. The agents formed the commercial links and the intelligence department of the economic system. By means of their periodic reports buyers and sellers received information of the various markets in which they were interested, and, by availing themselves of the services of the agents, could safely effect transactions in them without the necessity of having a full-time representative on the spot. When a Charleston or Savannah commission agent informed prospective clients by a circular of his knowledge of his market, and expressed his readiness to purchase and ship cotton or other staple products and to sell goods which might be consigned to him, he summed up the function of a great body of men situated in all parts of the commercial world. The periodic reports of these agents contain much interesting information concerning the conditions of the time, but, unfortunately, the above-mentioned firm did not begin to receive them from a Charleston agent until January, 1807. At the end of this year the strained relations of the United States and Great Britain developed into the breach which was not repaired until December, 1814, when the treaty of Ghent was signed. During this period the correspondence was intermittent, ceasing altogether during 1808 and again before the declaration of war in 1812, but from the Charleston reports, supplemented by others received from a Savannah agent, along with those of Liverpool brokers, it is possible to get a fairly consecutive account of the state of the cotton market on both sides of the Atlantic during the period of trade restriction.

The causes of the trouble are well known and require no explanation. It is sufficient to say that the French Decrees and the British Orders in Council had imposed serious restrictions and losses upon neutral powers, which, owing to the position occupied by the United States, fell heaviest upon them and called forth retaliation. The measures adopted for this purpose were as follows:⁶

December 22, 1807. Embargo Act by which the United States ports were closed to foreign commerce.

⁶ Committee on Orders in Council, *Reports*, 1812, p. 258; *Cambridge Modern History*, VII.

March 4, 1808. Embargo removed and a Non-Intercourse Act substituted by which trade with France, Great Britain, their colonies and dependencies was prohibited.

April 19, 1809. Erskine treaty by which trade with Great Britain was reopened.

August 10, 1809. Non-intercourse with Great Britain consequent upon the non-ratification of the Erskine treaty by the British government.

May 1, 1810. Non-Intercourse Act repealed but a power vested in the President to renew it against the belligerent which refused to rescind its restrictive measures after revocation by the other.

February 2, 1811. Non-Importation Act by which the entry of British goods was prohibited.

April 4, 1812. Embargo reimposed.

June 19, 1812. War declared with Great Britain.

A glance at these measures will show that they differed in stringency. Obviously the most stringent was the Embargo Act which was superseded by the Non-Intercourse Act. This measure would appear to be sufficiently severe, but, judging from the imports of cotton into Liverpool during its operation, it does not seem to have been very effective. Much more effective, apparently, was the Non-Importation Act which followed upon the brief open-trade period in 1810, but at this time circumstances had developed, which will be noticed later, that supplemented its operation. The imports of United States cotton into Liverpool from 1806 to 1814 are given in the following table:⁷

	Bags.		Bags.
1806	500,273	1811	97,626
1807	43,756	1812	79,528
1808	25,426	1813	18,640
1809	30,581	1814	40,448
1810	99,220		

From these figures it is apparent that the imports in 1807 were very large compared with the previous year, and it is also clear that advantage was taken of the diminished restrictions in 1809 and 1810 to import on a large scale. These facts are of some significance in relation to the trend of prices in the Liverpool market during the restriction period. Some mention will be made of this later but this article is mainly concerned with the state of affairs in the American market.

⁷ Smithers, *Liverpool*, p. 147. The figures given by Smithers correspond with the annual statement of imports sent by Liverpool brokers to their clients. They were obtained from the Custom House.

Throughout 1807 the Charleston agent forwarded regular reports to the Manchester firm and in this year it does not appear that hindrances to trade in cotton were much experienced. It was not until December that mention was made of gloomy times ahead.⁸ One or two interesting items of information appear in the reports, which may be noticed, regarding local influences which affected the Charleston market. In March cotton was not very plentiful in the market and prices were expected to rise. The lack was not due to an actual scarcity but to the badness of the roads, which at the time were impassable. In November a reduction of price was anticipated but not until some quantity of the new crop came down, which would not take place until much rain had fallen, as the rivers were too low for the boats to get along. In considering the prospect of crops, caterpillars and hurricanes seem to have presented almost as much difficulty as the rainfall. In almost every report, mention was made of the decreased quantity of Sea Island cotton which was likely to come to market in the future. The reason was that many of the Sea Island planters had ceased planting the black seed and were concentrating on the green seed. Taking Charleston and Savannah together, it was estimated that one-half of the planters had adopted this course, which was expected to reduce the crop by one-third or even one-half. The explanation of the change was that the upland variety produced nearly as much again, was more hardy, could be prepared in half the time—as a saw-gin was used—and always commanded a ready sale. Two years later it appears that the movement was still taking place, and in the opinion of the Charleston agent, judging from the following passage, the effects were likely to be permanent:

A large proportion of the low-country planters are going on Bowed, in fact, almost all those who were in the habit of raising the coarse quality of Sea Island. We think this will be extended every year, and in the end, will give us three distinct species of cotton, particularly, as those who now plant Sea Island are taking more pains in changing the seed annually, which makes the cotton finer, and are giving more time and pains in cleaning. We shall then have as the first quality, the prime Sea Island, as the second, the Bowed grown on the sea-coast, in prime order, and lots of one growth, and improved in staple, and as the last, the common run of upper-country cotton which has been generally shipped under the name of Upland.

During 1808, as already mentioned, no reports were received from the agent; in fact, he spent a portion of the year visiting his clients

⁸ It will be remembered of course that the most vigorous British Order in Council and the Milan Decree, as well as the American embargo, were all imposed during the last two months of this year.

in England. From the table given above, it appears however that considerable exports to Liverpool must have been made notwithstanding the embargo. Probably much of the amount can be accounted for by cotton despatched before the measure was imposed not arriving at Liverpool until the early part of the following year. It was customary for the Liverpool broker to state the arrivals in his weekly reports, and while it is true that vessels from America are mentioned until the end of June, after the first few weeks of the year the amounts are small, and after the date mentioned they cease altogether until the beginning of 1809.

Writing at the beginning of January of that year, the Charleston agent expresses great disappointment that the embargo had not been raised at the meeting of Congress in November. During the summer the result had been anticipated and as a consequence prices had not fallen as low as might have been expected. So strong was the belief, that before Congress met a considerable increase had taken place, which was followed by a corresponding fall on receipt of the President's message, "while every article of importation rose beyond calculation". Whatever stringency the embargo had previously caused, it is apparent that at this time it was rapidly disappearing. In his letter the agent states that vessels were breaking the law every week, many having forfeited their bonds and sailed for Liverpool at the end of December and the beginning of January. The record of arrivals by the Liverpool broker corroborates the statement. From January a steady arrival of ships is reported until June, when it became a rush. In letters dated June 16 and 23 arrivals to the extent of 28,227 bags are mentioned: an amount far in excess of the number reported during the whole of the previous year. The rush is explained of course by the Erskine treaty, which was supposed to come into operation on June 10. During the existence of the embargo, large stocks had been bought on speculation in the Charleston market, and although so much had been despatched, the agent reported that the quantity was far less than it would have been had not heavy freight checked shipments. During the next two months this difficulty was removed but the market remained stagnant. Those who had bought at low prices awaited information regarding the state of the Liverpool market. By the end of July news had been received of the non-ratification of the Erskine treaty, and in August the Non-Intercourse Act came into operation. At this time the position in the Charleston market was that much cotton remained on hand from the two previous crops, the forthcoming crop was expected to be exceptionally good, and prices were

anticipated below what had obtained during the period of the embargo.

Under these circumstances, coupled with the fact that news had arrived from Liverpool concerning the recovery of prices which took place when it was known that the Erskine treaty would not be ratified, it is not surprising to learn that strenuous efforts began to be made to ship cotton by indirect routes. The Charleston agent had no doubt that shipments would be made via Amelia Island, Lisbon, Cadiz, Fayal, etc., where British vessels would be met as well as many Americans sailing under Spanish colors. From later correspondence it is evident that his opinion was justified, and also his view that some individuals "who had no character to lose" would ship direct. All the other routes taken together do not seem to have attained the importance of that via Amelia Island. Immediately after the imposition of the Non-Intercourse Act, a representative of the agent was stationed at this place and difficulty in making shipments does not seem to have been very great. The greatest was the lack of ships and consequent heavy freight, and, of course, several extra charges had to be met. Freight from Charleston to Amelia cost one cent per pound, insurance one and a half per cent., agent's commission one per cent., and on the island a duty of one dollar and a half had to be paid.⁹ The most frequent freight from Charleston to Liverpool in 1807 was $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per pound, from Amelia to Liverpool it rarely seems to have been lower than $3d.$, and in December, 1809, $4d.$ is recorded. Early in the next year the agent reported that great difficulty was being experienced in securing any transport at all, as the majority of the ships which arrived came with specific orders. The following table gives some details regarding the Charleston market in 1807 and 1809. The 1809 prices, it will be noticed, reflect the conditions indicated. At the beginning of the year the embargo prices are revealed. Then we see the effect of the Erskine treaty, causing a rise sufficient to induce holders to unload some of their stocks. The rise is checked as the Non-Intercourse Act comes into operation but a recovery takes place as indirect trade develops. The prices compare rather badly with those for 1807 but, at any rate, the indirect trade helped to avert the result anticipated, that a lower level would be reached than obtained under the embargo:

⁹ The commission charged by Charleston and Savannah agents for purchasing cotton was five per cent. A detailed account of a shipment from Charleston is given in the article in the *Economic Journal*.

	Upland, Price per Lb.		Sea Island, Price per Lb. ¹⁰		Charleston to Liverpool, Freight per Lb.		Exchange on London	
	1807	1809	1807	1809	1807	1809	1807	1809
January.....	<i>Cents</i> 19	<i>Cents</i> 11 to 12	<i>Cents</i> 42	<i>Cents</i> 20 to 24	<i>Pence</i> 1½	<i>Pence</i>	2½% under par	9% to 10% over par
February.....	.....	12-12½	.....	20-25	.....	.....	.....	.....
March.....	19	.....	38	.....	1½	.....	par	.....
April.....	20	.....	42	.....	1½	.....	par	.....
May.....	18½	14	44	30	2¼	3 to 3½	par	2½% over par
June.....	20	14-14½	42	30	2¼	1¾	par	.....
July.....	.....	13-14	.....	26-28	.....	1½	.....	2½%-3% over par
August.....	.....	12½	.....	25-27	.....	2-2½	.....	5% over par
September.....	.....	12	.....	22-25	.....	.....	.....	3%-5% over par
October.....	.....	12	.....	23-26	.....	.....	.....	2½%-4% over par
November....	18	13	34	25-26	1½	.....	2½% over par	2½%-4% over par
December....	18½	13	34	27-28	1½	.....	par	par

On May 1, 1810, the Non-Intercourse Act was repealed and open trade with Great Britain obtained until the act prohibiting the importation of British goods came into operation on February 2, 1811. Notwithstanding the statement of the Charleston agent regarding the difficulty of procuring freight at the beginning of 1810, the reports of the Liverpool broker show continuous arrivals of cotton, not only by indirect routes but also direct from the United States. From the commencement of the year to the beginning of June, over 40,000 bags were reported. Afterwards, direct vessels began to arrive regularly, bringing large supplies, which continued into the first few months of the next year, and then gradually declined as the effects of the Non-Importation Act were experienced. Before this act came into force, President Madison it will be remembered, served three months' notice on the British government, threatening restrictive measures if the Orders in Council were not repealed. In view of this fact, the statements that at the end of December, 1810, the Charleston and Savannah ports were crowded with shipping, that freight had risen to 2½*d.* per pound, and that cotton was being pushed off as rapidly as possible, require no explanation. Upland cotton at this time was selling at 15½ to 16 cents, and Sea Island at 28 to 32 cents per pound, with the exchanges at five per cent. below par.

During 1810 the state of the exchanges had become a great source of grievance to the Charleston agent, and in December, the

¹⁰ In 1807 the prices of Sea Island were given in pence. They have been changed into cents by allowing two for each penny.

situation had so developed that he could not see the least prospect of amendment "owing to the very great scarcity of money in New York and Philadelphia", which he considered was due mainly to the refusal to renew the charter of the Bank of the United States. During the next year his opinion regarding the prospect of amendment was more than justified, though his explanation may not be sufficiently comprehensive. The position in March, 1811, is described in a letter from a Savannah agent. After lamenting that the Bank charter had been allowed to expire he proceeds:

We are allowed to export to Great Britain our own Produce in our own Ships, but that if either her Ships, Produce, or Manufactures are found within our waters they are subject to confiscation; this is a situation which I believe no other country was ever placed in, to be allowed to send all Produce to a place where nothing could be received in return. Bills on England have in consequence of these and other circumstances become unsaleable, or when sold it is at a very considerable Discount from the par of Exchange, in some instances, 10 to 12 per cent. Business, of course, is almost entirely at a stand, there are few Purchasers in the market and Prices merely nominal.

In February the Charleston agent had reported that trade had become stagnant and that cotton was fast accumulating in the warehouses. Upland cotton had fallen to 12½ cents per pound, but less impression had been made upon Sea Island, owing to the small crop, which may, perhaps, be attributed to the fact mentioned earlier in this article. It may also be noticed that freight had come down to the usual 1½d. per pound. In April he returns to the question of the exchanges, stating that

the sale of Exchange has always been extremely limited here and lately we have not been able to pass even the most trifling sums at any discount that could be offered. In the Northern States also where we have hitherto had it in our power to get through the largest negotiations, they write us that since the loss of the Bank Charter it is impossible for them to undertake the sales of the most limited sums in Sterling Bills, as they cannot possibly sell to meet drafts.

As a consequence, no purchases were being made, and the stock of Upland was larger than he had ever known it before. The only hope was to discover some new mode of negotiating bills but "in the present general want of mercantile confidence we think it vain to look for new when the old have failed".

The last letter written by this agent to the Manchester firm, dated June 20, 1811, confirms the one sent in April, and states

that so far from greater facilities existing the pressure of the time is becoming greater daily, in consequence we see no probability of ship-

ments of cotton taking place at present. Such indeed is the state of things that unless some remarkable change takes place which will give a sale for bills on England, the cotton now left as well as the next crop must remain with the Planters.

At this time Upland could be bought at 12 to 12½ cents, and Sea Island at 20 to 23 cents per pound, the exchange standing at a nominal seven per cent. below par. In September the Savannah agent appears to reach a climax by stating that "at present we cannot quote prices as we have no purchasers in the market and everything is in a state of stagnation". The following figures, culled from the reports, are interesting as showing the exports of cotton in bags from Charleston to British ports during these trying months:

	October 29, 1810, to December 29, 1810	December 30, 1810, to February 2, 1811	February 2, 1811, to April 20, 1811	April 20, 1811, to June 15, 1811
Liverpool.....	13,487	8,169	6,168	2,785
Greenock.....	4,206	2,539	.....	2,109
Belfast.....	1,170	1,215	987	.....
London.....	577	978	441	311
Bristol.....	140	.....	.....	.....
Hull.....	40	.....	40	.....
Falmouth.....	.....	349	.....	.....
Londonderry.....	.....	140	.....	.....
Dublin.....	.....	.....	847	295
Newry.....	.....	.....	150	.....
Totals.....	19,620	13,390	8,633	5,500

After the letter sent in September correspondence between the Savannah agent and the Manchester firm evidently ceased for nearly three years, as no letters either from or to him are found in the records. In April, 1815, it was renewed and the first communication contains some matter of sufficient interest to justify quotation:

Peace having taken place between this and Great Britain we take the liberty of renewing our correspondence with you, and to offer our services as commission merchants in the purchase of cotton, and the disposal of goods which you may address to our care. Should you direct us to make purchases of cotton on your account, we would recommend you to nominate some substantial house at the northward to endorse our Bills on you and dispose of them there, and on whom we could pass drafts for purchases made, with greater facility than disposing of our Bills on you here. This practice has been pursued here and has been found to answer every purpose. The quantity of cotton on hand here when the Peace was ratified was the remains of the three last crops, and may be estimated at about seventy thousand bags. A great part of this cotton is still at Augusta but is coming down daily; it is principally Upland cotton; the Sea Island was nearly all shipped to England by way of Amelia. We do not presume the next crop will be so abundant as in

former years owing to a great part of the lands in the up-country being cultivated in wheat that were formerly cultivated in cotton. On the sea-board the depredations committed by the enemy will prevent the usual quantity of Sea Island cotton being cultivated; the planters are, however, making every exertion to get as much as possible planted; much will, however, depend upon the seasons of which we will not fail to advise you from time to time.

The above extracts indicate the position in the American cotton market in 1811 so clearly, and also suggest the causes, that little comment is necessary. The Charleston agent evidently found the main source of the difficulties in the lack of opportunity for negotiating bills, and considered that this was due, almost entirely, to the lapse of the Bank charter. Without ignoring this cause, a more comprehensive view would be taken at the present day in an explanation of the situation. The monetary position in England, where the price of gold, already fourteen per cent. above the mint price in 1809, had increased by another six per cent. in 1811, would have to be taken into account.¹¹ But, with the evidence given in England to the 1812 committee on the Orders in Council before us, probably the greatest emphasis would be laid on the effect of the Non-Importation Act. Accepting the state of affairs which obtained when this act came into operation, and ignoring the causes of the imbroglio, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that it was the most fundamental factor in creating the difficulties to trading between the United States and Great Britain in 1811. This act appears to have been rigidly enforced, for, although efforts were made to introduce goods by circuitous routes, notably by the familiar route of Amelia Island and through Canada, they do not appear to have been very successful.¹² The declared value of the exports of British and Irish produce and manufactures to the United States in 1811 amounted to less than £2,000,000 compared with almost £11,000,000 in the previous year.¹³

In this article only a brief reference can be made to the state of the Liverpool market during this period of trade restriction with the United States. How the measures adopted by the American government affected prices may be seen from the table given below. In considering these prices the large imports of 1807, 1809, and 1810 should be remembered, also that the import from Brazil which amounted to 3540 bags in 1808 had increased to 103,248 bags in

¹¹ Porter, *Progress of the Nation* (1912, rev. ed.), p. 499.

¹² Much evidence to this effect was given before the Committee on Orders in Council, *Reports*, 1812. See, for instance, evidence of Mr. Thornely, p. 344 *et seq.*

¹³ Porter, p. 479.

1814. Many references are to be found in the literature of the time relating to the large stocks of cotton at Liverpool.¹⁴ The prices, while they are actual market prices relating to the same qualities of cotton so far as can be ascertained from brokers' weekly reports, have been chosen to show the trend of prices throughout the period, ignoring as far as possible the temporary fluctuations which repeatedly occurred on receipt of news true or otherwise. Rumors were always in the air that the United States were either about to remove the restrictions, increase their stringency, or impose new ones. It is not surprising to learn, therefore, that throughout the period speculation was rampant, and it is more than probable that a Liverpool broker offered a correct explanation of many fluctuations when, in one of his reports, he attributed a depression of prices to the gambling business that was taking place in the market more than to any other cause.

From the commencement of the war with Great Britain in 1812, it is evident however that a cessation of hostilities was expected at any time. From the latter months of 1813, when it became known that the power of Napoleon had received a severe shock, to the signing of the treaty of Ghent, rumors became increasingly prevalent, and in this period speculation ruled prices rather than exercised an influence upon them. The state of affairs is exactly described in a pamphlet written in 1816 by a Liverpool broker who was actually in the midst of things.¹⁵ After referring to the arrival of the news regarding the defeat of the French at Leipzig he continues:

No sooner was this news known than an immediate speculation took place in buying goods not only in Manchester, but by numbers of houses in Liverpool in buying cotton, as there was nothing *equal to cotton* to speculate upon, not only regular merchants, but brokers, grocers, corn merchants, timber merchants, tobacconists, coopers, etc., etc. By this speculation cottons were run up beyond all bounds, which not only seriously injured the manufactures, but many of the speculators became themselves heavy sufferers, and almost every artifice was adopted to raise unfounded reports which got inserted in the London newspapers as news from Liverpool, but which had no other foundation than merely report without cause. Then came on the meeting at Ghent of the negotiators from this country and America, and during the time they were there, it was a famous handle for fabrications by which many commercial men were great sufferers, it being believed that the Americans at Ghent had their particular friends in this country, to whom they might give a

¹⁴ Smithers, *Liverpool*, p. 141; *Orders in Council, Reports*, 1808, p. 104; Hansard, June 29, 1813; *Times*, April 5, 1813.

¹⁵ *Remarks on Cotton and Retrospective Occurrences for more than Thirty-six Years last past*, by John Slack, Cotton Broker and Accountant, Liverpool. A short account of the writer of this pamphlet is given in Ellison, *Cotton Trade of Great Britain*, pp. 243-246.

hint, if they would keep a secret, on which it was conjectured that some had acted. . . . When any news was circulated that breathed difficulties to any adjustment then cotton was immediately on the advance and buyers coming to Liverpool.

That there is no exaggeration in this account is borne out by the reports sent by Liverpool brokers to their Manchester clients.

PRICES OF AMERICAN COTTON IN THE LIVERPOOL MARKET, 1807-1814¹⁶

	1807		1808		1809		1810	
	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island
January	16-17	25-26 $\frac{3}{4}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -29	31 $\frac{1}{2}$ -32	69	21-22	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30
February	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-28	14-16	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ -29	27-28 $\frac{1}{2}$	57	18-18 $\frac{1}{2}$	26-29 $\frac{1}{2}$
March	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -19	27-29	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	25-27	48	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26
April	17-17 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-30	15-16	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	18-20	33-34	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-26
May	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-28	18-19 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-31 $\frac{1}{2}$	16-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-30	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-26
June	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-28	18 $\frac{1}{4}$ -19	27	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ -27	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16	23-24 $\frac{1}{2}$
July	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18	26-27	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	29-36	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-28 $\frac{3}{4}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-25
August	15-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	26-27	21-22 $\frac{1}{2}$	36-42	16 $\frac{1}{2}$ -17	27-27 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	23-24
September	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-30	36-42	16-18	24-26	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16	22-25
October	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-27	31-33	48	18-19	28 $\frac{1}{2}$	13-14 $\frac{1}{2}$	23-24 $\frac{1}{2}$
November	13-14 $\frac{1}{2}$	24-26	30-31 $\frac{1}{2}$	52	19-21 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-29 $\frac{1}{2}$	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26
December	13-14	24-26	31-32	52-60	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	29-30	12-14	23-24

	1811		1812		1813		1814	
	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island	Bowed	S. Island
January	12-13 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25 $\frac{1}{2}$	14-16 $\frac{1}{2}$	25-27 $\frac{1}{2}$	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	30-35	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ -31	42-48
February	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15 $\frac{1}{2}$	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24 $\frac{1}{2}$	35-37	Reports missing	Reports missing
March	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13 $\frac{1}{2}$	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	13 $\frac{3}{4}$ -15 $\frac{3}{4}$	22-23	22-24	35-39	33-34	46-49
April	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13	22-23	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -14 $\frac{1}{2}$	21-22	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24	34-36	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -31	46-47
May	11 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13	20-23	13 $\frac{1}{2}$ -15	22-24	22-23 $\frac{1}{2}$	34-36	27 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	44-48
June	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12 $\frac{1}{2}$	19-21	14-15	23-24	20 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	32-36	24-26	36-44
July	10 $\frac{1}{2}$ -12 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -20 $\frac{1}{2}$	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ -15	21 $\frac{1}{4}$ -24	21-22	32-34	24 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	36-39 $\frac{1}{2}$
August	11-12 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -21	14-15 $\frac{1}{2}$	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25 $\frac{1}{2}$	22-23	33-36	25 $\frac{1}{2}$ -27	39 $\frac{1}{2}$ -45
September	11 $\frac{1}{4}$ -12 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -21 $\frac{1}{2}$	14 $\frac{1}{2}$ -16	23 $\frac{1}{2}$ -25	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22 $\frac{1}{2}$	35-37	29 $\frac{1}{2}$ -33	42-51
October	11-12 $\frac{1}{2}$	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -19 $\frac{1}{2}$	15 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18 $\frac{1}{2}$	27-30	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -24 $\frac{1}{2}$	33-37	26 $\frac{1}{2}$ -28	42-44
November	12 $\frac{1}{2}$ -13 $\frac{1}{2}$	18 $\frac{1}{2}$ -22	17 $\frac{1}{2}$ -18 $\frac{1}{2}$	28-29	22 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26	36-40	28 $\frac{1}{2}$ -30	48-60
December	13 $\frac{1}{4}$ -15	25-26 $\frac{1}{2}$	21-21 $\frac{1}{2}$	33-36	27-30	39-45	21 $\frac{1}{2}$ -26	42-48

G. W. DANIELS.

¹⁶ The prices are given in pence.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE PHILIPPINES UNDER SPAIN AND THE UNITED STATES

IN the organization of the office of chief executive of great colonial dependencies is involved a political problem of the first magnitude. The responsibilities of the government of an alien race, often permeated with discontent and difficult to control, require the deposit in the local executive of great and impressive powers, but there must be assurance that these powers will be exercised in subordination to the will of the home government and in accord with standards of humane and enlightened policy. Public opinion in a dependency cannot be relied upon for control and is always characterized by moods of hostility. Public opinion, and frequently official opinion, in the metropolitan country is usually ill informed and incapable of imagination. The history of certain of these great offices, like the viceroy of India, or the governor-general of Dutch India or French Indo-China, perfectly illustrates the dilemma. It exhibits both the evils of entrusting undisciplined authority to officers imperfectly responsible, and also the spectacle of rare capacity made impotent by a superior control that was distrustful, jealous, and incapable of allowing adequate discretion.

Of the several impressive offices of this character still existent in the modern world, not the least in importance and the oldest in point of history is under the sovereignty of the United States, and the recurring problem of its organization, which baffled Spanish political effort for more than three centuries, now occupies the attention of American statesmanship.

The office of governor and captain-general of the Philippines was created by royal cedula of King Philip II. in 1567, immediately upon receipt of news of the successful occupation of the archipelago, and was conferred upon the *adelantado* and conqueror of the islands, Don Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. For the space of two hundred years it underwent little development but continued to illustrate perhaps more clearly than any other similar position in the Spanish colonial empire the typical character and vicissitudes of the institution. Then toward the close of the eighteenth century it shared in those important administrative changes which in America are associated with the work of Galvez. It entered on a third phase of its history after the loss of the Spanish-American empire and from about 1840 down to 1897 was, together with the

whole body of colonial administration, the object of constant solicitude and modification. This period is most instructive because it exhibits a great office facing the modern difficulties of colonial government, and after decades of contest ending in failure to sustain the sovereignty of Spain.

Continued under American occupation, the governor-generalship of the Philippines exists to-day as one of the disturbing but great and magnetic positions upon which depend the efforts of the white race to control the political future of tropical peoples. It is proposed in this paper to view this office in outline in its several periods and offer some reflections based on a comparison of Spanish and American experience.

The office of Philippine governor was created on the model which had originated in Spain and been developed in the New World. Seventy-three years intervened between the first voyage of Columbus and the definite occupation of the Philippines, and in this period the Spaniards had had some exceptionally severe lessons and gained much hard experience in colonial empire. This American experience was behind the Philippine conquest and determined its character. The institutions whereby Spain for 250 years governed her vast empire were carried as a nearly completed system to the Philippines. A great body of law defining the powers and relations of colonial officers already existed and was put into effect in the new possession. Thus the Philippines were spared a repetition of the periods of extravagant waste of life and accompanying disorder that fill the early pages of the history of most Spanish-American colonies. The list of governors exhibits not a few who were weak and inept but no Ovando nor Pedrarias.

During the period of conquest and settlement of the Philippines America was relied on to supply most of the Philippine governors, and not a few had developed in those remarkable training schools of colonial officials, the audiencias of the New World. The *adelantado* Legazpi, a model of courage, prudence, and humane moderation, was appointed to lead the expedition that effected the conquest from the post of *escribano mayor* and *alcalde ordinario* of Mexico; Sande (1575-1580) was an *oidor* of the audiencia of New Spain, and Gonzalo Ronquillo (1580-1583) and Dr. de Vera (1584-1590), officials of the same government. Bravo de Acuña (1602-1606) had been governor of Cartagena, Hurtado de Corcuera (1635-1644) governor of Panama, Manrique de Lara (1653-1663) *castellano* of Acapulco, and Torre Campo (1721-1729) governor of Guatemala.

Another field of promotion to the post of Philippine governor was the army in Flanders. Between 1609 and 1678 at least six governors, Juan de Silva (1609-1616), Fajardo y Tenza (1615-1624), Niño de Tabora (1626-1632), Salcedo (1663-1668), a native of Brussels, Manuel de Leon (1669-1677), a hero of Lützen and Nördlingen, and Vargas Hurtado (1678-1684), were appointed from Spanish armies serving in the Low Countries. Several of these men were nobles or members of distinguished orders. To the intrepid and ambitious soldiers and lawyers of that day the Philippine appointment unquestionably appeared an opportunity for audacious service in the East and a stepping-stone to higher rewards in the great offices of the New World, but the vast distance, the hardships of the long voyage, the tropical disease that assailed so many, and the bitter trials of the office itself wore out these men, with rare exceptions, and hardly one returned. Few indeed like Manrique de Lara were able to endure a long term of service (in his case the unprecedented period of ten years), and the persecutions of a severe *residencia*, and return to Spain to die of old age in his native Malaga. To most the Philippine appointment was the end.

The selection of the governor was personally made by the king from a list of officers proposed by the Council of the Indies. When Niño de Tabora was appointed not less than ten names were proposed, including one man, de Vivero, who had served an interim appointment as governor at Manila and returned to the governorship of Panama.¹ To read the terse *dossiers* of these nominees is to see outlined in a few words the adventurous lives of the Spanish conquerors in the New World and the wide field of services presented by Spain's amazing empire.

The appointment was set for eight years but, in case the governor survived, it sometimes extended to nine or ten. The average however was low and drew frequent unfavorable comment, especially when contrasted with the long periods of service of the dignitaries of the Church.

During the latter part of the seventeenth and most of the eighteenth century, when Spanish national life sank after the exhausting efforts of a hundred years of stupendous conquest, emigration to the islands nearly ceased, commercial restrictions checked economic development, and torpor succeeded the intense energy of an earlier time. In this situation the governorship was repeatedly conferred upon the Archbishop of Manila or one of the other

¹ "Report of the council on the appointment of a governor of the Philippines", 1625, Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, XXII. 27.

prelates. After the eighteenth century the governor of the Philippines was nearly always a military or a naval officer of high rank.

In the beginning, the Philippines were regarded as an outpost for further eastern conquests; the Spice Islands and Malacca, the coasts of Siam and Indo-China were all essayed by Spanish expeditions, and designs of conquest of Japan and China filled the feverish brains of some of these daring exiles. But the sparse population of the archipelago, less than a million natives and only a few hundred Spaniards, the insufficiency of revenues, and the enormous difficulties of Pacific transport eventually enforced a policy of economy and extreme simplicity of administration. The governor represented the all-embracing authority of the king. He was governor of the civil administration, appointed the provincial chiefs, or *alcaldes mayores*, and, except where these officers received royal appointments, the other administrative officials. As civil head he sent and received embassies from the countries of the East and made peace and war. As captain-general he commanded all the armed forces in the colony, equipped fleets to invade the Moluccas or repel the pirates of Mindanao, built or repaired the fortifications of Manila and the naval yard of Cavite, and built and despatched the "Acapulco Galleon", eventually the sole communication with Mexico and Spain. The perilous situation of the colony, the menace of China and Japan, the struggle for the Moluccas, the centuries of Malay piracy, and the incursions of the Dutch gave great prominence to the military responsibilities and the functions of the governor as captain-general. He had full responsibility for the revenues, nominated to *encomiendas* until these grants disappeared in the eighteenth century, and established the *estancos* or government monopolies. He also allotted the *boletas* or tickets entitling the holder to cargo space on the Acapulco galleon. As vice-patron and representative of the king, he nominated to church benefices and controlled the financial support of the missions. For the discharge of these numerous services he had relatively few assistants. A royal treasurer, an accountant, a factor, the fiscal of the audiencia, a *teniente del rey*, who commanded the military plaza of Manila, and the field-marshal and captains of his army were the usual officers. The audiencia, definitely established in 1595, served both as a supreme court with civil and criminal jurisdiction and as an administrative and legislative commission. Of this body the governor was president until 1844 and his relations to it form an interesting study.

The policy of Spain was to make the office of governor one of

impressive dignity. He was the personal representative of the king and, so far as the slender resources of Manila permitted, lived in state. The official ceremonies attending his arrival and induction into office were elaborately prescribed. A guard of halberdiers attended him when he walked abroad,² and a mounted escort when he rode. These formalities, however inconsistent with the actual resources of the position, were highly esteemed by the Spaniards. A complaint filed by the audiencia with the king against the governor, Tello de Guzman, in 1598, has mainly to do with the offense of attending a meeting of that body in a short, colored coat and a hat with plumes.³

While encouraging and abetting the heroic enterprises of her expatriated sons, Spain early sought to provide balances and restrictions to their overtopping ambitions. These attempted limitations can perhaps nowhere be better studied than in the history of the Philippines, where the remoteness of the colony and the difficulty of Spanish supervision occasioned situations of the most sensational character. Some of the practices used as checks by the Spanish government would not be approved by the more advanced experience of the present day, but they are at least characteristic of the thought of the period, which was singularly distrustful and counted no public servant too loyal or exalted to be watched and restrained.

In the first place, Spanish officialdom encouraged direct report on the policy and character of the governor from subordinate officials and from the ecclesiastical administration. From the foundation of the colony at Manila other royal officials than the governor wrote directly to the king. Of the first expedition to settle the Philippines, Legazpi, the treasurer Lavezaris, and the factor Mirandaola all wrote independently to Philip II. The fiscal Ayala in 1589 wrote expressing complaints both of civil and ecclesiastical administration. The *ayuntamiento* of Manila in 1601 registered its grievances against the *oidor* and lieutenant-governor, Dr. Antonio Morga. A letter of Bishop Santibañez of 1598 informs the king that Governor Tello de Guzman had called together all the honorable people, even to the master of camp, and all the captains, and while they stood bareheaded berated them worse than he would his cobbler: "You don't realize that I can have all your heads cut off, and you think that I don't know that you have written to the king against me." "Your majesty", says the bishop in another letter,

² The antique halberds of this guard, which was suppressed in 1868, were part of the military trophies of the American army after the capture of Manila. The writer saw a number of them then.

³ "Report of the audiencia on the conduct of Tello", Blair and Robertson, *op. cit.*, X. 183.

"should not inquire into the particular vices of Don Francisco Tello, but should picture to yourself the universal idea of all vices, brought to the utmost degree and placed in a lawyer". "If one were to seek faithfully over all Spain for a man of most debauched conscience, even the vilest and most vicious, to come to this country and corrupt it with his example, there could not be found one more so than he."⁴

It does not appear that the Council of the Indies or the king ever followed the practice of acquainting the governor with such attacks as these upon his policy or his character, nor do they appear to have been moved thereby to any decisive action, but we must suppose that they had their effect in creating distrust at the Spanish court, undermining its confidence in the governor, and weakening the loyal support of his efforts. Modern administration follows the principle of requiring official correspondence between the government of a dependency and the home authorities to proceed within the cognizance of the chief executive of the dependency, and present-day standards of loyalty and of subordination forbid irresponsible criticism, but Spain proceeded upon the different principle of setting subordinates to watch their superiors, and trusted to jealousy, pique, and self-interest to expose the deficiencies or corrupt character of those set in authority.

The legitimate balance upon the powers of the governor was the *audiencia*. The *Audiencia* of Manila was created on the American model, and was the tenth to be established by the Spanish government in their organization of empire.⁵ It was first erected in 1584 under the presidency of the governor, Dr. Santiago de Vera, but was suppressed largely for reasons of economy in 1590, and re-established in 1598 by a royal decree dated November 26, 1595. On the vacancy of the office of governor the *audiencia* regularly assumed the duties of the position, the direction of military affairs being confided to the *maestre de campo*, or more usually to one member of the *audiencia*.⁶ It had the power to grant *encomiendas* of Indians if the governor neglected this duty. It reported annually on the operation of local government and was a board for the audit of accounts, and for the taking of the *residencia* of subordinate officials.⁷ Sitting as a consultative chamber of (*saia de real*

⁴ Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, X. 147, 156.

⁵ *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, libro II., tit. xv, ley xi.

⁶ *Recop.*, libro II., tit. xv, leyes lvii, lviii.

⁷ A brief but clear account of the functions of the *audiencia* of the Philippines and its relations with the governor is given by the *oidor*, Dr. Antonio Morga, in his *Sucesos de las Islas Filipinas*, first published in Mexico City in 1609. Writing from personal knowledge, Morga states that the governor attended privately to all that related to war and government with the advice of the *audiencia* in difficult matters; that he tried the criminal offenses of regular, paid soldiers, but

acuerdo) it deliberated upon matters of government and administration and participated with the governor in the enactment of local ordinances. It actually discharged certain commissions such as the management of the *praedial* tithes, the public lands, temporalities, and the *fondos de Agaña*, which seem to have been funds for the support of the establishment in the Marianas, Islands or the Ladrões.⁸ It appears to have been usually in accord with the governor both in support of his general policy and in the interminable and disastrous disputes which arose between the governors and the ecclesiastical authorities.

It was the Church that constituted the real check upon the power of the governor of the Philippines. The conflicts which arose between the governors and the archbishops of Manila were never resolutely dealt with by the Spanish crown, nor were the causes of enmity settled. The result was an obvious impairment of authority which nearly brought the colony to ruin. The struggle became acute about the middle of the seventeenth century, under Governor Sebastian Hurtado de Corcuera. No Philippine governor of the seventeenth century more impresses the imagination than this active and valiant man, about whose character a tempest of argument has waged. He dealt the Moros of Mindanao the heaviest blow that these pirates were to receive until the middle of the nineteenth century, but his rule is also associated with the loss of Formosa and of the Portuguese colony of Macao. When relieved by his successor in 1644 he was subjected to bitter charges by his opponents in his *residencia*, and for five years was held a prisoner in the fortresses of Santiago and Cavite. "A strange turn of fortune!" exclaims a contemporary writer, the Dominican friar Navarrete, "Don Sebastián had been the most absolute and the most dreaded lord in the world." The conflict between priest and soldier long continued. Governor Diego de Salcedo in 1668 was made a prisoner by the Commissioner of the Inquisition and died at sea while being sent to Mexico for trial. Governor Vargas Hurtado (1678-1684) suffered excommunication, and after a *residencia* of four years died at sea on the way to Mexico. The troubles of Governor Bustamente with the archbishop and the religious orders led to his assassination in 1719.

that these had a right of appeal to the *audiencia*; that he sat with the *audiencia* for the trial of civil and criminal cases and with this body provided what was necessary for the administration of finances; that the *audiencia* each year audited the accounts of the royal officers and after balancing them sent them to the "Tribunal of Accounts at Mexico". (W. E. Retana's edition of the *Sucesos*, Madrid, 1909, pp. 222, 224.)

⁸ J. de la Rosa, "La Administración Pública en Filipinas", *La Política de España en Filipinas*, III, 115.

The *residencia* was a peculiarly Spanish institution. It was the trial and audit of accounts of an official at the end of his term by his successor. It frequently occupied months and even years of time, and involved a retiring executive in great delay and expense, and not infrequently in heavy penalties. The case of Corcuera has already been referred to, and some of his successors were hardly more fortunate.

The Italian traveller Gemelli Careri, who visited the Philippines in 1697, thus recorded his impression of the proceeding:

This Grandeur and Power [of the governor] is somewhat eclips'd by a dreadful Trial the wicked People of *Manila* make their governors go through. . . . The Accusers have 60 Days allow'd them, after Proclamation made through the Province, to bring in their Complaints, and 30 Days to Prosecute before the Judge, who is generally the Successor in the Government by Special Commission from the King and his Supream Council of the *Indies*.

After citing the cases of Corcuera, Fajardo, and Manrique de Lara, the last of whom, after a life of extraordinary adventure ending with his *residencia* at Manila, regained his native land to die in orders, Gemelli records:

In short since the Islands were Conquer'd, no Governor has returned to *Spain* but he and one more; for all of them either break their Hearts at their Tryal or Dye with Hardship by the way. It is certain this Tryal is worth one hundred thousand Crowns to the new governor which he that goes off must have ready, to come off well in this dreadful Tryal.⁹

It can hardly be doubted that the prospect of this bitter experience awaiting a governor at the termination of his office undermined his courage and weakened his conduct of affairs.

Besides the ordeal of the *residencia* the government of the Philippines was occasionally subjected to the inspection of a *visitador*. In 1631 the *oidor* Rojas of the audiencia of Mexico was sent to the Philippines in this capacity and suspended the *oidores* of the Manila audiencia. The exact relation between the administration of the Philippines and that of Mexico and the degree of control exercised by the latter over the former are somewhat difficult to determine. Theoretically the Philippines, like the captaincies-general of Yucatan and Guatemala, were under the jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain. The viceroy, or sometimes the audiencia of Mexico, repeatedly designated the *ad interim* successor to a governor of the Philippines until the appointment could be settled by the king. During the suspension of the Manila audiencia cases

⁹ Churchill, *Collection of Voyages*, IV. 411.

were regularly appealed to the audiencia at Mexico City. The Commissioner of the Inquisition in the Philippines was an agent of the Holy Office in Mexico. All communication for several centuries between the Philippines and Spain lay through the Acapulco galleon. Mexico was relied upon for financial and military support and for an annual subsidy or *situado*, such as was also furnished to the financially weak governments of Venezuela, Havana, or Yucatan. Yet the actual degree of oversight does not seem to have been great, nor to have had appreciable influence upon the conduct of Philippine affairs.

The Spanish system as above described was undeniably fatal to the initiative, independence, and vigor of her governors. Placed in a difficult situation, distant from the Spanish court by half the circumference of the globe, compelled to rely upon Mexico for economic support, the focus of jealousy and contention, balked by ecclesiastical rivals and civil associates, and conscious of the grim day of reckoning at the end of their terms, the governors of the Philippines during most of the eighteenth century sank in character, and their achievements were too futile to be recalled.

The task of reorganizing and reinvigorating the government of the Philippines began with the last third of the eighteenth century, and continued with fluctuations down to the end of 1898. The higher intelligence of the nation from time to time discerned the weaknesses of the organization and indicated remedies, but reforms were never carried through with completeness and the end was revolt and disaster. The history of these attempts to modernize the Spanish administration of the Philippines is most instructive, but only its main outlines can be indicated here.

The capture of Manila by the English in 1762 aroused the Spanish government to the appointment and support of governors of ability, among them Anda y Salazar and Basco y Vargas. The latter, who placed the finances of the Philippines upon an independent basis through the establishment of the tobacco monopoly, and who did something to encourage agriculture and industries, was also responsible for attempting in the administration of the Philippines that separation of governmental and financial administration which had been effected in the viceroyalties of Mexico and Peru. On recommendation of Basco there was issued the royal order of July 7, 1784, creating the Intendency of the Army and of Finance, and to this position was appointed an *oidor* of the audiencia, Carvajal. This official established in the islands five subordinate intendencies and submitted plans for the fiscal and agri-

cultural development of the islands. The new organization, however, was short-lived. In 1787 the superintendence of finance, by royal decree, devolved once more upon the governor and captain-general. The modification of the earlier unspecialized centralization of authority in the direction of segregating financial administration rested upon a sufficiently definite theory to commend itself to Spanish authority, and after a half-century of experiment the financial administration was reorganized as the *Intendencia de Hacienda*. The governor continued to be the "superior head" of this, as well as other branches, but the immediate direction was confided to the *intendente general*.¹⁰

A further specialization of 1861 deprived the governor-general of his judicial powers; at the same time the audiencia was divested of its administrative and consultative functions and became simply the supreme court for the archipelago.¹¹ With this change there was created a new body advisory to the governor, known as the Council of Administration (*Consejo de Administración*), made up of high officials, civil, military, and ecclesiastic. A minor advisory body was the Board of Authorities (*Junta de Autoridades*). The principle that the Spanish sought to apply here is one which has been widely used in the colonial administration of the French, the Dutch and the English, namely, to concentrate executive authority in a single person, but to subject the exercise of this authority to the expert advice of responsible associates. Expectations of the usefulness of this body in the Philippines do not seem, however, to have been realized, and at the time of the ending of its existence it was declared a useless organization.¹² Its last assembling took place in the city of Manila under the guns of Dewey's fleet, and amidst the general apprehension that prevailed on that occasion it appears to have rendered no particular service. Still further specialization took place with the organization of a general department of civil administration. The conception of this reform was to segregate from military affairs and from the determination of policy the execution of functions having to do with civil service and with the development of the islands, people, and resources. The *Dirección General de Administración Civil* was decreed as early as 1858¹³ but actually established in 1874, and the position of director was occupied in the last decades of Spanish rule by a number of men

¹⁰ The decree is given in San Pedro, *Legislación Ultramarina*, XIII. 10.

¹¹ Royal decree of July 4, 1861, San Pedro, *op. cit.*, VII. 38.

¹² See the testimony of Don Cayetano Arellano before the Philippine Commission in 1899. *Report of the Philippine Commission*, 1900, II. 24.

¹³ Berriz, *Diccionario de la Administración de Filipinas, Anuario*, 1888, I. 624-643.

who made a distinct impression upon the well-being of the islands. It had two branches, *Gobierno* and *Fomento*, and embraced the bureaus (*inspecciones*) of mines, forests, public works, poor relief, sanitation, and public instruction. As advisory bodies to the chiefs of these bureaus there were formed a number of consultative boards on the principle above noted.

In case of death or absence, the governor-general was succeeded by the *Segundo Cabo*, a general next in command of the military forces and in case of the latter's disability and the absence of another army officer of general rank, a decree of 1862 provided that the government should be exercised by the naval officer in command of the Philippine station.¹⁴

With the awakening of new interest in dependencies observable in the last half-century of the Spanish period, and with the creation in 1863 of the *Ministerio de Ultramar* or Colonies,¹⁵ initiative in legislation seems to have passed to the officialdom in Spain. This appears to have been increasingly so after the establishment of steamship connection by way of the Suez Canal and the connection of Manila by telegraph cable with the government at Madrid. Before this period the development of the Philippine administration seems to have been largely in the hands of the governors at Manila, subject to the approval of the government in Spain; thus the governorship of Claveria (1844-1849) was characterized by the initiation of many reforms, the establishment of new provincial governments, the bestowal of surnames upon the natives, the correction of the calendar, and the final suppression of piracy, and his proposals seem to have invariably found approval at Madrid. Probably no governor after Claveria made so original an impression upon the islands. What the later governors did effect, however, was to reflect the changes in the politics of Spain. The momentary triumph of liberal politics at Madrid meant encouragement to the aspiration of the natives of the Philippines, frequently to be followed by the adoption of a conservative policy and the appointment of a representative of reaction. Thus the period of advancement and reform from 1880 to 1888 represented by the "liberal" governors, Primo de Rivera, Jovellar, and Terrero, was followed by the reactionary rule of General Valeriano Weyler, 1888-1891, whose name is familiar to Americans through his disastrous government of Cuba, and who exemplified both the possibilities and the abuses of the office as it was in the last period of its existence.¹⁶

¹⁴ San Pedro, *op. cit.*, I. 134.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 185, for the royal decree of May 20, 1863.

¹⁶ Retana, *Mando del General Weyler en Filipinas* (Madrid, 1896).

Neither in the Philippines nor in the Western Hemisphere was there ever a colonial legislature established under Spanish authority. This impairment of legislative responsibility in the colony had its undoubted effect in retarding and discouraging the progress of the government, and gave to colonial laws the effect of detachment from the actual conditions which they were meant to remedy. In spite of their august source and the solemnity of their promulgation, it is of interest to note how frequently they were disregarded. Morga, writing as early as 1597, states frankly that royal decrees sent to the Philippines by His Majesty are mostly suspended or not effectively observed.¹⁷ Indeed the Spanish authorities at Madrid seemed to hesitate to give full and immediate effect to their determinations and to have promoted the development of a power in the local government to suspend or limit the action of a decree pending further correspondence.¹⁸ This power of the *cumplase*, as it came to be known, was sometimes exercised in matters of great significance. Two "titles" of the Civil Code promulgated for the Philippines in 1889 was suspended, and the greater part of the Civil Marriage Act of 1870 suppressed by the governor-general. This has left the Philippines without any law of divorce, except as contained in *Las Partidas*.¹⁹ The radical decree of Moret transforming the Dominican University of Santo Tomas into a government institution, was entirely withheld from publication by the governor-general and never went into force. The reform law of local government, the "Maura Decree", was made effective only in certain provinces and had hardly become operative when the Spanish system fell before the American conquest of the islands.²⁰

The city of Manila was captured by the American expeditionary forces on August 13, 1898, and on the following day terms of capitulation were signed. From this date American government in the Philippines begins. General Wesley Merritt, commanding the American army, issued a proclamation announcing the establishment of military rule and assuring the Filipinos of protection and guaranties. It was published in accordance with instructions of the President which the commanding general brought.²¹ General Arthur McArthur was appointed "provost-marshal-general and civil governor of Manila", and other officers were detailed to necessary administrative positions.

¹⁷ See "Report of Conditions", Blair and Robertson, X. 81.

¹⁸ This discretion was recognized very early by the laws of the Indies and was reaffirmed as late as 1876. See the *real orden* given in Berriz, *Diccionario, Anuario*, 1888, II. 95.

¹⁹ See Benedicto v. de la Rama, 3 *Philippine Reports* 34.

²⁰ See LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, I. 43.

²¹ *Senate Document No. 208*, p. 85, Report of General Otis for 1899, p. 17.

The office of military governor covers the period August 14, 1898, to July 4, 1901. It was filled by the following officers of the United States army: Major-General Wesley Merritt, for the brief period August 14–August 29, 1898, Major-General E. S. Otis, August 29, 1898, to May 5, 1900, and Major-General Arthur McArthur, May 5, 1900, to July 4, 1901. The powers exercised by these military governors were very extensive and had an important influence upon the subsequent government of the archipelago. Acting under authority from the President of the United States and in the absence of Congressional legislation, the military governors exercised a most liberal legislative power. By proclamation and by general orders they continued in operation the municipal law that had prevailed under the Spanish government, re-established a system of courts, including provost-courts and the supreme court or *audiencia*, and for the trial of criminal offenses subsequently established a system of military commissions.²² Where the Spanish law was believed to need correction it was unhesitatingly reformed. An entirely new code of criminal procedure, introducing into the jurisprudence of the islands the English principles of search warrants and the writ of habeas corpus, was promulgated by General Order No. 58, April 23, 1900, and is still the law of criminal procedure for the archipelago.²³ The law of civil marriage, which had long been a question of intense political and ecclesiastical controversy, was similarly promulgated.²⁴ Under military supervision municipal governments were set up and first one and subsequently another more elaborate municipal code was decreed. Military authority put into prompt operation provisional tariff laws and immigration regulations, which excluded the Chinese from entrance into the islands.

It was quite in keeping with the past powers of the position and with the policy long followed by the Spanish governors of Manila that General Otis should have commissioned a general officer to proceed to the Sulu archipelago and negotiate with the Sultan of Sulu a treaty of peace and protection. This document, which was secured with difficulty and misapprehension on both sides, followed the traditional lines of Spanish policy in handling this semi-independent Malay power. One article of the treaty however, that recognized slavery in the Sulu archipelago, was disapproved by the President of the United States. Following closely along the lines of traditional Spanish authority also was the power exercised by the military governor to expel or exile undesirable persons. This power was

²² Report of Major-General McArthur, 1901, II. 42, 43.

²³ Printed in the *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I. 1082.

²⁴ General Order No. 68, December, 1899, amended by General Order No. 70, 1900, printed in *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I. 1078 ff.

used against Americans as well as aliens, but perhaps the case that attracted most attention was that of the exile and confinement on the island of Guam of thirty-nine Filipino "Irreconcilables", including the leading Filipino revolutionist Apolinario Mabini. Was it also the tradition of the *cumplase* which induced General Otis to omit certain provisions and modify others of President McKinley's notable proclamation of American sovereignty cabled to Manila at the end of December, 1898?²⁵

On the administrative side the government as finally constituted by American military and civil authorities shows even more definitely the influence of the Spanish institutions and traditions that had preceded it. Except in the single case of the presidency of the United States American prejudice has been strong against conferring a centralized administrative control upon a single executive head. The American state governor, while he has risen in recent years to a position of great political importance, is in no case the executive head of state administration, which is distributed among state officers having a similar tenure with the governor or confided to commissions and boards only partially under his control. The same disposition has manifested itself in the governments for such territories, as Hawaii and Alaska. In neither of these is the governor of the territory the centre of the administration and the recognized avenue of communication between all departments of the federal and local governments. Such a diffusion of responsibility was happily prevented in the Philippines, first we may believe by the abiding influence of the office of governor-general under Spain, and in the second place by the period of military government now being described. As branches of civil administration were recreated during the period of military governorship these offices were not subordinated to departments at Washington, but were made responsible to the military governor.

The possession of captured funds and property occasioned prompt action with respect to those branches of Spanish administration which had been embraced in the *Intendencia General de Hacienda*. By General Order No. 5, September 17, 1898, the office of *intendente general* was suspended. The duties had already been separated into several departments: the treasury, the department of audits (General Order No. 3, 1898), the department of customs

²⁵ General Otis omitted entirely from the proclamation the statement of the right of the United States to the archipelago both by conquest and cession, and the intention of the government to at once extend its authority. Other clauses were expanded and to certain assurances from Washington he added his own. (See *Senate Document No. 331*, pp. 776-778; and General Otis's *Report*, 1899, opposite p. 359. See also the account in LeRoy, *Americans in the Philippines*, I. 401 and note.)

(August 20, 1898), and a department of internal revenue (August 21, 1898). Later those branches of administration which had been under the *Dirección General de Administración Civil* were taken up and their work revived. Public instruction in the city of Manila was committed to the oversight of a chaplain of one of the army regiments and later an army officer was detailed for the entire archipelago. Public health was entrusted to the medical corps of the army. In March, 1900 (General Order No. 31), the "Mining Bureau" restored the *Inspección de Minas* and inherited its collections and laboratory, and on April 14 of the same year the "Forestry Bureau" took up the forestry work of the former *Inspección General de Montes*. The organization of these offices as well as others which followed, under legislation of the Philippine Commission, took on a bureaucratic character, and thus from the beginning Philippine administration in American hands was unified, centralized, and made responsible to the chief executive of the archipelago.

Superficial critics and observers of the Philippine government have on a few occasions advocated the placing of one or another field of Philippine administration, as for example education, under the direction of the corresponding bureau of the United States federal service. Fortunately such suggestions have received no encouragement. Both American and European experience fully justify the course which Philippine administration has taken. The French experimented for years under the influence of "assimilation" ideas with an attempt to administer Algeria through extensions, to their African possession, of the administrative work of the several ministries at Paris. During this period, which extended from 1881 to 1896, local officials in the several departments reported not to the governor-general at Algiers, but to their respective ministries of the national government. This system of *services rattachés* gave such unsatisfactory results that a senatorial commission under the chairmanship of M. Jules Ferry reported in 1892 in favor of its abandonment. The policy of centralization under the governor-general was inaugurated with generally excellent results.²⁶ Alaska is a present example of a dependency where administrative authority instead of being concentrated in the territorial governor is distributed among numerous local representatives of services not united, who report to their distant heads at Washington. The unanimous voice of those qualified to judge of the workings of this decentralized system testifies to its disadvantages.

²⁶ Girault, *Principes de Colonisation et de Législation Coloniale* (1904), II, 388, 389.

On September 1, 1900, the Philippine Commission, composed of Hon. William H. Taft of Ohio, Professor Dean C. Worcester of Michigan, Hon. Luke E. Wright of Tennessee, Hon. Henry C. Ide of Vermont, and Professor Bernard Moses of California, entered upon its official responsibilities in the Philippines. Its powers were defined in the President's instructions to the commission transmitted through the Secretary of War under date of April 7, 1900.²⁷ Its general mandate was to "continue and perfect the work of organizing and establishing civil government already commenced by the military authorities". On the first day of September that part of the power of government in the Philippine Islands which was of a legislative nature was to be transferred from the military governor to the commission. This was specifically described as including the powers of taxation and appropriation of public funds, establishment of an educational system, of a civil service, of courts and municipal and departmental governments. It was further provided that the commission should have the power to appoint officers "under the judicial, educational, and civil service systems and in the municipal and departmental governments as shall be provided for".

It seems that the original intention of the President of the United States in appointing the Philippine Commission was to create a plural executive. The instructions read: "The commissioners . . . will meet and act as a board, and the Hon. William H. Taft is designated as president of the board." Power and responsibility obviously were collegiate and not individual. The president of the board was clearly only a presiding officer. However, as the Philippine insurrection drew to a close in the spring of 1901 and the improvement in the military condition of the archipelago warranted the establishment of a complete civil government, and the substitution for the office of military governor of one of a civil character, the plan for a collegiate executive was changed, and on June 21 the Secretary of War issued to the president of the commission an appointment as civil governor of the Philippine Islands, with the power to "exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs in the government of the Philippine Islands heretofore exercised in such affairs by the military governor of the Philippines". The appointment provided that "the power to appoint civil officers, heretofore vested in the Philippine Commission, or in the military governor, will be exercised by the civil governor with the advice and consent of the Commission". The military governor by the same order was relieved from the performance of civil duties,

²⁷ Printed in *Public Laws passed by the Philippine Commission*, I, xliii ff.

although his authority was to continue in districts where insurrection still continued or public order was not sufficiently restored. Under date of October 29, 1901, President Roosevelt appointed Mr. Luke E. Wright "vice-governor" with authority to act in the absence or incapacity of the civil governor.

The tendency of "government by commission" is to work away from the principle of collegiate responsibility, with which commission government begins, and commit specific responsibilities to individual members. As a consequence, unless by a rigid practice all important actions of individual members are reviewed and approved in commission the principle of joint responsibility is impaired. This was the development which the Philippine Commission eventually underwent. Acting under instructions from the Secretary of War issued on September 6, 1901, the commission enacted Act No. 222, providing for the organization of four departments: Interior, Commerce and Police, Finance and Justice, and Public Instruction, to the head of which departments the President, through the Secretary of War, appointed the four original colleagues of Mr. Taft. Section 5 of this act provides that the secretaries shall exercise the executive control conferred upon them under the general supervision of the civil governor, and that the executive control of the central government over provincial and municipal governments and the civil service shall be exercised directly by the civil governor through an executive secretary.

It is difficult to assert definitely how the principle of collegiate responsibility assumed when the Philippine Commission was created has worked out. The other members of the Philippine Commission, now consisting of nine members altogether, are not mere adjutants or cabinet secretaries of the governor-general. They, like himself, are appointees of the President of the United States. They may outrank him in length of service and experience, and may and frequently have differed from him on matters of policy. Their oversight of the branches of administration committed to them and of the bureaus in which this administration is organized, is to a large degree independent of the governor-general.²⁸ The governor-general, in the absence of a secretary, however, may assume the direction of his department, and on certain branches of the administration, as for instance constabulary and the preservation of public order, the policy of the governor-general has usually been decisive.

²⁸ By the rules of the commission, the governor-general and each secretary is a standing committee of one on all matters pertaining to the particular department which each represents. *Commissioner Journal, First Philippine Legislature, inaugural session*, p. 71, and *second session*, p. 75.

He possesses the power to proclaim martial law, suspend the ordinary civil rights granted by the Philippine Bill and even to concentrate the population, but he must exercise these extraordinary powers with the approval of the Philippine Commission. He has, moreover, the right to inspect and even personally correct any branch of administration whatever. The custom followed by all of the chief executives of making frequent trips through the provinces and by personal observation satisfying themselves as to the workings of insular and provincial administration has naturally led to the governor-general's taking cognizance of the working of all departments of government. Furthermore he may direct the dismissal of any official except a justice of the supreme court, a Philippine commissioner, or the insular auditor and this great disciplinary power makes his authority respected by all elements of administration. Furthermore, while the appointments of subordinate officials are regularly approved by the heads of departments, the directors of bureaus and the assistant directors are made by the governor-general. Good policy recommends consultation between him and the head of a department concerned and this consultation is usually had, but there have been undoubted instances of conflict of desire, and in these cases the will of the governor-general appears to have prevailed. Furthermore the civil service regulations are promulgated by the governor-general and his power over these rules and their operation appears to be complete. Thus it is doubtful if the legal relation existing between him and the heads of the departments is a proper one. The survival of collegiate responsibility is of questionable advantage. The principle recognized in other colonial governments of making the governor-general alone responsible for executive policy and limiting the function of his colleagues to that of an advisory council possesses undoubted advantages. Dissensions between members of the commission which the governor-general was powerless to correct or override and which could only be settled at Washington by what is necessarily a slow process have undoubtedly embarrassed the governor-general in the fulfillment of his responsibility and have in a considerable degree been responsible for a decline in the standing and effectiveness of the commission itself.²⁹

By the "Philippine Bill" approved July 1, 1902, Congress approved, ratified, and confirmed the actions of the President of the United States in creating the Philippine Commission and offices of civil governor and vice-governor and the secretaries of departments,

²⁹ See *Congressional Record*, XLIX. 3089.

and provided that laws of the Philippine Commission up to that time enacted "by authority of the President of the United States" should thereafter read "by authority of the United States".³⁰

The above legislation comprises the principal acts establishing the office of chief executive in the Philippines and defining its powers. These powers have however been further amplified in two ways: by acts of the Philippine Commission and of the Philippine legislature and by the assumption of certain powers as inherent in or traditional to the office of Philippine governor.³¹

Among the powers of the governor-general which have been developed by action of the legislative authority is a very considerable "ordinance power". The European practice of confining a statute to a bare declaration of principles or policy and authorizing the development of details by "Orders in Council" or *décrets* of the executive is so little understood in America that where such a practice arises under an American government it deserves attention. A statute of an American legislature too frequently aims to cover every minor detail and anticipate every situation that may arise in the administration of the law. The rigidity thus imposed occasions constant amendment by subsequent legislatures.

The absence of any clear conception of "ordinance power" in the minds of the Philippine Commission led to their expressing the legislative will in minute detail. The result is that the bulk of the acts—they amount to exactly 1800—passed by the commission during the period of its sole legislative authority, from 1900 to 1907, are not laws or *lois* in the French sense, but minor amplifications, suspensions, and administrative adjustments properly forming the field of executive ordinances or decrees.

Nevertheless the very experience of the commission in repealing and amending its own work led it to gradually entrust certain legis-

³⁰ All the steps taken for the pacification of the Philippines and the organization thereof of government were taken under authority of the President and by virtue of his constitutional powers as commander-in-chief of the army. Congress gave no sanction to the President's work until the Philippine Bill noted above, although on March 2, 1901, it did recognize American possession by a section of the army appropriation bill, which ratified the customs law as enacted by the Philippine Commission and added a revenue law granting refunds to the Philippine government of customs collected on American imports from the Philippines. This law of Congress further provided that no person in the Philippine Islands should be convicted of treason "unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act or on confession in open court". On April 29, 1902, shortly before the enactment of the Philippine Bill, an act was passed applying the Chinese immigration laws to the archipelago.

³¹ The title of civil governor, created in distinction to that of military governor, was that held by Mr. Taft. After his retirement from the Philippines and appointment as Secretary of War he secured for his successor the adoption by Congress of the title "governor-general", thereby reviving the high designation used during the last period of Spanish rule and placing the office on a parity of dignity with that of other colonial empires of first importance.

- lative powers to the governor-general. This process was augmented by the inauguration of the Philippine assembly. As the period of its exclusive legislative authority drew to a close the commission labored diligently and with obvious purpose to bring the body of Philippine laws to a state which would not require further enactments, if legislation proved impossible with the setting up of a concurrent law-making chamber. A number of acts conferred powers on the governor-general in explicit expectation that the legislative power would thereafter be exercised less freely. For example the preamble to Act 1748 recites that whereas changes in the boundaries and capital seats of provinces may be made necessary by new routes of communication and other economic development and "Whereas the Legislature will not, in all probability, be in session more than ninety days per annum; and Whereas it is desirable that there may be provided by law an expeditious method by which such changes may be made", it is enacted that whenever in the judgment of the governor-general the public welfare requires, he may by executive order change the boundaries or subdivide or merge any province, sub-province, municipality, township, or administrative jurisdiction, and in case new offices are made necessary by subdivision, create such offices and fill them either by appointment or by election. Action under the powers of this act has been constant. Through its exercise hundreds of towns once deprived of their autonomy have been restored to their earlier status.³²

An earlier act of the same character (No. 1701) authorized the governor-general, in the interests of economy, to consolidate the office of provincial fiscal for two or more provinces, and this power has also been exercised repeatedly.

Another remarkable power exercised for some years was conferred by a clause in a general appropriation bill authorizing the governor-general to combine any two or more positions and from the united salaries to form a new position of higher grade, and authorizing the appointment of two or more persons for the salary provided for a single position.³³ These powers were exercised by Governor-General Forbes in such a manner as to arouse the opposition of the assembly and with the passage of the first appropriation bill under Governor-General Harrison such action was made illegal.³⁴ It is doubtful, from the scientific standpoint, whether a power to recast budgetary provisions should ever have been conferred. In a

³² See *Executive Orders and Proclamations* (Manila, 1909, 1910, 1911, 1912, 1913, 1914).

³³ Act 1679, sect. 3.

³⁴ Act 2319, sects. 2 to 6.

representative government which, on the legislative side, that of the Philippines is, the power to determine the number and grade of offices and the appropriations for specific ends is a legislative function.³⁵

Acts of the commission have frequently left to executive authority the determination of the date when they should become operative. For years the land tax was difficult to collect and the continuous petitioning of provincial boards for legislative relief from the payment of this tax was finally settled by conferring upon the governor-general the power to grant such suspension (Act 1713).

Prior to the inauguration of the first session of the Philippine assembly, the ordering and arrangement of the budget for submission to the legislative body was under the governor-general's immediate control, as this work was done by the executive secretary. There can be little difference of opinion that this is the scientific and proper manner for budget submission. American practice, the faults of which are becoming obvious to the public, has however confided this task to legislative committees. It was particularly unfortunate that this tradition should have been so fixed in the minds of the members of the Philippine Commission as to induce them at once to relinquish this properly executive function to a committee of the assembly. The appropriation bill passed by the first legislature was indeed better than might have been anticipated, but it fell short of what an appropriation bill, properly considered from the standpoint of government needs, should be. Owing to the inability thereafter of commission and assembly to agree upon another appropriation it remained the regular budget during the entire administration of Governor-General Forbes, 1909 to 1913.³⁶

The governor-general possesses very ample powers of granting pardons and paroles. The authority seems to be descended from that exercised by the military governor. Neither Congress nor the Philippine Commission ever directly bestowed it. On June 2, 1902, a general amnesty was extended to political prisoners in the Philippines by the President. Ordinary criminal offenders were not included but the President directed that "special application may be made by those exempted from the amnesty to the proper authority

³⁵ The action of the governor-general in this matter was the cause of a serious dispute between him and one of the commissioners. See *Congressional Record*, XLIX, 3105-3107.

³⁶ The Philippine Bill providing for the assembly required that in case of failure to pass an appropriation bill for a new budget period the former budget should continue in force with identical appropriations. This device, which seems to have been borrowed from the constitution of Japan, and which has been extended also to the government of Porto Rico, prevents the assembly from coercing the commission by the historic method of refusal to "grant supply".

for pardon". This "proper authority" is conceived to be the governor-general. The power of pardon has been liberally used by all governors-general, sometimes upon the recommendation of a board of pardons appointed by the executive to review records, and otherwise upon examination of applications by the governor-general himself.

Under conditions that exist in the Philippines the pardoning power is one of immense delicacy and political importance. Its exercise is surrounded with difficulties. Among notable cases have been the decision of Governor-General Smith in the application for pardon of the "cabecillas" Sakay, Montalon, and de Vega, who, after surrender, were condemned to death and finally executed, and the recent case of General Noriel. Pardon having been refused for this man, application was made directly to President Wilson, who granted a stay. Whereupon, according to reliable reports, Governor-General Harrison tendered his resignation. The interposition of the President was then withdrawn and the execution of General Noriel followed on the day fixed. Legislation has twice extended the scope of the pardoning power by authorizing conditional pardons and paroles (Acts 1524 and 1561).³⁷

The power of exile and deportation once exercised by the governor-general under Spain and by the military governor, is hardly to be so easily explained and indeed seems to be irreconcilable with the constitutional system extended to the Philippines. Yet without doubt the governor-general has this power at least as respects aliens, including not merely aliens seeking admission who may, without judicial review of their acts, be expelled by immigration authorities, but also aliens long resident in the Philippines. In 1910 certain Chinese, twelve in number, designated by the Chinese consul-general as persons prejudicial to the good order of the Chinese community, were arrested and conveyed to China by order of the governor-general or at least under his authority. One had been for years a resident in the islands and had children in the public schools. Subsequently several of the number returned and sought protection by a writ of injunction to police and constabulary authorities and also to the governor-general. A suit for damages against Governor-General Forbes was also filed. The supreme court of the Philippines, to which the cases were appealed, upheld the power of the governor-general to deport obnoxious aliens as a power

³⁷ The Municipal Board of Manila for a long time followed the practice of pardoning offenders convicted of violations of municipal ordinances without other warrant for such action than that such power was exercised under military rule by the provost-marshal-general.

inherent in the executive without specific legislative grant.³⁸ Meanwhile the Philippine legislature passed an act defining "due process of law" in such cases to be a hearing before the governor-general or his authorized representative, and providing further that the act should not be construed to authorize the "extrañamiento, destierro, deportation or other form of expulsion from the islands of Filipinos". (Act 2113.)

This case raises the general question of the power of courts to review the acts of administrative officers. In the United States this is the recognized procedure. It is well settled that the acts of the President of the United States are not judicially reviewable, nor will the ordinary writs lie against him, but this does not apply to his cabinet officers nor have the courts always applied this exemption to the governor of a state. We have seen that the Manila court directed a writ of injunction to the governor-general. But in the main the action of courts for reviewing administrative acts, for determining conflicts of jurisdiction, or for interpreting administrative powers, has been extremely sparse. In place of judicial action the commission has existed to adjust, or determine by executive instruction or new legislation, any conflict of powers, and to redress by direct action any abusive or unwise conduct of a subordinate officer. Aggrieved persons have found this method of redress so advantageous that there has existed practically no inducement to appeal to the courts. The commission has in fact acted in certain cases almost as an "administrative court" in the Continental sense. But the informality of its proceedings and the absence of record have delayed the growth of anything like a body of "administrative law". The situation is one to suggest the establishment under the governor-general of a superior administrative court in the proper sense to hear cases and recommend action in a large class of responsibilities in respect to which the governor-general has been entrusted with an administrative-judicial power. These cases include review of disputed elections; charges of malfeasance and removal from office; disqualification from holding public office; decisions on appeal from provincial boards on the legality of municipal ordinances; the reservation of public lands; the fixing of penal stations; and the determination of responsibility for loss of property by officials, with consequent deductions of salary. Such cases as these, and many others which are within the governor-general's competence, and which are frequently decided on merely clerical

³⁸ *Forbes et al. v. Tiaco et al.*, 16 *Philippine Reports* 534. This decision on somewhat different grounds has been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. *Tiaco v. Forbes*, 228 U. S. 549.

advice, are quasi-judicial in character and could presumably be settled with greater wisdom if action were taken under the advice of a body or court composed of men highly trained in both administration and law.

To return finally to the dilemma with which this paper opened, there seems to be no escape in the government of such a dependency as the Philippines from entrusting great powers to a single man, and granting him a confidence which cannot easily be weakened by detraction. The practical restraints on such a position seem to be only two: an informed public opinion and watchful interest on the part of a considerable element in the sovereign nation—such attention, for example, as the Dutch people give to their immense empire of Netherlands-India—and, secondly, the restraint and patience that is produced in a chief executive by a long service in similar capacities. In the government of colonies nothing can take the place of this experience. Colonial affairs and administration differ in so many important respects from domestic politics, that experience in the latter is no guaranty of success in the former. Every country, except our own, has come to the policy of making training and experience the indispensable prerequisites for high executive discretion in colonial government. The history of the Philippines under both Spain and America is sufficient to demonstrate them indispensable to the office of the governor-general.

DAVID P. BARROWS

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

PURITANICAL TENDENCIES ON THE PART OF LOCAL AUTHORITIES, LAY AND ECCLESIASTICAL, IN THE LATER TUDOR AND EARLY STUART PERIOD

A. H. A. HAMILTON in his *Quarier Sessions from Queen Elizabeth to Queen Anne*¹ cites (pp. 28, 29) from the Devon records an interesting early instance of Puritanism on the part of the local authorities, acting, it would appear, at the instigation of the Church. It is an order made July, 1595, at a session held in the Chapter House of Exeter—"the bishop apparently being in the chair"—declaring:

Church or parish ales, revels, May-games, plays, and such other unlawful assemblies of the people of sundry parishes unto one parish on the *Sabbath day* and other times, is a special cause that many disorders, contempts of law, and other enormities are there perpetrated and committed, to the great profanation of the Lord's "Saboth", the dishonour of Almighty God, increase of bastardy and of dissolute life, and of very many other mischiefs and inconveniences, to the great hurt of the commonwealth. [It was] therefore ordered that these assemblies shall be abolished on the Sabbath, that there shall be no drink "used, kept, or uttered" upon the Sabbath at any time of the day, nor upon any holiday or festival in the time of divine service or the preaching of the Word, nor at any time in the night season; nor yet that there shall be "any Mynstralsy of any sort, Dauncyng, or suche wanton Dallyances, used at the said May games."

In January, 1599, the justices went so far as to order "that parish ales, church ales and revels should be utterly suppressed", and a market which had been held on the "Sabboth" at East Budleigh was also abolished.

The query naturally arises, how widespread was this attitude—this enforcement of a strict observance of the Sabbath and this attempt, on the part of the magistrates and the Church of England clergy, before the Puritan régime had really become dominant, to put down certain potvaliant and lubricious customs which had flourished in Merry England time out of mind? An examination of such extracts from local records and from private letters as may be found in the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission seems to show that the tendency was well marked in widely sepa-

¹ London, 1878.

rated parts of the country from a period beginning comparatively early in Elizabeth's reign. For example, Robert, bishop of Winchester, writes October 7, 1570, to William More, Esq., at Losely:

Grace and peace. Where John Slifelde of Bifflete have heretofore binn admitted to kepe an Ale Howse, and for the well using thereof, as I thinke, is bounde be recognisaunce to our souveraigne Lady the Quene's majestie, so it is that he has this my last visitacion binn orderly detected to have mayntained dauncyng at his howse the Saboth day, and that in tyme of divine service. . . . Wherefore you shall do well for example sake to take some streight order with him in this behalf.²

Again, some fifteen years later, a successor, Thomas, bishop of Winchester, was prompted to issue a circular letter, May 13, 1585, "to the Ministers, constables, churchwardens, and others of the several parishes of his diocese against the impious and profligate maintenance of Church-ales, May-games, Morrish-daunces and other vaine pastimes on the Saboth dayes".³ Among the town records of Ipswich there is preserved an order of December 6, 1571, "for the better observance of the Sabbath Day, that no inhabitant of Ipswich shall on that day open shop-window or shop-door for the purpose of selling wares on that day, the ordinance not to apply to butchers selling meat at hours other than the time of common prayer".⁴ On December 6, 1599, it was further ordered that no wagoner or common carrier of Ipswich shall work on the Sabbath Day; the order being made

forasmuch as the waggoners and comen carriers of this towne have and doe usuallie begynne to travell towards London everie week on the tuesdaie with there wagons and carriages and doe come out of London on the Frydaye at afternoon and [apparently some word omitted, e. g., travel] by most part of the Sabothe daie to the great offense of Almighty God and contrarie to the lawes of the realme, and to the infamie and slander of this towne.⁵

To cite one more instance, the town authorities of Yarmouth ordered, November 20, 1605, "that noe carter nor bruer nor any other shall travel with their cartes and horses, nor do any other business upon the Sabboth daye upon paine for every such default so offending, of xii *d.* to be levied by the Churchwardens."⁶ The interesting thing is that all these orders emanate from or are enforced by the authorities—bishops, justices of the peace, town councillors, and churchwardens—and are not the mere aspirations

² Hist. MSS. Comm., *Seventh Report*, p. 623.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 640.

⁴ Hist. MSS. Comm., *Ninth Report*, p. 254.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 318.

of the Puritan opposition. An extended study of the local records might furnish further evidence on the point and modify the current views as to the attitude of the established order in Church and State, a field in which Professor R. G. Usher has done such valuable pioneer work in his *Reconstruction of the English Church*.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

[The managing editor asks leave to "do his bit" in support of Professor Cross's note by advancing conclusive evidence that the habit of singing psalms through the nose, one of the best-established traits of Puritanism, was already the custom of a typical and miscellaneous body of Englishmen in 1579. It comes from the Reverend Francis Fletcher's *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, written by the chaplain of Drake's expedition, and published in London, in 1628. The passage quoted below may be conveniently found on page 163 of Dr. Burrage's *Early English and French Voyages* (Original Narratives series, New York, 1906). It is from a description of the conduct of the natives of the California coast when Drake and his men, during their stay in the "convenient and fit harborough", from time to time held divine service:

In the time of which prayers, singing of Psalmes, and reading of certaine Chapters in the Bible, they sate very attentively: and observing the end at every pause, with one voice still cried, *Oh*, greatly rejoycing in our exercises. Yea they tooke such pleasure in our singing of Psalmes, that whensoever they resorted to us, their first request was commonly this; *Gnaáh*, by which they intreated that we would sing.

It is submitted that the phonetic statement in the last sentence admits of but one interpretation, the one which is suggested above.]

EARLY OPINION ABOUT ENGLISH EXCISE

IN 1733 Sir Robert Walpole declared in the House of Commons that there were then ten or twelve articles of consumption subject to the excise laws, the revenue derived therefrom amounting to more than £3,000,000 per annum; and he added: "A great number of persons are, of course, involved in the operation of these laws; yet, till the present moment, when so inconsiderable an addition is proposed, not a word has been uttered about the dreadful hardships to be apprehended from them."¹ On the other hand it was the opinion of Coxe that the excise in England was not only detested by the people but that it had been almost uniformly condemned by the

¹ Coxe, *Memoirs of Walpole* (London, 1798), I. 395.

principal writers on government, finance, and trade from the Revolution to the time when Walpole was speaking.² In the course of researches for a study of the excise of 1733 I have chanced upon a number of contemporary opinions which show that Sir Robert was eloquently presenting his cause rather than the facts of the case, and that his biographer was partly mistaken.

Excise, borrowed from the fiscal experience of Holland, was first considered in the time of Charles I., and introduced at the beginning of the struggle between Parliament and king.³

*Excise is the Scar
Of our late Civil War*

according to a song of Sir Robert's time.⁴ During this period it was much used by both parties, and after the Restoration became a permanent part of English taxation.

There is no doubt that it was from the beginning greatly disliked. William Prynne, whose antiquarian learning astonishes now as his zeal amazed his contemporaries, giving an account of its origin and its early history, expatiated upon the detestation with which it was regarded.⁵ The titles of some of the little pamphlets at this time are as eloquent as the denunciations which they contain. An anonymous author wrote *The Excise-Mens Lamentation: or, an Impeachment in behalf of the Commons of this Nation, against their insulting Publicans, and cruell Oppressors and Extortioners: with their Acknowledgment, Confession, and Testimony, touching their proceedings in each County; and the vast and mighty Summes which they most wickedly retained: Collected by their unlimited Power, Spungie Hearts, and long-stretched Consciences*.⁶ Another declaimed against this monstrous tax, which he thought to be unequal and oppressive, in *Excise Anotomiz'd, and Trade Epitomiz'd: Declaring, that un-equall Imposition of Excise, to be the only cause of the ruine of Trade, and universall impoverishment of this whole Nation. By Z. G. a well wisher of the Common good*.⁷ Ballad-rhymers made savage ridicule or told of the grief and discomfiture of collectors.⁸ When Cromwell was at the height of his power a bitter opponent

² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 374; Rushworth, *Historical Collections*, I. 474; *Commons' Journals*, II. 800; *Lords' Journals*, VI. 145.

⁴ *Britannia Excisa*, etc. (London, 1733), p. 6.

⁵ *A Declaration and Protestation against the Illegal, Detestable, Oft-condemned, New Tax and Extortion of Excise in General; and for Hops (a Native uncertain commodity) in Particular* (London, 1654).

⁶ London, 1652.

⁷ London, 1659.

⁸ "A Dialogue betwixt an Excise-man and Death", *Bagford Ballads*, III. 13; "The Crafty Miss, or, an Excise-man well fitted", *Roxburghe Ballads*, II. 577.

asked whether "that so much abhorred Tax . . . of Excise" was not introduced only to maintain the war, and "Whether the Excise be not a Tax far more burthensome than Ship-money in the Days of the King".⁹

At the restoration a certain one opposing the excise of domestic commodities other than beer and ale, asserted that "The Clamor, Charge, and other Inconveniences of the Excise of Native Commodities is far more then the profit thereof".¹⁰ Andrew Marvell poured upon it fierce invective in the days of the cabal:¹¹

Excise, a monster worse than e'er before
Frighted the midwife, and the mother tore.
A thousand hands she has, a thousand eyes,
Breaks into shops, and into cellars prys;
With hundred rows of teeth the shark exceeds,
And on all trades, like Casawar, she feeds;

She stalks all day in streets, conceal'd from sight,
And flies like bats with leathern wings by night;
She wastes the country, and on cities preys.

And after the Revolution a writer, making use of comparisons repeated often in later days, said: "Excise . . . hath obtained a current Repute of perfect Equality . . . 'tis, singly consider'd, perhaps the most equal, and Innocent of any particular way of Taxing . . . But . . . 'tis a known high Road to Slavery, *Gabelles* and *Sabots* being almost inseparable."¹² In the contest of 1733 ministerial partizans, realizing the hatred borne to the very name, chose rather to speak of inland imposts or inland duties.¹³

It was, however, not without defenders, and some of its champions were authors of distinction.

Although [said a writing ascribed to 1644] the Impost, called Excise, hath by experience been found to be the most equall and indifferent Levy that can be laid upon the people, (and all ingenious men who have studied the Nature and Product of it, upon the result of solemn and serious Debates, have acknowledged it so to be) yet by reason of its name, and 'vulgar prejudice (which any Tax of like import will inevitably find amongst the people) it hath had the ill hap to be traduced as the most destructive thing imaginable to Trade and Commerce, and a badge of slavery and vassalage.¹⁴

⁹ *A Narrative of the late Parliament (so called)*, etc (1657), in *Harleian Miscellany*, III. 446.

¹⁰ Add. MS. 33051, fol. 188.

¹¹ "Instructions to a Painter", *Works* (London, 1776), III. 369, 370.

¹² *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to His Friend in the City: Touching Sir William Petty's Posthumous Treatise*, etc. (London, 1691), p. 14.

¹³ *The Daily Courant*, February 2, 1732/3; *Commons' Journals*, XXII. 93, 104.

¹⁴ *Considerations touching the Excise of Native and Forreign Commodities*, etc. (1644?).

In 1662 it was advocated by Sir William Petty,¹⁵ and the next year by another writer on finance,¹⁶ while a year after Thomas Mun mentions "the publique Revenues and Excizes" of the Hollanders with no disapprobation.¹⁷

After the Revolution it had a number of outspoken advocates. In 1690 a writer, confessing that excise would be thought intolerable in England if laid on all food, explained how useful it was in other lands, where it was of all taxes the most equal, though taxing the food of the poor in Holland might be considered a grievance. "Where this Excise is most used", he said, "Importations and Exportations are most eased, by which Means, Trade is greatly improved, and at the same Time, the Levies to the King or State much augmented; for that the Expence of those Merchants and Seamen that repair thither, though they sell nothing, but come to see a Market, is considerable".¹⁸ About the same time Sir Josiah Child, enumerating some of the means by which the Netherlands had obtained such prodigious increase of trade, spoke of "The lowness of their *Customs*, and the height of their *Excise*, which is certainly the most equal and indifferent *Tax* in the World, and least prejudicial to any People, as might be made to appear, were it the subject of this Discourse".¹⁹ D'Avenant said:

Excises seem the most proper Ways and Means to support the government in a long war, because they would lie equally upon the whole, and produce great sums, proportionable to the great wants of the public. [And he added that] Venice and Holland, two jealous commonwealths, have not thought excises dangerous to liberty. They are the strength and support of our neighbouring monarchies, especially France; and if we are to contend with that king, the combat will be with very unequal weapons, if we must make use only of land-taxes and customs, against his excises, and all his other ways of raising money.²⁰

In 1696 a writer advocated an excise upon malt as a tax which would be universal and equal.²¹

It may be said, then, contrary to the assertion of Walpole, that excise was cordially detested by Englishmen for a long time after it was first introduced, because it was a tax affecting a great number

¹⁵ *A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions*, etc. (London, 1662), pp. 71-75, and the summary in the index for these pages.

¹⁶ W. S., *The Forreign Excise Considered. Wherein . . . is pleaded as well the Equity as the Conveniencie of Charging all Forreign Goods with an Excise, upon the Consumption*, etc. (London, 1663).

¹⁷ *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*, etc. (London, 1664, ed. New York, 1903), pp. 101, 103, 104, 107.

¹⁸ *Taxes no Charge*, etc. (London, 1690), in *Harleian Miscellany*, VIII. 504.

¹⁹ *A New Discourse of Trade*, etc. (London, 1698, but written earlier), p. 5.

²⁰ Charles D'Avenant, "An Essay upon Ways and Means" (1695), *Works* (ed. Whitworth, London, 1771), I. 62, 63.

²¹ A. Burnaby, *An Essay upon the Excising of Malt*, etc. (London, 1696).

of people, who would with less murmur have paid larger amounts indirectly. It was not difficult to arouse wide-spread popular feeling against it, as Walpole found to his cost. On the other hand there can be no doubt that this form of taxation was cordially commended not only by advocates of the court, but by some of the most astute financial writers of the time, whose tradition Walpole was probably following.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

THE ELECTORAL VOTE FOR JOHN QUINCY ADAMS IN 1820

THAT the one vote in the electoral colleges of 1820 withheld from James Monroe and cast for John Quincy Adams, for President, was that of William Plumer of New Hampshire is somewhat generally known among historical writers. The reason for Plumer's action is not so well known. Indeed, most historians attribute to him an erroneous reason. They usually state that one New Hampshire elector withheld his vote from Monroe in order to prevent that statesman from sharing an honor previously accorded to Washington alone. Mr. Edward Stanwood makes a statement to this effect in the earlier editions (p. 70) of his *History of the Presidency*, but in the later editions he has corrected it (p. 118). McMaster's version is as follows:

But when the day came for the electoral colleges to meet in their respective States, an elector in New Hampshire voted for John Quincy Adams. It was due to the memory of Washington, he explained, that no other man should share with him the honor of a unanimous election to the Presidency.¹

The true reason for Plumer's action is stated in a letter that he wrote to his son, William Plumer, jr., on January 8, 1821, and that is now found in the Plumer Papers, Division of Manuscripts, Library of Congress. From this letter, the following extract is taken: "I was obliged from a sense of duty and a regard to my own reputation to withhold my vote from Monroe and Tompkins; from the first because he had discovered a want of foresight and economy, and from the second because he grossly neglected his duty." Plumer voted for Richard Rush for Vice-President.

Contemporary impressions of Plumer's action possess considerable interest. His son, who was a representative in Congress, writes,

I received many congratulations on this vote of my father, from such men as Randolph, Macon, and other Republicans of the old school. Not

¹ McMaster, *History of the United States*, IV. 518.

that they liked Adams (Randolph assailed him with the fury of hereditary hate); but they disliked Monroe, whom they regarded as having adopted, chiefly from the influence of Calhoun, some of the worst heresies of the old Federal party.²

One of the New Hampshire newspapers soon after the adjournment of the New Hampshire electoral college observed,

The vote for Mr. Adams as President and Mr. Rush as Vice President, was given by the late Gov. Plumer.³ Every one who knows anything about that odd old gentleman would have guessed as much, and as his propensity to be singular and over-wise was probably ungovernable, it is well that he voted for the man who would, on the whole, be most acceptable to the people of this State as the successor of Mr. Monroe. But this vote is to be regretted, because it will probably be the only one throughout the United States in opposition to the reelection of the present incumbent, and thus to prevent a *unanimous* election will be pronounced *sheer folly*.

Before the meeting of the electoral colleges, the younger Plumer said to Adams that the elder Plumer had intimated that several electors in New Hampshire and Massachusetts were unwilling to vote for the re-election of Tompkins, but were disposed to vote for Adams as Vice-President, not with the expectation of his election but with a desire to draw attention to him and increase his prospects as a future candidate. Adams replied that he wished Monroe and Tompkins to be re-elected unanimously and not a single vote to be cast for himself, and requested Plumer to write to his father to this effect. Later, after the meeting of the electoral colleges, he said that if there was one vote in the Union that he thought sure for Monroe, it was that of Plumer. He deeply regretted Plumer's action, as it implied a disapprobation of Monroe's administration.⁵

C. O. PAULLIN.

² William Plumer, jr., *Life of William Plumer*, p. 495.

³ Meaning ex-governor. Governor Plumer did not die till 1850.

⁴ *New Hampshire Sentinel*, December 16, 1820.

⁵ *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams*, V. 206, 279.

DOCUMENTS

The Origin of the Regulation in North Carolina

THE Regulation has been exhaustively studied, and is still something of a *cause célèbre* in North Carolina history. The origin of the movement has remained veiled in an obscurity which the diligent efforts of innumerable investigators have hitherto failed to illumine. The contemporary work¹ ascribed to Hermon Husband, a leader of the Regulators, opens with the statement:

In Orange County the first disturbance is generally ascribed to have arisen; but Granville and Halifax Counties were deeply engaged in the same quarrel many years before Orange. . . . For though Granville County had been at war, as it were, some years before the disturbance in Orange, yet we never heard of it till it broke out in Orange.

Researches made by the writer in the records of Granville County and the state archives at Raleigh have brought to light records and documents of crucial importance which have not hitherto been known to exist, or been available to historical students.

In his *Impartial Relation* the author, presumably Husband, quotes several passages from a manuscript, by an unknown author, generally denominated "The Nutbush Paper".² The writer has recently discovered a contemporary copy of this address in its entirety, which has been missing for almost a century and a half. It is evidently in the handwriting of the author, George Sims, and is thus acknowledged by him, as well as bearing his signature in three places.

Of the author, who when this address was written had either been in Granville County but a short time or at least had formed but few acquaintances there, almost nothing can be stated at present. The Sims family settled in Granville probably before the time of

¹ *An Impartial Relation of the First Rise and Cause of the Recent Differences in Publick Affairs, in the Province of North Carolina*, printed for the Compiler (1770, pp. 104). With certain slight omissions, this work was reprinted in Wheeler's *Sketches of North Carolina*, II, 301-331. The collation was made from a copy in the library of the Philadelphia Library Company. There is also a copy in the John Carter Brown Library at Providence.

² The title, as given in Wheeler, is described as mutilated; it is made out to read as follows: "A serious address to the inhabitants of Granville County, containing an account of our deplorable situation we suffer . . . and some necessary hints with respect to a reformation." It is to be observed that the copy here printed, made for Capt. Thomas Parson and prefaced with some observations of the author, carries the brief title: "An Address to the People of Granville County".

its formation in 1746; in 1747 and 1748, entries in the county records refer to Sims's Road and Joseph Sims's ferry-landing on Tarr River. Henry Sims is first mentioned in the county records in 1747; and Joseph Sims, whose name occurs in the county records in 1746, qualified as captain of the Granville County militia on May 30, 1750. The first inspector of the first government warehouse in Granville County was Benjamin Sims, appointed August 31, 1749; other members of the family mentioned in the records are William Sims (1758), John Sims (1760), and Elisha Sims (1772). In 1777 Caswell County was set off from Orange, which had been formed in 1751 from Granville, Johnston, and Bladen counties. On the roll of taxpayers, listed in Caswell County in 1790, is found the name of George Sims, under the roll for "St. David's District".³

Despite the obscurity surrounding the material facts of the life of George Sims, the paper, for all its violences of prejudice and crudities in expression, is an able statement of grievances; and as an appeal to action, it indubitably exercised a powerful influence over the minds of the yeomen of Granville. It is dedicated to Captain Thomas Person, prominent figure in the Regulation movement—the one figure in that yeoman insurrection who subsequently won high place and reputation in the colony. This paper, as the first effective summing-up of the grievances of the people, was surely a proximate cause of the Regulation.

It has been only imperfectly realized that the Regulation remotely received its initial impetus from the bipartite division of authority in the colony of North Carolina, between the agents of Lord Granville and the royal governor. When Earl Granville in 1744 united with the other Lords Proprietors in surrendering to the crown the sovereignty of the province of Carolina, he alone reserved to himself all rights as owner of the soil, in his share of the grant. Fully one-half of the province of North Carolina was embraced in Granville's district; and those who occupied lands within this district were required to pay annual quit-rents. As early as 1755 a committee of the assembly formally reported on the abuses of Lord Granville's agent and his subordinates; but no action was taken. On January 24, 1759, following vigorous protests against injustices which remained unredressed, a number of citizens seized Francis Corbin, Granville's principal agent, bore him to Enfield, where he had an office, and held him in duress until he gave a bond. Especial hostility was expressed by the disaffected toward the attorney-general of the colony, Robert Jones, jr., who was

³ *North Carolina State Records*, XXVI. 1262.

also a personal favorite of Earl Granville.⁴ In his *Impartial Relation*, Husband says that when the "Nutbush paper" was circulated at a meeting of the Orange County court, August, 1767, "after we had tried to plead our own cause at the bar against extortion", "some persons who lived adjoining Granville line told us they feared that matter would ruin some of us, for that just such a case had been undertook in Granville County years ago, and that they were at law about it to that day".

The original petition by sundry of the inhabitants of Granville County, of date March 23, 1759, protests bitterly against the practice of Robert Jones, jr., in demanding exorbitant fees for his legal services, etc., and asks that he be prohibited from pleading at the Granville bar. This petition, hitherto unpublished it is believed, constitutes a fundamental document in the written history of the Regulation. The copy here presented, collated from the original records, was kindly supplied me by Dr. Thomas M. Owen, of Montgomery, director of the Department of Archives and History of Alabama. This Searcy petition was read at a meeting of the Granville County court, in the presence of the justices William Person, Daniel Harris, Gideon Macon, Thomas Person, and William Hunt. The presence of Thomas Person on the bench is to be noted. In his *Impartial Relation*, Husband says that as a result of the petition, the officers sued the subscribers for a libel, indicted the author of the paper, and imprisoned him; "which lawsuits have remained to this day" (1769). It is impossible to authenticate these statements, as the third volume of the Granville County Records, for 1759-1767, has disappeared. Below follows the petition of Reuben Searcy and others; Searcy was a prominent citizen of the county, sheriff in 1763, and afterwards clerk of the county court (1771-1783). The effect of the Searcy petition is clearly perceptible; for on May 14, 1759, Robert Jones testified under oath before the governor and council that "he had heard it was intended by a great number of rioters to petition the court at Granville to silence him, the deponent, and that if no such order was made, to pull deponent by the nose and also to abuse the court". Following a formal address to the governor by the assembly on May 15, a proclamation was issued and reputed rioters were incarcerated; but the jail was immediately broken open and the prisoners set free.

⁴ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. lvii; *A Genealogical History*, by Col. Cadwallader Jones (1899), p. 2 *et seq.*; *William and Mary College Quarterly*, October, 1897, p. 121. Jones, called Robin, settled in Granville County as early as 1748, and during the years 1756 to 1766 served as attorney-general of the colony, alternating with Thomas Child. He was the father of Willie and Allen Jones, famous in the annals of the state. Cf., for example, *Life of John Paul Jones*, vol. I., by Mrs. Reginald De Koven (New York, 1913).

Corbin's legal actions against the rioters were prudently withdrawn, and the issues temporarily settled. The rioters lived in the counties, not only of the present Granville and Halifax, but also of Vance, Warren, Edgecombe, Wilson, Nash, and Franklin. The riot at Enfield presages the breaking-up of the court at Hillsborough in 1770; the petition of Searcy is the natural precursor of the Nutbush paper of George Sims.

As the rioters at Enfield protested against the illegal practices of Corbin, and the commoners of Granville in the Searcy petition protested against the exorbitant fees of Jones, so George Sims appeals to the inhabitants of Granville to rise against the tyrannies and exactions of Benton. The taking of extortionate fees constituted the primary and fundamental grievance of the people; but in connection with the protests against Jones, it may be mentioned that the closure of Granville's office in 1765 was on all hands cited to Governor Josiah Martin in 1771 as a chief cause of the Regulator troubles.⁵ When the people moved on to these lands, after 1765, conflicts with the colonial authorities as the result of the refusal of the people to pay taxes were inevitable.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

I. THE PETITION OF REUBEN SEARCY AND OTHERS, MARCH 23, 1759.

To the Worshipful Court of Granville County Greeting. The Petition of Sundry of the Inhabitants of the County aforesaid. We his Majesties true and faithful subjects humbly beg leave to shew your worships that notwithstanding the many Liberties Rights and Privileges granted us by his Majesty King George the Second etc. whose subjects we are and whose person Crown and dignity we are ready and willing now and at all other times to defend and do with the greatest sincerity profess true obedience and loyalty, but Liberty that dearest of names and Property that best of charters, seems to be too much detracted, as we verily believe by the illusive insinuations of Mr. Robert Jones Jr. Therefore your Petrs. humbly pray your worships to take the same into your wise and deliberate considerations and as far as in your powers lie, redress and relieve your Petrs. with many others from his unjust impositions and exorbitancy. Therefore to proceed in the first place that eloquent Gentleman through his wiles and false insinuations to which art and chicanerie he owes his great success and high preferment in this Province that we your petitioners verily believe has not only impos'd on the inferior class of mankind but has likewise impos'd on his Excellency Arthur Dobbs Esqre.⁶ Governor etc., of this Province together

⁵ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, IX. 49. Cf. Bassett, "The Regulators of North Carolina (1765-1771)", in *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1894, p. 150, note. In 1761 Robert Jones was appointed Lord Granville's agent (Granville County Records, August 11, 1761). Jones died on October 2, 1766.

⁶ Arthur Dobbs, a native of Ireland, was appointed governor of North Carolina by the crown and took the oath of office on November 1, 1754. In connection with the Enfield riots, Governor Dobbs was popularly credited with showing

with his Majesties' Honourable Council that notwithstanding their wise and mature considerations together with their just honest and righteous intentions for the benefit and welfare of the inhabitants of this our Province in general, yet that gentleman thro' false and unjust Representations in matters relating to our County of Granville hath prevailed on his Excellency and Honours aforesd to issue a Commission of Peace for our said County thereby leaving out of said Commission several worthy gentlemen that were very serviceable and beneficial to our said County and more especially to the upper inhabitants thereof for the lack of which magistrates or a sufficient number of such your petitioners labour under great disadvantages and inconveniences and also Justice likely to be much retarded which certainly is very disagreeable to your worships as well as petitioners. And furthermore the Legislature of the Province have in their wise and deliberate consideration allowed and stated a set fee very sufficient for an Attorney practising in our said Province to have and receive for his care and trouble in prosecuting Suits in any of our Courts of Judicature but Mr. Jones instead of the fee allow'd by law frequently demands and receives double that fee without any matter or remorse of conscience, so that it has become a general practice and custom among chief of our Attornies, and by the great volubility of speech and the superiority that he by his wiles insinuations and chicanerie as aforesd. has insinuated himself into, very frequently works on the passions of weak juries to blind their conception of Justice in order to gain his point so that men flock daily to him to commence very trivial and frivolous lawsuits which tends to the great disadvantage and prejudice of our inhabitants for all which insults and injuries your petitioners humbly beg your worships to exclude and prohibit the sd Mr. Jones from pleading at our barr for the future and your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

II. AN ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF GRANVILLE COUNTY BY GEORGE SIMS.⁷

"Save my country, Heaven!" shall be my Last.⁸ Pope.

Dedicated to Capt Thomas Person.⁹

by his

Obt. Humble. Servt.

G. SIMS.

TO CAPT. THOS. PERSON.

Sir.

The honour you do me by requesting a copy of my address to the inhabitants of Granville County does not raise my vanity to such a height; a friendly disposition toward the rioters. Upon his death at the age of eighty-two, on March 28, 1765, he was succeeded as governor by William Tryon, who proved singularly unsympathetic with the regulating element in respect to their alleged grievances.

⁷ For the collation with the original manuscript, until recently hidden away in the Capitol building, I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. E. D. W. Connor, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission.

⁸ Ending of epistle I. of Pope's *Moral Essays*.

⁹ Known in history as General Thomas Person; born January 19, 1733, died November 16, 1800. Began life as surveyor for Lord Granville; sheriff of Granville County (1762), justice of the peace (1759, 1763, 1764), representative in as-

but what I am mortified down to the lowest degree imaginable, at the thoughts of granting your request. Not, because it contains any thing, either false, or criminal. I wish from my heart the facts therein related were not so notorious as they are: But the mortifying reflection is this, I wrote it for the common people to understand, and therefore took not the pains to be methodical, as I should have done, if I had known, or imagined, it would ever have come within the Scrutiny of Gentlemen. I do not intend by this Sir, to insinuate that I could write so methodically, as to stand the test of a critic, or in other words to commence author. Were I to entertain such a vain conceit, I should be afraid the very trees in the forest, rocks, hills, and vallies, would all resound the echo of that vain thought to my eternal shame and confusion. But, forasmuch as the facts treated of, whether generally, or particularly, are so notorious, and the conclusions so natural, that, it is no hard matter for me to compose a subject of this nature methodically enough to bear at least a perusal among Gentlemen, who are acquainted with my Circumstances. Because where nothing extraordinary can reasonably be expected, no great disappointment can happen, if nothing extraordinary be found. However, as I had not the presence of mind to make these reflections before it was too late, I gave you my promise, from which I cannot now in honour recind, therefore, I have this request to make, which I hope you will be candid enough to comply with; I do imagine, that you will communicate it to Gentlemen of penetration, and as I am positive, that, it will not bear criticising on; either in the orthographical, or grammatical perfections, I insist, that, at your leisure, you would correct those deficiencies, which are too egregious to bear the sight of a Critic at ten yards distance, that is if you intend to shew it to any Gentleman, who has not yet seen it. Otherwise, I do not care, since you are acquainted with the Author, you will easily look over the imperfections of the performance without censure; Since you cannot expect any accurate performance from so small abilities, which, however small, the person who is endowed with them, is proud of nothing more, than the honour of subscribing himself your very hble Servt.

G. SIMS.

N.B. I imagine it may be a matter of mirth to some Gentlemen to see my writing appear in the method of an Author, having a dedication prefixed. However let such remember, that as to the subject, I write the truth, and as to form, I write in my own Style.

I am yrs. etc. G. SIMS.

Gentlemen, You are chiefly strangers to me, there are very few of you, that I am personally acquainted with, and I imagine that some of you begin to wonder, what I am going to offer to a company of men that I know nothing of. However, Gentlemen, when I consider myself as a member of Granville County, I am no longer a stranger among you, but a brother of that community to which you all belong, and as such, I look

sembly for Granville 1764, 1768-1785 continuously, 1788-1790, 1793, 1794; senator in assembly 1787, 1791; elected (May 11, 1784) to Continental Congress, but never took his seat. The most vigorous democrat and vehement champion of the rights of the common people; leading Regulator and able adviser in their cause; included by Gov. Tryon in the list of those excepted from the benefit of pardon; captured and imprisoned; secured his release and was never brought to trial. Cf. sketches: S. B. Weeks, in *N. C. Booklet*, IX. 1; and T. B. Kingsbury, in *Weekly Star*, Wilmington, N. C., July 20, 1877.

upon it as my indispensable duty, to exert myself in vindication of those rights and privileges which our Constitution has endowed us with, when either persons or things endeavour to destroy them, and as this is evidently the case at this present juncture, I think it is high time we should all exert ourselves, in our defence against the common evil, which has almost overrun our land, and this is the motive Gentlemen, which induced me to desire a convention, and an audience of you, that I may lay before you, those grievances which oppress our land. Not, because you do not know it Gentlemen; but, because you do, and that by knowing it, you may the more chearfully join with me, in such methods as I shall propose, for the recovery of our native rights and privileges and to clear our country of those public nuisances which predominate with such tyrannical sway. And, I hope to see you all unanimously zealous and combine as one man to throw off the heavy yoke, which is cast upon our necks, and resume our ancient liberties and privileges, as free subjects. Who under God are governed by his august Majesty George the third, whom God preserve. And in order to explain myself on this subject, I shall undertake 1st. To explain what law is, when abstractedly considered. 2ndly. The utility or use of every human negative, and positive law. 3rdly. I shall undertake to shew the most notorious and intolerable abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this Country. 4thly. The mischief which necessarily flows from, or follows the abuse of the law, and the absolute necessity there is for a reformation. 5thly. Propound such methods to effect this reformation as appears to me most probable of success. And, Lastly, I shall recommend the whole to your serious consideration, and insist that we be no longer strangers when the common evil, which we groan under, calls so loudly for our interposition. Therefore let us unite as brothers of one community, to recover our privileges, which are trampled under foot, by a handful of wretches, who are fitter for halters than Officers¹⁰ of a Court. In the first place it is no hard

¹⁰ Foot-note in original manuscript: "Let it be remembered that whenever I mention Officers of the Court (which is a summary comprehension of the ministers of Justice if largely taken) I mean no more than, Clerks, Lawyers, and Sheriffs, and not the Wpl. members of the Bench, whose authority I revere, and hold them in the highest veneration."

The particular objects of the distrust of the inhabitants of Granville County were Robert Jones, attorney-general of the colony and agent of Lord Granville; and Samuel Benton, colonel of the Granville County militia, and clerk of the county court; but other county officers and lawyers generally were complained against. There are certain conspicuous exceptions to those in bad odor with the disaffected. Among the "worshipful members of the bench" (justices of the county court) during the period referred to, who, in the language of Sims, were "revered" and "held in the highest veneration", were Thomas Person, Reuben Searcy, Gideon Macon, and Richard Henderson. For Thomas Person, cf. note 9 *supra*. Reuben Searcy was the author of the trenchant protest against Robert Jones, jr. Gideon Macon, an emigrant from Virginia, was the father of the democratic statesmen, Nathaniel Macon, the friend and intimate of Jefferson. Richard Henderson was a young attorney whose "amazing talents and general praise had not created him a single enemy"; in appointing him to the highest court in the colony, the governor in a letter to the Earl of Shelburne said of him that he lived among a people who "will be happy at having such a distinction paid to one who resides among them, and for whom they entertain an esteem." (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 697.) Later, protests were made in both Orange and Granville against sheriffs who were grossly in arrears in their accounts. Conspicuous exceptions were Thomas Hart, who, as sheriff of Orange, was proved to have been "not a farthing out in his accounts" (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, VIII. 233); and Samuel Henderson, sheriff of Granville, to whom, upon examination of his accounts, the county was found to be in arrears and the account was allowed (Granville County Records, June 19, 1759).

matter to explain what law is; neither is it very material to my purpose whether I explain it or not; but as I promised to do it, and, because it may in some sort give us an idea of laws in general, and their obliging power; I shall explain it in the words of the learned Mr. Dawson,¹¹ who in his treatise of the origin of law, Says, That law is the rule of acting, or not acting, laid down by some intelligent being, having authority for so doing. This, Gentlemen, though it is short, yet it is a comprehensive description of all laws, whether divine or human, whether natural or revealed, negative or positive. And, without entering into definitions of particular laws, or tedious observations on the nature and property of Laws, I shall descend to the second proposal which was to shew the general utility or use of laws. And I may venture to affirm that the laws of all well regulated Societies will aptly fall under one of these three general heads or divisions. 1st. To secure men's persons from death and violence. 2ndly. To dispose of the property of their goods and lands. And 3rdly. For the preservation of their good names from shame and infamy. Under one of these three general heads, I say the laws of all well regulated societies will aptly fall; The further any system of law deviates from these great and general ends, the nearer it approaches to those systems of law, which are the productions of despotism and tyranny. But we are the people Gentlemen, who have the happiness of being born under one of the most perfect forms of government in the known world. We are a part of that stupendous whole, which constitutes the glorious, and formidable kingdom of Great Britain. The Sceptre of which is swayed by his present Majesty, George the third, of the royal house of Hanover, and right heir to the crown, and royal dignity, according to a Protestant succession, settled by an act of parliament in the reign of Queen Ann of blessed Memory. We are the subjects, I say, of this august monarch, who in conjunction with the united power and authority of the Lords spiritual, Lords temporal, and house of Commons, maintain and uphold this inimitable System of law, which his royal ancestors, and their predecessors, have from time to time enacted, and established for the safety of his kingdom, and the benefit of his leige subjects, by securing our person from death and violence: By disposing of the property of our goods and lands, and by providing methods for the preservation of our good names from shame and infamy. All these privileges, Gentlemen, we dare to call our own, under the protection of that (almost) immutable system of law, which is confirmed by the triple combined authority of the King, Lords, and Commons, as you have heard before and transferred by them to all his Majesty's plantations in North America, and else where as a model to form their laws by, and as a touchstone to try the validity of such laws, as shall be enacted by any Legislative power, within his Majesty's extensive Dominions.

This, Gentlemen, is the inexhaustible fountain, the source whence we draw our claims to these privileges that our situation as free subjects undoubtedly entitles us to, And that we may be provided with such laws, as the particular circumstance of our province, may from time to time require.

We have an assembly, which somewhat resembles that grand tripartite conjunction of the King's authority, Lords, and Commons. Here we have a Governor, Council, and an Assembly of Representatives chosen

¹¹ George Dawson, *Origo Legum; or, a Treatise of the Origin of Laws, and their Obliging Power* (London, 1694).

by the populous¹² to enact laws for the benefit of the Commonwealth, as occasion may require in conformity to the laws aforesaid. And I suppose, they have answered those ends, or whether they have, or have not, is a matter, which I shall not now undertake to determine. However, we have a set of laws peculiar to this Province, for a System. I cannot call them, because they are mostly temporary and subject to change.

There is none that I know of, if they were honestly complied with, that would not answer the end intended by our great Legislature at home; except, it be some petit private acts in favour of some particular persons, who by false insinuations and sinister practices have obtained the same, which, I shall treat of in their proper places. Well, Gentlemen, it is not our mode, or form of Government, nor yet the body of our laws, that we are quarrelling with, but with the malpractices of the Officers of our County Court, and the abuses which we suffer by those empowered to manage our public affairs; this is the grievance, Gentlemen, which demands our solemn attention, and in order to make it evident, I shall according to my promise in the third place shew the notorious and intolerable abuses which have crept into the practice of the law in this county, (and I do not doubt in the other counties also, though that does not concern us). In the first place, it is well known, that there is a law which provides that a lawyer shall take no more than 15/ for his fee in the County Court. Well, Genl. which of you have had your business done for 15/ ? Do not the Lawyers exact 30s for every cause, and 3, 4, or 5 pounds for every cause that is attended with the least difficulty? Yes: they do Gentlemen, and laugh at our stupidity and tame submission to these damned extravagancies. And besides the double fees, which they exact from you, do they not lengthen out your lawsuits, by artifices and delays, so long as they perceive you have any money to grease their fists with? And numberless other devilish devices to rob you of your livings in a manner diametrically opposite to the policy of our State, and the intention of our Legislature. I dare engage for you all, Gentlemen in the affirmative, I believe there is none here at present, but what must acknowledge that this is exactly the Case. Well, Gentlemen, if there were no more public evils, this, alone is sufficient [in] a little while to ruin our County in these litigious times. But hear another evil greater by far, if possible.¹³ Mr Benton in his former, and in his

¹² Populace.

¹³ First heard of in Granville County, N. C., on January 2, 1752, when he produced his commission as justice of the peace. On July 6, 1756, he was in prison and refused to serve when appointed justice of the peace (*N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 591); acted as justice of the county court in the years 1752-1755, 1763, 1764, and perhaps at other times; colonel Granville County militia, 1765; clerk of the court from 1765 until the time of his death shortly prior to April 17, 1770; representative in the general assembly from Granville County in 1760, 1761, 1762 (April and November), 1764-1765, 1766-1768. The Granville County Records show him to have been prominent and active in county affairs, notably as commissioner for the erection of a court house, gaol, stocks, and whipping-post. At various times he presented bills for his services against the county, running up into hundreds of pounds. He was the grandfather of Thomas Hart Benton, the famous statesman, who was born (March 14, 1782) near Hillsborough, on the old road to Haw River, about half a mile from the river Enore, where stood the mill of Thomas Hart. Samuel Benton's son, Jesse, the father of Thomas Hart Benton, was a representative in the assembly in 1781, lieutenant-colonel of militia, and accompanied Judge Richard Henderson on his journey over the Wilderness Road to Kentucky in 1775. Cf. the erroneous account of Thomas Hart Benton's forbears in the biography by W. M. Meigs (Philadelphia, 1904).

present capacity, is a subject worth a particular scrutiny. View him but in his former, and then view him in his present capacity, and make an estimate of the services he has done you, in requital for the favour you did him by taking him out of prison, or what was next door to it, and sending him Burgess. He was universally esteemed a person calculated for what is called a poor mans Burgess, and indeed he has proved a poor mans Burgess, he forgot that you sent him to do your business, Gentlemen, his mind (like his eyes) is turned inward, and all his transactions below have been for the benefit of that dear self of his, which is so much in his own good graces, that he is plundering his County to enrich that dear object! You had a great deal of reason, I acknowledge, Gentlemen, to imagine that a person who had suffered by the malpractices of others would make a benevolent patriot, when in a public capacity; but how much have probabilities deceived you; judge ye!

He is Colo. Benton, now chief Officer in our military affairs, he is Clerk Benton, chief Clerk of our County Court, in which double capacity I believe, Gentlemen, there is None [of] us that envies him, but in the execution of his office. I beleive there are none of us that have the good of the Commonwealth at heart, but must resent the usage he gives us here. The Clerks tell us their is no law to ascertain their fees, and therefore they are at liberty to tax our bills as they please, and the misfortune is Gentlemen, that we are obliged to pay it, be it what it may; I think, Gentlemen, if there be no law to ascertain the Clerk's fees, there is no law to compel us to pay any fees at all. However, let us see what advantage Benton the poor mans Burgess makes of this deficiency in our law, if you give a judgment Bond for five pounds only, and this Bond goes into Court, the Clerk for only entering it on the Court docket and issuing an Execution, charges you with forty one shillings and five pence, I had it from Benton's own mouth, at which time he vapoured as high, and with the same confidence that a fighting gamester has, who is endowed with courage of a highwayman, with oaths and execrations that he had taken it and would take it.

However, Gentlemen, I hope you will disappoint him, I am determined till he produces law that shews me what the fees are, to pay no fees at all, and I hope you will all follow the example, and see where Benton will get his obliging power to compel us to pay them. All these abuses are founded upon so false a basis, that [the] least resistance will overturn the whole mass. For, where there is no law, there is no transgression in not complying with the arbitrary demands of a lawless Officer, and where the law gives a right, the same law will give a remedy, when this law is violated, and that our rights and privileges are violated in the highest degree is manifest, not only from what has been said, but from the daily practices of our Officer. It is time, and high time, Gentlemen, that we should endeavour to save our sinking County from the impending ruin, which will be the necessary consequence of these cursed practices. I told you Gentlemen, I would undertake to sum up the abuses, which have crept into the practice of the law in this County. I have indeed undertaken it, but if my paper would permit, I am positive your patience would not. To say all that might be said on this subject alone would fill a large volume; therefore, I must abridge the catalogue, that I may perform my promise in other particulars; but remember by the way, the hardships that we suffer by building the courthouse etc. for Benton to bring grist to his own mill: But I shall treat of this subject with an instrument prepared to regulate this hardship.

And therefore I shall proceed to the 2th proposal, which was to shew the mischief that naturally flows as a consequence from these cursed practices, and whatever I say Gentlemen, to illustrate this melancholy subject. Need I mention one instance to set forth the misery which we groan under? Does not daily experience shew us the gaping jaws of ruin, open, and ready to devour us? Are not your lands executed, your negroes, horses, cattle, hogs, corn, beds, and household furniture? Are not these things, I say, taken and sold for one tenth of their value? Not to satisfy the just debts which you have contracted; but to satisfy the cursed exorbitant demands of the Clerks, Lawyers and Sheriffs. Here they take your lands which perhaps are worth four or five hundred pounds, and sell them at public vendue for about forty or fifty pounds. And who buys? Why the same villians who have taken your negroes and other personal estate, and have the County's money in their hands. This has furnished them with money to buy off the rest of your livings, at the same rates as you have heard. It is reasonable Gentlemen, that these Officers should be allowed such fees, as may give them a genteel maintenance, but then is it reasonable that they should rob the County to support themselves in such damned extravagancies, and laugh at us for being such simpletons as to suffer it? No: Gentlemen, there is no reason that I know of; except they want to reduce us down to that despicable state whence they rose, and a pitiful estate it was, Gentlemen. There were none of our arbitrary Governors, whose descent were not as obscure, and dispicable, as their transactions in a public capacity have been base and illegal. But it is a received maxim among the unhappy subjects of electoral Dominions, that they have the most to fear from a King who hops from the dunghill to the throne. But to return from my disagreeable digression, let us make an estimate of the difference between getting our livings by honest industry and getting them by these cursed practices. We will suppose ourselves all to be men, who labour for our livings, and there is a poor man among us, who has dealt for about 4 or 5 pounds in such things as his family could not possibly do without, and in hopes of being spared from the lash of the law till he can sell some of his effects to raise the money; he gives a judgment bond to his Merchant, and before he can accomplish his design his bond is thrown into Court, and Benton the poor mans Burgess has it to enter on the Court docket and issue an execution the work of one long minute. Well, Gentlemen, what has our poor neighbour to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble? Why, nothing but the trifling sum of forty one shillings and five pence. Well he is a poor man, and cannot raise the money. We will suppose Mr. Benton condescends to come to terms with him. Come (says he) and work. I have a large field and my corn wants weeding (or something like that). I will give you 1/6 a day, which is the common wages of a labourer in these times till you pay it off because you are a poor man, and a neighbour I will not take away your living. Well how many days work has our honest neighbour to pay Mr. Benton for his trouble and expense in writing about a minute? Why, he must work something more than 27 days before he is clear of his clutches. Well the poor man reflects within himself. At this rate says he when shall I maintain my own family. I have a wife and a parcel of small children suffering at home and I have none to labour but myself, and here I have lost a month's work and I do not know for what, my merchant not yet paid, I do not know what will be the end of these things;

however, I will go home, and try what I can do towards getting a living. Stay neighbour, you must not go home, you are not half done yet, there is a damned Lawyers mouth to stop before you go any further, you impowered him to confess that you owed £5., and you must pay him 30/ for that, or, else go and work nineteen days for that pick-pocket at the same rate, and when that is done, you must work as many days for the Sheriff, for his trouble, and then go home and see your living wrecked and tore to pieces to satisfy your merchant.

Well Gentlemen, if this were the case, would it not be a melancholy thing? But it is worse by ten degrees than any thing that you have yet heard. It is not a persons labour, nor yet his effects that will do, but if he has but one horse to plow with, one bed to lie on, or one cow to give a little milk for his children, they must all go to raise money which is not to be had. And lastly if his personal estate (sold at one tenth of its value) will not do, then his lands (which perhaps has cost him many years toil and labour) must go the same way to satisfy these cursed hungry caterpillars, that are eating and will eat out the bowels of our Commonwealth, if they be not pulled down from their nests in a very short time, and what need I say, Gentlemen, to urge the necessity there is for a reformation. If these things were absolutely according to law, it would be enough to make us turn rebels, and throw off all submission to such tyrannical laws. For, if these things were tolerated, it would rob us of the very means of living, and it would be better for us to die in defence of our privileges, than to live slaves to a handful of Scape-gallows, or perish for want of the means of subsistence. But, as these practices are diametrically opposite to the law, it is our absolute duty, as well as our Interest, to put a stop to them, before they quite ruin our County. Or, Are become the willing slaves of these lawless Officers, and hug our chains of bondage and remain contented under these accumulated calamities? No, Gentlemen, I hope better things of you, I believe there are very few of you, who have not felt the weight of their Iron fists and I hope there are none of you, but what will lend a helping hand towards bringing about this necessary work. And in order to bring it about effectually, we must proceed with circumspection, not fearfully, Gentlemen, but carefully, and therefore, it will be necessary to mention certain rules to be observed in our proceedings. And first, let us be careful to keep sober, that we do nothing rashly; but act with deliberation. Secondly, Let us do nothing against the known and established laws of our land, that we may not appear as a faction endeavouring to subvert the laws, and overturn our system of government. But, let us appear what we really are, To wit, free subjects by birth, endeavouring to recover our native rights according to law, and to reduce the malpractices of the Officers of our Court down to the standard of law. For, we must remember that it is not the Body of our laws, we are fighting with, this would be the highest folly, since it is the known established law of our land, that is a bulwark to defend those privileges, which we are contending for, except there be any late private acts, that favour them in these devilish practices, if there be any such law, I say, Gentlemen, it deviates from the use of the law, which I cited to you in the beginning and consequently derogatory from the System of the laws of England, and so we are bound by no authority to submit to them, but there are no such laws that I know of. Thirdly, Let us behave ourselves with circumspection to the Worshipful Court inasmuch as they

represent his Majesty's person, we ought to reverence their authority both sacred, and inviolable, except they interpose, and then Gentlemen, the toughest will hold out longest. Let us deliver them a remonstrance, setting forth the necessity there is for a suspension of court business, till we have a return from the Governor, in answer to the petition, which we shall send to his Excellency on the occasion. The remonstrance to their Worships, and the petition to his Excellency I have ready drawn, which I shall communicate to you after I have made my last proposal, which is this, I promised that the last paragraph should be a recommendation of the whole to your serious consideration, and insist upon some points necessary to be concluded on; but as all that has been said is so self evident, and the matter so important, that I am in hopes, you have all considered the subject, and made such conclusions as may inspire a resentment against the abuses which we suffer, therefore, my proposal is this, I am a stranger, I say to the chief of you. I have not moved in these matters out of any vain ostentation, or any private pique that I have against any of our arbitrary Governors, but a true zeal for the good of my County, was the only motive, which induced me; neither do I desire the preeminence in any thing among you, I am a stranger, I say, therefore it may be, that you have not that confidence in me, which you can repose in some of your acquaintances whose resolution you know will answer the end of these undertakings. If so Gentlemen, name the man, I will be the first on his list to follow him through fire and water, life and death if it be required in defence of my privileges, and if you choose me for your leader I can do no more. Here I am this day with my life in my hand, to see my fellow subjects animated with a spirit of liberty and freedom, and to see them lay a foundation for the recovery thereof, and the clearing our County from arbitrary tyranny.

God save the King

Nutbush¹⁴ Granville County

6th June 1765.

¹⁴ A settlement on Nutbush Creek, which runs through the northern part of what is now Vance and Warren counties, formerly Granville County.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Teaching of History in Elementary and Secondary Schools. By HENRY JOHNSON, Professor of History, Teachers College, Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xxix, 497.)

THIS work is the most important contribution to the voluminous literature of historical pedagogy which has appeared since the publication of Professor H. E. Bourne's *The Teaching of History and Civics* in 1902. A comparison of the two books shows a remarkable development in the intervening thirteen years. A few points of contrast between the two may be noted in order to show this advance. No invidious criticism of the earlier work is intended; for it is agreed that Professor Bourne's book was for years the best book on the subject, and his friends know that Professor Bourne could give a much better treatment of the subject to-day. Both works agree in devoting a chapter or a large part of a chapter to the meaning of history, to historical method, to aims and values, to the history of history-teaching in Germany, France, and the United States, to collateral reading, and to the use of original material. These chapters make up about one-third of Bourne's work and about two-fifths of Johnson's. The remainder of Bourne's book is devoted to a discussion of school programmes and to a running comment upon the course of study (290 pp.), both in history and civics, in the high schools and the grades; and there is one chapter (21 pp.) on Methods of Teaching History. The remainder of Johnson's work contains chapters upon the following topics: the Problem of Grading History, the Biographical Approach to History, the Study of Social Groups, Making the Past Real, the Use of Models and Pictures, the Use of Maps, Text-Books in History, the Use of Text-Books, the Correlation of History with Other Subjects, the History Examination. There is thus a marked contrast in the actual material covered in over one-half of the two works. In 1902 we were still passing through the trials of making curricula and syllabi, following upon the report of the Committee of Seven; in 1915, although the content of curriculum and of syllabus has not yet been determined—and let us hope it never will be permanently established—yet our main endeavor is to aid the teacher in the practical class-room management of any period of history. The thirteen years of history-teaching have seen a transfer of emphasis from the content of the course to the character of instruction given to the class; and the most casual inspection of the two works shows how great has been the progress in this direction.

Although Professor Johnson's book may thus be taken as a product of the new attitude toward history-teaching, his treatment of every topic is fresh, interesting, original, and in some respects unique. There is a complete absence of pedagogical cant—Herbart is mentioned but twice and then only in historical connections. There are no carping criticisms of poor methods, only abundant teaching by example of good methods. We have here a true scholar, a good teacher, and a sincere friend who is willing to place the results of his wide scholarship and his very extensive teaching experience at the command of all his fellow history-teachers.

The critical chapters—those dealing with the meaning of history, with the materials of history, with the aims and values of history-teaching, and with the grading of history—are models of clear, logical thinking expressed in simple but concrete language. The distinction between the *aims* and the *values* of history-teaching is particularly pertinent:

Worthy aims are easy to formulate and the logic of their realization is easy to establish. Worthy results are, therefore, easily accepted as foregone conclusions. In this way any subject can be proved valuable. History alone can be proved almost equal to the task of regenerating the world. The problem unfortunately is not so simple. Worthy aims may or may not be followed by worthy results (p. 55).

And again in discussing the need for historical accuracy even in elementary history work:

For most subjects . . . what is taught as truth in the schoolroom should be found true also in the world beyond the schoolroom. History is one of the exceptions. Historical truth, if taken seriously, suggests historical science, and the road to historical science is, for many educators, barred at the outset by the culture-epoch theory or some other theory (p. 58).

This is delicious; and then follows—if we “should undertake to teach beginners primitive arithmetic, or primitive geography, or primitive spelling, the plan would at once be pronounced absurd. Why it should be less absurd for history is not altogether clear” (p. 59).

In the historical chapters Professor Johnson gives much new material upon the development of history-teaching drawn from a wide reading of the sources from the Middle Ages down to the present, and strengthened by personal acquaintance not only with curricula, but also with class-room instruction in England, France, Austria, and Germany. Detailed study of history instruction in these countries is supplemented by references to courses of study in Sweden, Belgium, Russia, Italy, and Spain. It is fair to state that the chapter on history instruction in Europe is the most comprehensive study of the subject which has appeared in any language. Yet in spite of the abundant materials at the command of the author, the chapter is not unduly expanded at the expense of the more practical topics.

But it is in the chapters dealing with practical methods that one feels the power of an excellent teacher. There is here a pervading faith in the history-teacher and a deep knowledge of children gained from actual contact with elementary and high school classes. No method is advocated which is not illustrated with concrete examples gathered from actual class-room lessons. The use of maps, pictures, collateral reading, text-books, and examinations are all treated in the same fresh, concrete manner. The teacher has well exemplified his precepts in the book he has given us.

Lack of space forbids a description of the five valuable bibliographical and pedagogical appendixes, but these are of a character proportioned to the rest of the volume.

ALBERT E. MCKINLEY.

The Antiquity of Man. By ARTHUR KEITH, M.D., LL.D., F.R.S., Hunterian Professor, Royal College of Surgeons of England. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1915. Pp. xx, 519, 189 illustrations.)

ON account of the war, this work did not appear until one year after the proofs were corrected. In it the problem of man's antiquity is approached from the viewpoint of the anatomist. The author was already known to American readers by virtue of a little volume entitled: *Ancient Types of Man*, that appeared some four years ago in *Harper's Library of Living Thought* series. In the meantime however much has happened, the most important event being the discovery of an ancient type of man at Piltdown, Sussex.

Dr. Keith's initial chapter deals with the neolithic race, that built certain megalithic monuments of Kent. This race is long-headed and short of stature, not very different from a modern group of English people of the industrial class. The most pronounced differences are to be seen in the teeth and the lower limbs. This type characterizes the later neolithic period in England. It is a variant of the earliest neolithic race in England, represented by the Trent or Muskham skull and called by Huxley the "river-bed type". This type is also found in Spain, France, Switzerland, North Germany, and Scandinavia; likewise in Egypt of the Sixth Dynasty, which is contemporaneous with the neolithic of England.

According to the author, the early neolithic period corresponds to the period of the submerged forests. At that time the estuary of the Thames was far out in the North Sea just west of the Dogger Bank. Since then there has been a filling of the valley due to submergence. At Tilbury below London in 1883, the early neolithic valley bottom was met with at a depth of thirty-two feet below the level of the marsh. Some three feet deeper a human skeleton was found. It is supposed to represent the people of the submerged-forest era, and to have been deposited there anywhere from seven to twelve thousand years ago. The Tilbury skull is also of the river-bed type.

From the river-bed type, the author passes to a consideration of the later palaeolithic population of Europe as represented by the remains from Engis, Cro-Magnon, Grotte des Enfants, Brunn, and Combe-Capelle. In his opinion, the two Grimaldi individuals from the Grotte des Enfants belong to an aberrant Cro-Magnon form rather than to a different race. Both are of Aurignacian age. During the later palaeolithic period, Europe was inhabited by tall and rather distinct races having long narrow heads, and brains that were capable of conceiving and appreciating works of genuine artistic merit.

Going back a step further, we come to the Mousterian epoch, that of the Neandertal race, which the author synchronizes with the 50-foot terrace of the Thames valley (known on the Continent as the low terrace). *Homo neandertalensis* was a type quite distinct from the men of Cro-Magnon and Combe-Capelle. Its skeletal remains have been found from Gibraltar in the south to the Neander valley in the north, and from the island of Jersey to Krapina in Croatia.

Of pre-Mousterian races the author has much to say. Traces of them are found in the 100-foot terrace of the lower Thames valley. The skull found by Mr. W. M. Newton at Dartford is supposed to be of Acheulian age; while the skeleton from the gravel pit at Galley Hill is assigned to the still more remote Chellean epoch. The skeleton recently found under a layer of chalky boulder clay at Ipswich is accepted as authentic and consequently referred to a pre-Chellean stage, although anatomically it differs little from a neolithic or even modern skeleton. That it should be wholly different in type and at the same time be nearly as old as *Homo heidelbergensis* interposes in the mind of Dr. Keith no serious difficulties. Future discoveries may prove him to be right; the more conservative thinkers however, would not endeavor to anticipate the discoveries.

Much space is rightly reserved for a consideration of the skull from Piltdown. In his capacity as human anatomist, Dr. Keith believes that future discoveries will prove that the remains of *Eoanthropus dawsoni* represent the first trace yet found of a Pliocene form of man, and that Dr. Smith Woodward is justified in creating for it a new genus of the family Hominidae.

The author's conclusions are given a final apt and brief expression in the form of a combined anthropoid and human genealogical tree, which is put forth as a working hypothesis. A bit of his personality has gone into the pages of this interesting book, which should be widely read.

GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY.

The History of Melanesian Society. By W. H. R. RIVERS, F.R.S., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. In two volumes. (Cambridge: The University Press. 1914. Pp. xii, 400; 61c.)

A CONTRIBUTION by Dr. Rivers is always an event in ethnology. His work on *The Todas* of Southern India ranks among the best descriptive

monographs, while his chapters on marriage, relationship, social organization, in the fifth and sixth volumes of the *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* are notable for the methodological care with which the author has handled some of the delicate problems involved.

In his latest work, *The History of Melanesian Society*, the result of a preliminary survey of the field conducted under the auspices of the Percy Sladen Trust Expedition to Melanesia, Dr. Rivers has amassed considerable new material on that ethnographic area, which has heretofore been known chiefly for its highly elaborate decorative art. These concrete data are discussed in volume I. The main interest of the work, however, not alone for the anthropologist, but also for the sociologist and the historian, lies in the second volume, in which the author attempts a systematic albeit hypothetical reconstruction of the outlines of Melanesian history.

No adequate presentation can here be given of the argument constituting volume II.; a brief outline must suffice. The volume opens with a morphological analysis of systems of relationship leading to the conclusion that these reflect social organization and in particular states of marriage, and that a definite correlation exists between relatives designated by certain terms and certain social functions (pp. 43-45). On the basis of these generalizations, the author reconstructs a hypothetical initial stage of Melanesian society consisting of a dual organization with maternal descent and the rule of old men (gerontocracy) who monopolize all the women of the group. During this early period must have developed a realization of the definite relation between father and child and the transition must have occurred from communism to individual marriage (pp. 46-69). The progress of social organization is traced by the author from a maternal dual organization, through a stage of totemism, to a social system without clan organization (p. 85). These analyses as well as an illuminating study of descent, inheritance, and succession (chs. XVIII. and XIX.) resolve themselves in the following significant statement:

The inquiry conducted in this chapter has led to the conclusion that matrilineal descent is a feature of Melanesian society which now possesses far less significance than in the past. In some places it is only perhaps the last relic of a condition of mother-right which once governed the whole social life of the people; which regulated marriage, directed the transmission of property, and, where chieftainship existed at all, determined its nature of succession while many other aspects of social life were altogether governed by the ideas of relationship arising out of this condition (II. 102-103).

It will be seen that Dr. Rivers's view, if accepted, would lend strong support to the opinion of those who still believe in the former prevalence of a matriarchal state of society.

Up to this point the author's analysis takes the form of a reconstruction along evolutionary lines. Follows a linguistic analysis of the terms of relationship, which leads to the conception that the culture of Melanesia is historically complex (pp. 173-204). With the theory of complexity in mind, the author proceeds to analyse the secret societies, which show evidence of immigrant derivation. Thus the content of the rituals of these societies and the accompanying beliefs become the standard henceforth to be applied as a test of foreign *v.* indigenous culture (pp. 205-233). The historical strata thus revealed are then associated with the dual people, the kava and betel peoples, and recent Micronesian and Polynesian influences (pp. 242-290).

Chapter XXVIII. contains an interesting theoretical analysis of the general geographical and socio-psychological factors involved in migrations.

The remaining part of the volume is devoted to a systematic survey and reinterpretation of the various aspects of Melanesian culture in terms of the four hypothetical strata. Thus payment for the bride and ceremonial avoidances are assigned to the kava and dual peoples (pp. 310-336); totemism is revolved into two historically distinct groups, linked and non-linked totemism, the linkage being due to two successive migrations of totemic peoples (pp. 336-373); conventionalization in art is even re-defined as a product of the mixture of two peoples, one with a geometrical, the other with a realistic art (pp. 373-383); money is ascribed to the conditions arising when two largely independent communities live side by side (p. 393); the introduction of religion is assigned to the kava people, while the dual people practised magic (pp. 404-422); sun and moon worship come from the kava people (pp. 425-426), while stone work is due to ideas introduced by them (p. 429; *cf.* Rivers's article "Sun-Cult and Megaliths in Oceania", *American Anthropologist*, July-September, 1915); the bow and arrow belong to that branch of the dual people designated as "those who interred their dead in the sitting position" as well as to the kava people, among both of whom the art became subsequently lost [*sic!*]; the plank-canoe belongs to the kava as well as the betel peoples, while the dug-out originated with the dual people. In chapter XXXVI. the analysis, on similar lines, is extended to Melanesian languages, chapter XXXVII. is devoted to a subsidiary reinterpretation of the culture of the Bismarck Archipelago, while in chapter XXXVIII. the culture of the dual people themselves is shown to be historically complex.

The hypothetical structure erected by Dr. Rivers is imposing, while the supporting argument is so complex and intricate, that in the minds of many assent to the author's position will no doubt be prompted by the arduousness of the task of refutation. It must suffice here to point out that the sweeping use made by the author of the principle of diffusion of culture is methodologically altogether unjustifiable and must of necessity lead to the gravest errors in historical reconstruction. The key-

note to the author's method is contained in his own statement: "This method has been the formulation of a working hypothetical scheme to form a frame-work into which the facts are fitted, and the scheme is regarded as satisfactory only if the facts can thus be fitted so as to form a coherent whole, all parts of which are consistent with one another" (II. 586). A method such as this, while admirably suited to the conceptualizations applied in the domain of the exact sciences, breaks down completely when the task is that of disentangling an historical situation. Whenever thus applied, the method has invariably led to purely artificial and fantastic constructions, and must be designated as emphatically unhistorical. In this respect Dr. Rivers's theoretical position must be classed with that of Graebner, the leading representative of the so-called "historical" school in ethnology. Here, however, the analogy ends, for one finds in Dr. Rivers's work none of that mechanical handling of cultural data which is so characteristic of Graebner; instead, systematic and often brilliant use is made of psychological analysis and interpretation extended to all phases of culture. In this as well as in the thought-stirring character of Dr. Rivers's argument will lie the permanent value of his latest contribution to ethnology.

A. A. GOLDENWEISER.

A History of Persia. By Lieut.-Col. P. M. SYKES. In two volumes. (London: Macmillan and Company. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 544; xxii, 565. With maps and illustrations.)

COLONEL SYKES, whose earlier work on Persian subjects is well known and deservedly valued (his *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia* is one of the best books we have had in English for many years on the Middle East), has long designed and worked towards such a Persian history as he has now given us. His only serious rival, in his own language, Sir John Malcolm's *History of Persia from its most Early Period to the Present Time*, was published in 1815, and since that time much has been done. As Colonel Sykes reminds us, in the last century the cuneiform and other inscriptions, now solved, deciphered, and studied, have revealed a new side of historic truth; and hardly less valuable have been the excavations of ancient sites and monuments, apart from their written legacy to the world. "Susa has yielded up its secrets"—like Nineveh and many another. The remains of Old Persian palaces and tombs and altars and cities, the Behistun inscription, the cylinder of Cyrus, are things which alter our whole outlook upon Eastern history. Yet though "each important discovery has been embodied in some work of special value, no English book has dealt with the Persian subject as a whole, embodying the fruits of modern research; upon the national history, from first to last". Colonel Sykes, "after much hesitation", has fortunately attempted to fill this gap. He has a marked advantage in his close personal knowledge of so much of the ground; for twenty of the best years of his life he has lived in Persia; as a diplomatist, a soldier,

a traveller, and an investigator he has seen the Middle East from various sides, discovered many truths, and penetrated many illusions. The geographical and topographical chapters and references are particularly helpful, such as those that introduce the work—Configuration and Climate, Deserts, Rivers, Fauna, Flora, Minerals, the geography of Elam (chs. I.–III.)—or that chapter VIII. in which the contrast is drawn between the plains and the uplands of Persia, and the influence of the Aryan race on the Iranian plateau is studied. The parallel between Spain and Persia, even if pressed a little too far ethnologically, is suggestive and valuable. In both lands “the traveller from the North” soon “rises on to a plateau”, which is broken by jagged ranges, the *Sierras* or *Saws* of Spain, “and where the country is generally bare and treeless”. “Traversing this great plateau”, which occupies all the heart of the country, one then crosses the *hot lands* of the South, *Andalus* in Spain, *Garmsir* in Persia, before reaching the Southern Sea. “To the north, as if to complete the analogy”, the Biscayan provinces “differ as much from the Spain of the plateau as the Caspian provinces from the rest of Persia”. Moreover, although Persians are termed “the French of the East”, Colonel Sykes would rather compare them with Spaniards, “whose manner of life is akin to the Persian”, whose country has such similar physical conditions, and who can claim some actual blood-connection with the men of Iran—“for Spaniards are in [some small] part descended from Persians who accompanied the Arab conquerors”. These founded a Shiraz [Xeres] in Spain, and there made the wine, which as sherry still preserves the Persian name”. Even to-day “the best Shiraz wine resembles a nutty Sherry”.

Our author's account of the historic sites of Persia and their remains is also excellent. Susa, Persepolis, Pasargadae, Ecbatana, and the rest, are well described, and in some cases vividly illustrated: it is perhaps regrettable that Colonel Sykes has not given us the full text of the Behistun inscription of “the son of Vishtasp, the Achaemenian, a Persian, son of a Persian, an Aryan of Aryan descent”.

Specially valuable are the sketches of Persian customs, language, letters, and art (including architecture) in various times (see chapter XV. for the Achaemenian ages, chapter XLI. for the Sasanid, chapter LIV. for the early Islamic, chapter LXI. for the Mongol, chapter LXV. for the Safavi).

Everywhere history and geography are elucidated by the intimate first-hand acquaintance of an untiring and acute traveller with the field of study. In this history the time of early Persian eminence—from the rise of Cyrus the founder, the “servant of Jehovah”, to the death of Darius Hystaspes the organizer and administrator—is thoroughly appreciated and attractively presented, with fullness, critical care, and interest: no less excellent is the treatment of the Sasanid period, perhaps the most virile and attractive time of Persia.

Under Mohammedan rule the writer well brings out the depression of Persia for a century after the Islamic conquest and the partial revival under the Abbasids, symbolized and illustrated by the transference of the capital from Syrian Damascus to Baghdad on the Tigris: chapter XLIX., Persian Ascendancy in the Early Abbasid Period, and chapter L., the Golden Age of Islam, are particularly to the point here. Islamic culture in the East, so largely a product of Persian genius, suffered irreparable injury from the rise of Turkish influence and the Mongol invasions: from the eleventh century A. D. we accordingly find Mohammedan civilization, in spite of its remarkable past and apparent future, steadily on the decline. The thirteenth century was fatal to it: Chingiz Khan and his followers Timur and the Ottomans ruined the gorgeous East, from the Pamir to the Balkans, from Siberia to the Gulf of Persia. "Behold your house is left unto you desolate."

It is an impoverished, shattered, broken, dispeopled, barbarized Orient which sees the troubled history of modern Persia—the rise of a new independent Shiite state in the sixteenth century, the career of Nadir Shah, the disastrous struggles with Russia, the first partition of Persia by Slav and Briton, and the constitutional movement. No part of Colonel Sykes's undertaking is more to be welcomed than those last chapters, from the opening of the Safavi time: for nowhere in Persian history is there more general ignorance, even among historical workers.

The illustrations deserve special notice. They are abundant, apposite, always clear, usually most effective, often beautiful. Besides smaller reproductions of coins, seals, gems, medallions, cylinders, vases, and inscriptions, there are over 160 full-page pictures in the text, some in color, and 7 maps. The latter are not of equal merit or attractiveness, but both the pictorial, geographical, and archaeological illustrations it is difficult to praise too highly.

One may regret that so much space has been given to matters somewhat apart from the "road to Susa" on which the Persian historian must travel: early Oriental affairs, before the fall of Nineveh, likewise Graeco-Macedonian, Roman, and Arabian events, are treated "somewhat more fully than necessary"—the author anticipates such a criticism in his preface and rebuts it with a statement of the need for a "self-contained complete work" on his subject, focussing all "known of the ancient empires in their relations with Persia".

But this book is always delightful, even when it strays from Persia; Colonel Sykes has put some of his most suggestive work and some of his best illustrations into the very chapters which digress most widely to Assyria and Babylon, to Hellas, to Rome, or to Arabia; and every reader must wish a wide circulation and a cordial reception for such an admirable piece of work.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

English Court Hand, A. D. 1066 to 1500, illustrated chiefly from the Public Records. By CHARLES JOHNSON, M.A., and HILARY JENKINSON, B.A., F.S.A. Part I., Text; Part II., Plates. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xlviii, 250; xlv plates.)

ONE of the most serious gaps in the equipment of instruction in palaeography and diplomatics has been the absence of any working collection of facsimiles of English documents. It is true that valuable matter of this sort is found in the publications of the Ordnance Survey and the British Museum and here and there throughout the series issued by the two palaeographical societies; but none of these collections is systematic or complete for this purpose, and all are lacking in convenience, cheapness, and the comment and analysis necessary for the student. This deficiency has now been well supplied by two thoroughly competent scholars of the Public Record Office. A volume of forty-four plates reproduces eighty-one different documents, extending from a charter of the Conqueror to an account of 1501 and chosen so as to illustrate at the same time the development of writing and the principal types and series of English records. The accompanying volume of text gives in most instances a transcription and in every case careful comment upon the peculiarities of the original. The remainder of the text, something like a hundred and ten pages, is devoted to an introductory account of court hand as distinguished from book hand, a brief treatment of abbreviations, and a detailed discussion, with the aid of abundant engravings, of the history of each letter and sign throughout the period and the kind of writing covered by the book. "No effort has been made to select documents of special historical or artistic significance: we have rather attempted", the authors say, "to give specimens of the average humdrum material of historical research and to show the beginner how to deal with ordinary problems which the utilization of such material presents." The attempt has certainly been successful and will create a real obligation on the part of the historical profession.

The purpose is strictly practical, and the treatment is frankly empirical. The material has been chosen almost entirely from the Record Office and evidently with an eye to the great administrative divisions of the central government. The student is not brought in contact with the types of local record, such as manorial documents or ecclesiastical registers, and no reference is made to documents of foreign (*e. g.*, papal) origin which occur in English repositories; nor is he told how to follow up such matters in the bibliography, which contains no books on local records or on diplomatics and even omits Giry, in spite of its convenience for chronological reference. It will thus be seen that the collection is at once more restricted and more systematic than such Continental parallels as the facsimiles of the *École des Chartes*. For the

most part the comment is strictly palaeographical; the chief exception is a certain number of glosses on technical terms or uncommon usages, notes inserted on no apparent principle and clearly out of place in a palaeographical treatise. In regard to furnishing transcriptions and references the practice is inconsistent. Thus plate XVIIb is not transcribed, while XVIIIa is printed without mention of Maitland's use of the roll in his *Select Pleas in Manorial Courts*. It would seem that in a work designed for students transcriptions should have been provided even in the case of texts printed elsewhere, for many of the works cited are, like the Pipe Roll of 31 Henry I., not always easily accessible. It would have been of some advantage to students to indicate by italics or brackets the resolution of abbreviations; it is hardly a good example to them to print the periods before and after an initial for which the full name has been substituted in the text. In plate IIa the gap in the last line should have been noted and an effort made to decipher the whole of the proper name at the end of the preceding line, where the reader's attention might also have been called to the practice of writing above the line in such cases. In general however the work of transcription seems accurate and the comment judicious.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

Survey of the Honour of Denbigh, 1334. Edited by PAUL VINOGRADOFF, F.B.A., Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence, University of Oxford, and FRANK MORGAN, M.A., Tutor of Keble College, Oxford. [Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, vol. I.] (London: The British Academy. 1914. Pp. cxxiv, 347.)

THIS is the first volume issued by the British Academy, which proposes to undertake the systematic publication of a series of records dealing with the social and economic history of England. Denbigh was a Welsh honor but the Survey has a wider interest than that of purely local history, for in depicting the struggle between Welsh and English customs, it describes "Celtic institutions which lie at the foundation of the history of Great Britain". Wales was conquered in 1282 and the Survey of Denbigh was made in 1334 and is therefore near enough in point of time to give a "picture of the condition of affairs before the conquest, of the effects of that political change, together with glimpses of the transition from a pastoral to an agricultural condition, from a tribal to a tenorial basis". The unique value of the document is due to three things: it is very detailed and generally exact in its information; it was made before the Black Death and so the effects of that catastrophe do not obscure the picture of the pre-conquest Welsh organization; the honor is so mountainous that agriculture was very slowly introduced and as a result the original tribal and pastoral organization persisted here longer than in other parts of the principality.¹ It was

¹ Seebohm, *Tribal System in Wales*, p. 29.

Seebohm who first appreciated the worth of the document. He used it in preparing the *Tribal System in Wales* and printed extracts from it in record type in that work.

The present first complete edition has been prepared by Professor Vinogradoff with the assistance of an unusually able seminar, most of whose members have already been engaged in scholarly work. It follows Seebohm's manuscript, but three other manuscripts have been used for collation, though only one of them was of much value. The text is apparently a faithful reproduction of the original, for a comparison of parts of it with some of the extracts printed by Seebohm shows them to be in absolute accord. The document abounds in figures. The editors have contented themselves with printing the variant numbers given in the different manuscripts and in this way errors have passed unnoticed. Thus the total amount of escheated land in Eryvyot is given as 1483½ acres, 9½ perches, but it is impossible to get this sum from the separate items (p. 109); the sum of the lands escheated in Prestlegot should be 237 instead of 227 acres (p. 171); the escheat of Wickwire and its hamlets should be 2573 instead of 1573 acres (p. 216); in Mairdreue the lands in escheat add up to 39½ acres instead of 38½ acres (p. 232); on page 290, l. 20, "tenent partes" should read "tenent septem partes".

The text of the Survey is accompanied by an excellent introduction based upon the Survey itself, on the Welsh codes, other Welsh surveys, ministers' accounts, and similar material. It adds to our information in many points. After an historical sketch of the honor follow sections on Kindreds and Villages, Wood, Waste and Pasture, Agriculture, Rents and Services, Officers and Agents, the Unfree Population, English Tenuarial Arrangements, and the Urban Population. Some points of interest brought out in the discussion are the slight development of manorial organization in the honor, the almost universal conversion of services into money payments, the striking contrast of the English organization based on villeins with the Welsh, in which the *nativi* who correspond to the English villeins formed only a minority of the rural population. Moreover, while in England the lords, freemen, and villeins were bound together in a hierarchy, the Welsh, both free and unfree, were united by the tie of kindred. The kindreds owned land in common scattered through different villages. Of special interest is the view that this tribal ownership of land was developing naturally into the village community. The process was accelerated by the conquest with its attendant confiscations but that political event did not originate the change.

A few slips have been noticed. The extent of the arable at Dynorbyn Vaur in the third season was 69 instead of 60 acres; at Kilforn the figures for the arable should be 67, 59, and 101 acres. In Ughalet a case of military service is given in addition to the one cited. It is worth mention, for it is the only reference in the Survey to service for forty days (p. 205). The vill of Prees is wrongly given as 7700 acres (p. 96, note t). There is occasional lack of uniformity in the use of names:

Segroyt and Segroit (pp. xxxvii and xlix); Astret and Ystrad (pp. xlviii and 44, note). An irritating feature of the introduction is that the references are to the folios of the manuscript instead of to the pages in the text. The book contains a map of the honor and two elaborate tables of Welsh kindreds.

S. K. MITCHELL.

Belgian Democracy: its Early History. By HENRI PIRENNE, Professor of Medieval and Belgian History, University of Ghent. Translated by J. V. SAUNDERS, M.A., Second Master at Hymers College, Hull. (Manchester: University Press. 1915. Pp. xi, 250.).

THE Belgian historian introduces the English version of his volume, published originally in Belgium, 1910, with a fervent expression of his conviction that the vitality shown by Belgian towns at all stages of their past history is a certain proof that they will rebound anew from their present disasters. And surely the world will watch anxiously to see that prophecy come true and, while they are waiting, nothing should be more timely than a consideration of the past experiences of those same towns, often as hard as the conditions under which they are existing to-day.

As often happens with a small volume, so much matter is compressed into the 243 pages of text that it is hard reading, although containing much that is suggestive and illuminating. M. Pirenne has already set forth his reasons elsewhere for believing that colonies of merchants and artisans, clustering just outside the walls of an abbey or a castle, formed the nucleus of the Netherland towns instead of the towns having originated in mark communities as maintained by Vanderkindere. M. Pirenne's expositions of this opinion in his *Histoire de Belgique* and certain periodical articles are more interesting than in this new volume, because fuller and less condensed in statement. Here he reiterates the main points of argument and shows how the trading stations, the *emporía*, more often termed *portus*, nestled naturally under the protection of fortresses, monasteries, or militant episcopal sees, lying conveniently on the highway of commerce. In these up-springing towns two elements existed side by side, the military *castrum* or episcopal *citê*, and the circle of *poorters*—colonizing free-traders in search of customers. *Poorter* is used in Netherland documents as synonymous with *burger*. It is curious, as M. Pirenne remarks, that the latter term, sprung from the loins of a stronghold, has been the parent of a word familiar in all European tongues as emblematic of the least militant of characteristics. Nothing could be more suggestive of antimilitaristic qualities than *bourgeois*! But the chief point brought out is that these *poorters* or trading colonists were freemen at the time of their settlement, no matter what their previous history had been, and ready to make their own regulations for the management of their little community and that they did so. Certain

characteristics of medieval towns are, of course, by no means peculiar to the Netherlands. There were certain groups which developed on similar lines, and towns far apart and not akin were sometimes curiously alike. Lille and Arras, whose population is Latin, are the sisters of Ghent and Bruges, with their Germanic citizens, and conversely there is more affinity between Liège and Utrecht than between Utrecht and Amsterdam. The degree of actual democracy possessed by these communities is the main matter of interest and here is where one might take issue with the writer. He likens the commune to a hive or an ant-hill and differentiates it from either by the fact that the insect communities are managed on monarchical, the human on democratic, principles. Yet as M. Pirenne traces the development of Liège and Bruges—taken as types—it seems to be very clear that democracy, as understood to-day, existed in theory rather than practice, at least after the very earliest stages of the bodies corporate, if ever existent. They were very jealous organizations, those towns, and the non-burghers had about as many rights as the Uitlanders in South Africa before the Boer War. That is, power was vested not in the Demos but in the privileged, and those were privileged who had qualified in some other unit—a guild. And as it was in the town so it was in the constituent units of the town, the guilds. And when immunity was won it was jealously guarded. The French Revolution had to do levelling in other realms than those of aristocracy. But to see M. Pirenne at better range on this subject, turn to his article on "Les Villes Flamandes" (*Annales de l'Est et du Nord*, 1901) and for the further development of the topic to various chapters of his *Histoire de Belgique*, *passim*.

The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Enlarged from Original MSS. with Notes from Unpublished Diaries, Annotations, Maps, and Illustrations. Edited by NEHEMIAH CURNOCK, assisted by Experts. In eight volumes. Standard Edition. (London: Robert Culley; New York and Cincinnati: Methodist Book Concern. 1910-1915.)

JOHN WESLEY'S *Journal* has long since taken its place as a classic in English literature, and is recognized by students of the eighteenth century as one of the important sources for the history of that period. In spite of these facts there has never been prepared a complete and accurate edition, and for some years past there has been considerable agitation, both in England and America, urging the publication of a new and complete edition of the *Journal of John Wesley*. For seven years students of Wesley and his century have been engaged in collecting material for this edition, and so great has been the amount of new material unearthed, since the edition was planned, that the publishers have

been compelled to enlarge their original plan of publication, and instead of issuing the *Journal* in six volumes, as first announced, they have now added a seventh and an eighth volume.

The editors have displayed a most scholarly and painstaking care in performing their exacting task. The foot-notes are filled with much detailed information, and display a thorough knowledge of Wesleyana. Careful proof-reading is shown by an almost complete absence of mistakes, and the mechanical work has been admirably executed. Each volume contains numerous illustrations which are both artistic and informing.

The most interesting volume of the *Journal*, to the readers of the *American Historical Review*, is volume VI., which has but recently come from the press. This volume covers the period of the American Revolution, from September 13, 1773, to July 17, 1784. During these years Wesley printed several interesting political pamphlets bearing on the American war, the most important being his *Calm Address to the American Colonies*, which appeared in 1775, and in which he urges the Americans to submit (pp. 82-85). This address, we are told in the foot-notes, produced an unparalleled sensation and in three weeks forty thousand copies were sold, and as a result, a "hurricane of abuse broke upon Wesley's head". Wesley wrote, at the same time, a letter to Lords North and Dartmouth in which he urged the necessity of moderate dealings with the Americans. In this letter he asserts that from what he knew of the Americans, if war was actually begun, the American colonies would certainly gain their independence. This letter we are told by the editor is to be printed in full in the appendix of volume VIII. In November, 1775, Wesley replies to an inquiry as to his motive in publishing the *Calm Address*, by a letter, printed in Lloyd's *Evening Post*, in which he says, "I have been seriously asked, 'From what motive did you publish your *Calm Address to the American Colonies*'? I seriously answer, Not to get money. Had that been my motive I should have swelled it into a shilling pamphlet, and entered it at Stationer's Hall." Nor, he continues, did he publish it to please any man living, high or low, but his real motive was to contribute his mite toward allaying the excitement and opposition to the government. Many in England, he states, are pouring oil on the flame by crying out, "How unjustly, how cruelly, the King is using the poor Americans, who are only contending for their liberty and for their legal privileges!" He wrote the pamphlet, he says, to show that the Americans were neither cruelly nor unjustly used, but that they were contending for illegal privileges, the right to be exempted from Parliamentary taxation. (For a list of Wesley documents relating to the American war, see pp. 66, 67, note.)

Wesley was a firm supporter of George III. and an admirer of Lord North, the prime minister, and Lord Dartmouth, the secretary of state for the colonies to 1775 and later lord privy seal. On February 2, 1778, the *Journal* states, "I had the satisfaction of spending an hour with that

real patriot, Lord ————". It is very probable, so the editor thinks, that the reference here is to Lord Dartmouth. Lord Dartmouth was one of the leaders of the Evangelical revival movement within the Church of England and this accounts largely for Wesley's regard for him (pp. 179-180). He probably was the chief medium of communication between Wesley and the prime minister and possibly with the king himself. For King George had shown kindness toward the Methodists (p. 10, note), and the cleanness of his private life and of the court, contrasting so greatly with that of the two previous reigns, would naturally make a strong appeal to Wesley.

We find Wesley, during these years, frequently preaching from the text, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's", especially in those districts where there was much dissatisfaction with the government, which was particularly the condition in the west of England, about Bristol (pp. 78, 91, 181), in Wales, and in Ireland. In his itinerary through Wales in 1779 he finds the people in consternation, due to a report that the French were planning an invasion of Wales, and to allay the excitement he preaches at Carmarthen from the text, "Say ye unto the righteous, it shall be well with thee". In February, 1777, Wesley wrote another pamphlet addressed to the inhabitants of England, in which he argues that the American war is largely the result of disloyalty in England. And the day before the yearly conference meets, in August, 1777, he desires as many as possible to join together in fasting and prayer, "that God would restore the spirit of love and of a sound mind to the poor deluded rebels in America" (p. 167). On April 14, 1777, he preaches at Liverpool, "where many large ships are now laid up in the docks, which had been employed for many years in buying or stealing poor Africans, and selling them in America for slaves. . . . Since the American war broke out, there is no demand for human cattle" (p. 143).

This and much more does the *Journal* contain, and with the completion of the next two volumes, the last of which will contain reprints of these interesting documents referred to above, and with the new edition of the Wesley letters, which the editor promises, the student will be in possession of all the material for a complete study of the relation of John Wesley to the American Revolution.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

The Life of Barnave. By E. D. BRADBY. In two volumes. (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. 389; 410.)

BARNAVE, though one of the most important figures in the early history of the French Revolution, has been neglected by English and American students. Until the appearance of Mr. Bradby's book no biographical study of his life, of any consequence, has existed in English. The explanation is perhaps to be found in Barnave's own words. "Liberty",

he declared, "is won by enthusiasm, but on the other hand, it is kept by resisting enthusiasm". His fight for liberty was not as dramatic as that of some of his contemporaries and moreover he was chiefly concerned in the latter part of the programme—resisting enthusiasm—a part never popular. His opposition to the extension of equality to all classes in the colonies, and to the establishment of a republic, naturally aroused enmity against him both from the extremists and the republicans, while for his advocacy of liberty he was attacked by the royalists. The significant though undramatic part which he played in the constructive work of the Constituent Assembly is, however, more than sufficient to warrant an extended study of his life.

Mr. Bradby finds a special reason for such a study in the curiosity provoked by the apparent contradictions of Barnave's personality.

His kindness to the royal family when he and Pétion escorted them back to Paris cannot fail to leave an impression that he had a heart large enough to be touched by misfortune, that he was a true gentleman who knew how to behave in trying circumstances. This impression persists and colors all the unfavorable ones which we subsequently form.

There is ground for such unfavorable impression in the opinion expressed by his adversaries. He was in their view "excessively vain, inordinately ambitious, uneasily jealous of Mirabeau, acid and spiteful", an inveterate duellist, a cold rhetorician and finally a turncoat, when after the flight to Varennes, "won over" by the smiles of the queen, he devoted himself to trying to prop up the monarchy and to save the royal family.

Allured by these contradictions, Mr. Bradby proceeds to examine the evidence. His conclusion is decidedly favorable to Barnave. He presents him as a young man of lofty ideals and at the same time of sound practical sense, an opponent of privilege and oppression, a clear and logical debater well able to refute Mirabeau, generous to his enemies and loving and loved by a large circle of friends, and finally an advocate of constitutional monarchy, not because of chivalrous and sentimental devotion to a woman, but because of firm belief in a cause.

A notable part of the book is Mr. Bradby's examination of Barnave's alleged relations to the court, especially to the queen, as a political adviser. While his argument is not convincing beyond all reasonable doubt, he proves that much of the testimony, particularly that of Madame Campan, is untrustworthy, and that at least there was nothing politically discreditable in his dealings with the queen. While opinions may differ as to Barnave's life, there can be no difference of opinion as to the nobility of his conduct as he faced death. He refused to avail himself of the prison door left suggestively open, "because he held it better to die under a cloud than to live as a witness against France and the Revolution in the eyes of Europe hostile to both".

The book is of value not only as a picture of Barnave but as a vivid

account of the Constituent Assembly. The background is as interesting as the main figure; there is so much of it, however, that at times Barnave himself is almost lost from sight. The work might perhaps be more properly called "The Life and Times of Barnave".

ELOISE ELLERY.

A Historical Geography of the British Dominions. By Sir CHARLES LUCAS, K.C.B., K.C.M.G. Volume IV. *South Africa*, part II., *History to the Union of South Africa*. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. viii, 533.)

THE first volume on South Africa in this series included the descriptive geography and the history of this region to about 1895. The author in this second volume, which is exclusively historical, surveys in much greater detail the fifteen years ending in 1910. In the appendixes are several familiar and important documents; several excellent large maps are given, though the sketch maps in the text are disappointing; and the bibliography is confessedly brief and elementary. But the references, particularly to official documents, are frequent and precise and the index excellent.

The author has chosen to take the period of the war, and particularly the military operations, as his central theme. Of the 487 pages of text, 300 pages are devoted to the years 1895-1902. The result is that we do not find even in the three long chapters on this subject a satisfactory balance as to the operations in the field and the equally difficult matter of the political history of the conflict. Nearly every stage of the war is treated with a mass of detail which would be justified only if Sir Charles Lucas were primarily a trained writer of military history, and if on his frequent maps he had supplied occasional contour lines or marked the position of troops. As it is the result is most confusing. The book is equally unsatisfactory both to the reader who is concerned chiefly with the larger strategy of war and to the closer military student. On the other hand, the candor of the author's criticisms and his readiness to quote from hostile or foreign commentators make these chapters a temperate and at times almost naïve declaration of British military bravery, incompetence, and persistence.

Of the remaining pages, the best are those devoted to the period immediately before the war, though the last chapter is an admirable, brief summary of the two volumes. It is therefore a matter of regret that the union of South Africa—the climax and crown of a tumultuous century—should receive less than a dozen rather perfunctory pages. Furthermore, though the central problem in South African history—the contact of white and colored peoples, involving also the labor question—is frequently mentioned, the reader will look in vain for adequate appreciation and treatment of this thorny subject. In brief, in these respects this volume is not up to the standard set by its predecessors in this series.

But it has certain excellent qualities and contains many passages which are stimulating to the specialist in colonial affairs and which deserve careful reading by any student of recent history. For example, there is the keen analysis of the conflict between a seventeenth-century civilization on an alien soil with modern industrial capitalism at work in a new country. It is open to doubt whether the author, who has tried to be conspicuously non-partizan, is quite fair in his condemnation of Boer traditions and characteristics as shown in the Transvaal. But he makes a suggestive distinction between the South African Republic and the Orange Free State. The former was always a frontier state. It drew the more restless and reckless Dutch; and these because of their situation and their history had to face two of the most difficult of administrative problems. On their borders, indeed all about them, was a vast native population, and later, surging in upon them from the ends of the world, came the miners and foreign corporations. On the other hand the position of the Orange Free State had been in the main long fixed and its political and economic atmosphere was much more calm. Other equally important matters appear in many parts of the book and commend anew the whole field of South African history to the attention of men with varied historical interests.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Riverside History of the United States. WILLIAM E. DODD, Editor. I. *Beginnings of the American People.* By CARL LOTUS BECKER. II. *Union and Democracy.* By ALLEN JOHNSON. III. *Expansion and Conflict.* By WILLIAM E. DODD. IV. *The New Nation.* By FREDERIC L. PAXSON. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. 279, xviii; 346, xvii; 329, xxiv; 342, xiv.)

TECHNICALLY, the four volumes of this attractive and handy series are of about equal size, but the number of pages of text varies from about 275 in volume I. to 346 in volume II. Each of the last three volumes, again, is divided into from sixteen to twenty chapters, while Professor Becker groups in six long chapters the material of volume I. To each chapter, throughout the series, is appended a brief bibliography of primary and secondary material, forming as a whole a discriminating selection of authorities best worth while. Professor Becker adds a brief general bibliography of the period, but this useful feature is omitted in the other volumes. Each volume is separately indexed, but there is no consolidated index to the series. There are numerous maps in black and white, most of them, apparently, drawn for this work, and embodying a good deal of well-directed labor. The maps are so small, however, and the mechanical execution as a whole so inferior, that it is not easy to use them without a glass.

The number of pages or chapters which an author or editor allots to particular topics or periods is not, in and of itself, a very satisfactory test of an historical work; but it is one test, and the application of it in this instance yields some interesting comparisons. Professor Becker, for example, whose 275 pages take us to the close of the Revolution, gives 124 pages to the periods of discovery, exploration, and the planting of the permanent English settlements; 41 pages to an account of social, economic, political, and religious conditions in America in the eighteenth century; and 73 pages to the Revolution, two-thirds of that number dealing with the decade and a half before the outbreak of hostilities. As factors in colonial history, in other words, the Revolution as a whole counts for about one-fourth and the Revolutionary War itself for about one-twelfth. Professor Johnson, who in 346 pages carries on the story to 1829, gives to the work of the Federal Convention about the same amount of space that he gives to the "critical period", spends 122 pages in getting from 1789 to 1801 and 74 pages in describing the Jeffersonian régime, disposes of the War of 1812 in eighteen pages and of its results in fourteen, and allots 100 pages to the last fifteen years of his period: on the whole a well-balanced division. Professor Dodd, with 329 pages for the period from 1829 to 1865, allows 14 pages for the Mexican War, and 59 pages, or a trifle less than one-sixth of the volume, to the Civil War; while Professor Paxson assigns to the War with Spain only a little less space than Professor Johnson gives to the War of 1812. Whatever the advocates of peace may think of this series in other respects, they certainly cannot complain that military events have been over-emphasized; while secondary school-teachers who have been asking for a subordination of the colonial period and a fuller treatment of the period since the Civil War may be interested to observe that each of these periods receives one volume out of the four.

While the volumes fit together well, and unnecessary overlapping is conspicuous by its absence, the several volumes have somewhat striking individuality in both style and treatment. Professor Becker, whose literary form has rare charm, is at special pains to exhibit the European background, not only of the age of discovery, but of the entire colonial period as well; and no American writer working in such confined quarters has, I think, achieved this particular task so well. Whether, on the other hand, he has not given us a brilliant piece of interpretation rather than a sufficiently solid narrative, is another question. Such passages, for example, as the discussion of the middle-class aspects of the Protestant Reformation (p. 81 *et seq.*), and the later dissection of the spirit of Puritanism (p. 114 *et seq.*), are both broad and penetrating, as is the presentation of the larger causes of the Revolution; but for such courses in American colonial history as are commonly taught in colleges the volume could hardly serve as a sufficient text-book, notwithstanding the fact that every student in such courses would do well to read the book.

After all is said and done, however, a writer who attempts a summary account of the colonial period is entitled to a great deal of latitude, for the period has little inherent unity until the Revolution is reached. After 1783 the material is more tractable, and Professor Johnson's narrative is at once orderly, systematic, and balanced. To say that there is less novelty here than in the other volumes of the series is only to recognize that the early constitutional period, rather more than any other, fixes its own outlines, and that a writer is largely restrained to the selection of that which is most important and typical. Professor Johnson has certainly done this with skill. A good example of condensed wisdom appears in his brief comment upon the significance of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions (p. 111), where he points out that protest, rather than action, was chiefly in mind, and that emphasis upon nullification, interposition, or the compact theory as the main contention is misplaced. On the other hand, while the bibliographical note to chapter IV. points out that the attitude of scholars towards some of the topics dealt with in the chapter—the Genet episode, the Jay treaty, etc.—has been changed by the publication of certain of Professor Turner's studies, the brevity of the text has apparently precluded any marked change in the accustomed presentation.

Professor Dodd, the editor of the series, is at his best in interpreting the economic and state influences which affected national development after 1829 in both the South and the West; and although he minimizes unduly the effect of the abolition movement and the Fugitive Slave Law, he somewhat offsets this by a fresh presentation of the economic background of the Kansas-Nebraska Act and the special interest of the Northwest in that legislative programme. There is also an interesting chapter of apology for Van Buren. Professor Paxson, who treats of the period subsequent to the Civil War, has the most difficult task of all. I do not see how such a thesis as he propounds in his preface, namely, that the new nation which has appeared since the Civil War "has been only accidentally connected with that catastrophe", can be maintained, and his well-written pages are in fact a refutation of it; still, a book is not necessarily built around its preface. The narrative of events is brought down to 1914.

Viewed as a whole, the series has certain marked characteristics. In its treatment of the colonial period its standpoint, as has been said, is England rather than the colonies; and while no attempt is made to create the impression of a colonial system more perfect than actually existed, it is imperial rather than provincial significance that is emphasized. In its treatment of the Revolution, social and constitutional influences predominate over military happenings. In the period subsequent to 1789, on the other hand, constitutional questions are greatly subordinated and economic considerations are brought to the fore, while an unusual amount of space is given to state politics. More, too, than in any other comprehensive history of equal bulk, the history of the nation

is interpreted in terms of the West and the South, rather than in those of New England and the Atlantic seaboard. The course of international relations and the development of American foreign policy are, in general, only briefly discussed. The volumes by Professor Becker and Professor Dodd strike out new lines, and may fairly be regarded as substantive contributions. The series as a whole is a distinct enrichment of the resources of the college teacher, and ought to find a useful place in school and public libraries.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

The Review of American Colonial Legislation by the King in Council. By ELMER BEECHER RUSSELL, Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXIV., no. 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. 227.)

DR. RUSSELL's intensive monograph and Professor Andrews's brief article on "The Royal Disallowance" (reprint, American Antiquarian Society, *Proceedings*, October, 1914) are noteworthy additions to the literature of colonial history. Their value lies not alone in bringing to light an unfamiliar subject, but chiefly in revealing the significance and importance of a power and a point of view once commonly neglected. Over four hundred and fifty colonial enactments of nine continental colonies were disallowed by the exercise of the royal prerogative. It is remarkable that this vigorous check upon colonial self-direction, counted a serious matter by the colonists themselves, has been viewed by past writers as a subject to be ignored. Professor Andrews discusses the subject in general, while Dr. Russell's study is more ambitious, analyzing the matter in a wealth of detail, well organized and well documented. Both writers from deliberate choice approach the subject from only one angle, that of the British authorities. The disallowing power was fully justified in point of law and necessity and it was used consistently to maintain the law and custom of the British constitution and the interests and welfare of the British empire. The home authorities in general did not act in an arbitrary manner in reviewing colonial laws, frequently showing an attitude of forbearance, and in many instances the check was wholesome for the colonies, saving them from the difficulties of ill-advised and harmful legislation.

The efficiency of the royal check was often weakened by the difficulties of distance and communication and by the delay, indifference, and ignorance of officials. Its influence and effectiveness are questions which cannot be determined by simply assuming the central-office point of view. The whole history of the colonies is replete with evasions and disobedience of British control and it would be folly to draw any conclusions as to the success of the royal disallowance until the matter has

also been fully studied and analyzed from the colonial viewpoint and sources. This task still waits to be done. Both writers realize this fact, but Dr. Russell is not careful to avoid the temptations of generalizing upon its effectiveness. His statement that the government "did achieve the main objects of its desire" cannot be supported by a partial investigation (p. 204).

There are certain errors in Dr. Russell's work which should be corrected. Tousley for Tousey (p. 106), 1703 for 1704 (p. 137), V 16 for V 19 (p. 103, note 2), and *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, for *Am. Hist. Assn., Reports* (pp. 105, note 1, 106, note 1) are accidental in a detailed study commendably free from misstatements of pure data. The one event of reports to the House of Lords in 1702, 1703, 1704, hardly warrants the statement that "For several years it [the Board of Trade] rendered annual reports to the house of Commons" (p. 58). The dates cited when Connecticut transmitted her laws to England (p. 103, note 1) are completely at variance with those given accurately by Professor Andrews in his recent paper on "Connecticut and the British Government" (reprint, *Acorn Club Publication*, 1915). This is evidence of rather hasty research. Dr. Russell refers to only one of Fane's nine reports on the Connecticut laws, which, though not acted upon, Professor Andrews shows are worthy of attention as reflecting the English attitude toward colonial laws. Rhode Island sent to England not a collection of her laws in 1699 (p. 103, note 1), but only an "Imperfect Abstract thereof".

There are also serious faults in the usage and definition of terms, some of which occur in sufficient regularity to point to carelessness. It is curious to find "King's Counsel" used over and again as if it applied only to the "standing counsel of the Board of Trade". In fact Francis Fane, who occupied this position for at least a score of years, was not a K. C. Frequently "solicitor and attorney" or "solicitor and attorney-general" are repeatedly and incorrectly employed for "solicitor-general and attorney-general". There was an "auditor-general of plantation revenues" but no "auditor-general of the plantations" (p. 72).

In the interest of exact definition of terms in a new field of historical investigation, it is well at the outset to make several corrections. The disallowance was an exercise of executive power rather than an act of legislation as implied in the phrase "legislative review". A "report" and a "representation" of the Board of Trade were not considered interchangeable (p. 52 and note 2), nor did the distinction rest upon the question of formality or of the recipient. The former was a reply of the Board of Trade to a request from the Privy Council, its committees, or either House of Parliament, and the latter was a statement initiated by the Board itself. It is interesting to find a student of Professor Osgood following the antiquated and illogical classification of the colonies as "royal, charter, and proprietary" (p. 93).

These faults are not enumerated to convey the impression that Dr. Russell's work is mediocre. That would be unjust. It is welcomed as

a valuable contribution in its field, standing somewhat above the average doctor's dissertation, thorough, and well written.

W. T. Root.

Writings of John Quincy Adams. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. Volume V., 1814-1816. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xxvii, 556.)

WHEN John Quincy Adams left St. Petersburg to join the other peace commissioners at Gothenburg, he was in an unusually sanguine frame of mind. "The coalition of Europe against France has at length been crowned with complete success", he wrote to Abigail Adams. "I can not but indulge the hope that it opens a prospect of at least more tranquility and security to the civilized part of mankind than they have enjoyed the last half century." Peace in Europe, he thought, would leave the war between England and the United States without any object but an abstract principle. Neither would he be disposed to continue the war on such a point. At the same time he anticipated no settlement of the real issue. Peace would remove any occasion for England to continue the practice of impressment, but no concession of principle was to be expected. "The only way of coming to terms of peace with England, therefore, at this time . . . is to leave the question just where it was, saying nothing about it, but I know such a peace would not satisfy the people of America, and I have no desire to be instrumental in concluding it." Events proved Adams a shrewd prophet, but Fate decreed that he should play a conspicuous part in concluding just such a treaty of peace.

On the way to Gothenburg, Adams learned to his chagrin that the scene of negotiations had been shifted to the city of Ghent. From this moment his optimism evaporated. When he arrived at Ghent in June he was of the opinion that nearly two good months had been wasted. Moreover, he was now convinced that the British ministry was not disposed to make peace. He anticipated a speedy return to his family in St. Petersburg. In this expectation he was grievously disappointed. The negotiations which finally began on August 8 dragged on through weary months until the close of the year.

It cannot be said that this volume discloses much new material on the negotiations at Ghent. The entries in the *Memoirs*, which are almost equivalent to a journal of the proceedings of the commissioners, are too closely knit to permit much new light to enter; and many of the sidelights which Adams's letters shed have been reflected in the pages of Mr. Henry Adams's *History*. Nevertheless it is a great satisfaction to have the intimate letters of Adams made accessible. His letters to Mrs. Adams during their long separation are full of entertaining comments on the daily life of the writer and his colleagues. After reading these letters one is disposed to question the common impression for which, perhaps, Mr. Henry Adams is responsible, that the five American com-

missioners were so often rent with dissension that their personal relations were embittered. A letter of December 16, 1814, to Mrs. Adams gives quite a different impression.

Adams was not blind to the defects of the peace of Ghent. It was, as he said, in its nature and character a truce rather than a peace. "Neither party gave up anything. All the points of collision between them which had subsisted before the war were left open. New ones opened by the war itself were left to close again after the peace. Nothing was urged, nothing was settled—nothing in substance but an indifferent suspension of hostilities was agreed to." Yet when all the peculiar circumstances surrounding the war were taken into account, Adams believed that the American plenipotentiaries would stand acquitted in the face of their country and of the world, and would deserve the credit of having faithfully done their duty.

It was the good fortune of Adams to be in Paris at the beginning of the Hundred Days. All readers of the *Memoirs* will recall his vivid descriptions of the scenes attending Napoleon's return from Elba. Further information was hardly to be expected; and with his usual good judgment, the editor has chosen to print only half a dozen letters written from Paris, preferring to give greater emphasis to the new diplomatic mission to England upon which Adams entered in May, 1816. Nearly one-half of this fifth volume is devoted to letters and despatches from London. Yet here again, the editor has passed lightly over the negotiations leading to the commercial treaty with Great Britain of which the *Memoirs* contain so full a record. Only a few letters dated in June and July are included in this volume. On the other hand, the letters of succeeding months supplement admirably the entries in the *Memoirs*. Diplomatic knots, both old and new, had to be untangled. Adams's despatches touch upon topics as diverse as compensation for slaves taken after the war, discriminating duties, armament on the Great Lakes, and the fisheries. Already the problem of the Spanish South American colonies had obtruded itself; and three of Adams's despatches, dated January 22, February 8, and March 30, are of especial interest as foreshadowing his subsequent policy as secretary of state.

ALLEN JOHNSON.

Lee's Dispatches: Unpublished Letters of General Robert E. Lee, C.S.A., to Jefferson Davis and the War Department of the Confederate States of America, 1862-1865. From the Private Collection of Wymberley Jones de Renne. Edited with an Introduction by DOUGLAS SOUTHWALL FREEMAN, (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1915. Pp. lxiii, 400.)

AFTER every source of information had been ransacked and after every person who had anything to tell had published a book, it is quite

a matter of note and surprise to discover more than two hundred unpublished despatches from Lee to Davis, which had been lost for many years and the existence of which had been forgotten.

The peculiar interest of such a collection arises from the almost complete absence of anything in the way of criticism or comment by Lee upon the conduct of his campaigns and the causes of failure where full success was not attained. His plans were so mature and so brilliantly conceived that it is generally hard to understand any lack of success, and the greatest curiosity has always been felt to know his own judgment upon the course of events. Those who have lived long enough to write their memoirs have started many controversies, and those who did not live long have had many friends to defend them. Thus it has been said that Longstreet did not obey, that Jackson was slow, that A. P. Hill was reckless, that Stuart "went on a wild goose chase", that Ewell and Early missed the point in many things, and so on. About it all the evidence of Lee would be conclusive. His intimate correspondence with Davis, however, just as his official reports, and his letters to his family, maintain a complete silence so far as complaint or blame is concerned, and we may perhaps at least infer that nothing further will be discovered. We are finally forced to the conclusion that Lee really believed that he was served by true leaders and brave troops who did their level best every time. The discovery adds more lustre to the fame of Lee. He certainly had a contempt for the manufacturers of strategy whose wisdom is born after the event. He well knew the limitations of his army, made by himself and carried through more campaigns in shorter time than any other army in history, but which could not help lacking some of the smoothness of a perfect machine. Therefore he was tolerant and his range of vision was greater than we thought.

Notwithstanding this silence, which we cannot wholly regret, the despatches amply repay us by additional light thrown upon the campaigns themselves. In a number of cases the plans of Lee and his clear perception of events stand out more clearly than ever before. The campaign from the Rapidan to the James is particularly rich in material. It shows the regret with which Lee made his several retreats to the rear instead of fighting "step by step". It shows that the claim by Grant's biographers that Lee was out-generalled in the crossing of the James by Grant was not justified. Quite a remarkable estimate of the value of cavalry in the campaign for Richmond and Petersburg is given.

Considering that Davis and Lee had been schoolmates for three years at West Point and close friends for many years before they were placed in the official relation of President and subordinate, we should look for some absence of formality in the intimate correspondence of the two. But such was not the case. Lee follows scrupulously the formula of official courtesy. Davis is always "Mr. President" and "Excellency", and Lee is always his "obedient servant". Although the letters and despatches are often hurriedly written and sometimes show carelessness

in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, Lee maintains a guarded attitude in speaking of his subordinates, seldom making suggestions about matters outside of his immediate province as an army commander. All this again throws light upon the humility of Lee.

The book is admirably edited. A series of notes connect and explain the despatches in such a way that it is not at all necessary to refer to other works for a full understanding. It is true that the editor on several occasions goes beyond the evidence he presents when he speaks of "blunders and worse of subordinates", "culpable" lieutenants, "others' errors", etc.—all matters upon which Lee, the master, was silent. Of the same class are the expressions "blots upon the military fame of Grant", "infamous", "house-burning expedition", "atrocities"—words which have a strangely familiar sound to-day.

EBEN SWIFT.

The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist. By ANNIE HELOISE ABEL, Ph.D. (Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark Company. 1915. Pp. 394.)

"THIS volume is the first of a series of three dealing with the slaveholding Indians as secessionists, as participants in the Civil War, and as victims under reconstruction." No one will question that "the series deals with a phase of American Civil War history which has heretofore been almost entirely neglected, or . . . either misunderstood or misinterpreted" or Miss Abel's unusual qualifications for the task. This opening volume, however, is much more correctly described by its subtitle, "An Omitted Chapter in the Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy", for the author's purpose is to show the influences and the means by which the slaveholding Indian tribes were led to throw in their lot with the South. The extent of slaveholding among the Indians, its economic and social results, are quite apart from the story and considered only in very general terms; the Indian as "Secessionist" is the subject of the book.

A brief summary cannot do justice to the care and detail of the investigation. The salient points are the conditions and influences leading up to the treaties of alliance between the Confederacy and the five leading tribes, especially the neglect of the Federal government, and the influence of missionaries, of Indian officials of Southern sympathies, and of agents from Texas and Arkansas; and a careful and thoughtful analysis and discussion of these remarkable treaties, negotiated almost as between equals, and granting the Indians not only relief from the numerous blunders and injustices of the United States, but even a delegate in the Confederate Congress and a pledge of ultimate statehood. The book closes with enlistment of the Indians in the Confederate army, and the hesitating and doubtful refusal of the Federal government to adopt a similar policy with the loyal Indians who had fled to Kansas.

Two men stand out in the study: Albert Pike, the Arkansas poet who negotiated the treaties of alliance and succeeded because he treated the Indians like white men, and John Ross, chief of the Cherokees. Ross's real statesmanship in holding his tribe neutral blocked the plans of Texas and Arkansas and the Confederacy until his policy broke down before the internal dissensions in his own tribe and the helplessness of the Federal government after the battle of Wilson's Creek. A brief discussion of his earlier life and heredity might well have been included. The author frankly holds a brief for the Indians and to most of her strictures on the Indian policy of the United States there is little to answer. The ignorance and weakness of the Federal government, which left the Indians unprotected and helpless, is in striking contrast with the recognition by Arkansas, Texas, and the Confederacy of the strategic importance of the Indian country and their prompt action to secure the allegiance of the Indians. Yet after all the neglect of the Federal government in the first year of the war is not hard to understand.

Miss Abel has written almost altogether from the sources, especially from the files of the Indian Office. Much use has been made of two series in particular, one of which the author unearthed and saved from probable destruction, and both of which are published in full in the appendixes. Every page shows evidence of painstaking study; perhaps it is sufficient to say that the work is quite up to the standard of the writer's well-known *History of Indian Consolidation West of the Mississippi River*. If any criticism may be offered it is that Miss Abel has shared a tendency toward over-documentation not unknown among American scholars to-day. A by no means insignificant part of the letters or reports printed in foot-notes or appendixes add little to the evidence before the reader and some appear absolutely trivial. However, this is a fault easily forgiven and an added if unnecessary proof of the writer's thoroughness and conscientiousness.

MINOR NOTICES

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1913. Volume I. (Washington, 1915, pp. 434.) The meeting reported upon in the first pages of this volume is that held at Charleston and Columbia now two years ago. Six of the papers read on that occasion, contributory to the substance of history, are here printed: that of Dr. Frank B. Marsh on Some Phases of the Problem of Provincial Administration under the Roman Republic, that of Dr. Walter P. Hall on Certain Early Reactions in England against the Laissez Faire Doctrine, that of Dr. Edmund C. Burnett on the Old Congress's Committee of the States, 1784, that of Professor James E. Walmsley on the Return of John C. Calhoun to the Senate in 1845, that of Mr. Theodore C. Jervay, exceptionally interesting, on Charleston during the Civil War, and that of Captain Oliver Spaulding, U. S. A., on the Bombardment of Fort Sumter

in 1861. Of papers of a more didactic order, we have three: one by Mr. Worthington C. Ford on Manuscripts and Historical Archives, one by Mr. Charles H. Hart on Frauds in Historical Portraiture, and one by Professor Nathaniel W. Stephenson on the Place of History in the Curriculum. The report of the conference of historical societies is accompanied by the usual body of statistical data concerning such societies, and marked by a paper by Professor Clarence W. Alvord on Planning the Publication Work of Historical Agencies. The report of the conference of archivists is accompanied by drafts of chapters of the proposed Manual of Archive Economy, by a detailed report on the archives of Wyoming by Professor James F. Willard, and by an elaborate list of more than two thousand reports and representations of the Board of Trade and its predecessors, 1660-1782, prepared by Professor Charles M. Andrews, and accompanied by references to the manuscripts in the Public Record Office, to the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial*, and to the *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial*. Volume II. is especially devoted to the Papers of James A. Bayard, edited by Miss Elizabeth Donnan for the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and is to be reviewed later.

Constantine the Great and Christianity: Three Phases: the Historical, the Legendary, and the Spurious. By Christopher Bush Coleman, Ph.D., Professor of History, Butler College, Indianapolis, Ind. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LX., no. 1, whole no. 146.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, pp. 258.) The interest in Constantine the Great and his relation to Christianity seems perennial. The subject has been approached from every point of view and with every sort of prejudice. Much has been expected of him if he played the rôle history has commonly assigned him in the religious revolution of the fourth century. His Christianity has been tested by ideals that would have astonished him. A calm and sober judgment has appeared almost impossible. The author of this carefully written monograph has succeeded better than anyone we recall in getting hold of the actual man, recognizing his faults and limitations but seizing the point that explained his attitude toward Christianity. A more objective judgment can hardly be expected. Much of the evidence, as the ugly Fausta incident, which has been used to show that Constantine was a skillful dissembler and merely politically a favorer of Christianity, is shown to prove nothing as to his real attitude. The author well says, "So far as we can judge he conceived his own service to the Supreme God to be chiefly by way of promoting his cult and his church and to this task he was true." We are shown how to understand the man as a convert to a form of Christianity unfortunately too prevalent, and carrying into his new religious associations, like so many other converts, many of his pagan modes of thought and ethical conceptions. The stages whereby he reached his position as patron of Christianity are clearly traced. The author is careful to support his conclusions by references

to sources, but one would like to have had the evidence to show that "Constantine employed the bishop of Rome in the West as a 'kind of secretary of state for Christian affairs'".

The author, having presented the real Constantine discusses "The Legendary Constantine and Christianity" (pp. 99-172). This is, from the nature of the subject, less interesting than the earlier discussion, but the author again applies successfully what might be called psychological methods in tracing legends to their probable origin, a necessary, if not always certain, undertaking. The third part, "The Spurious Constantine: the *Constitutum Constantini*" (pp. 175-242), consists chiefly of a history of the discussion of the character of the Forged Donation. This is provided with some original documents, among which the most important is taken from the work of Nicholas of Cues, *De Concordantia Catholica*, the first exposure of the falsity of the Donation.

An ample bibliography is appended. As indicated, the book breaks into three parts. This, however, is involved in the theme of the author; to show how the actual Constantine became an almost mythical character. In spite of this defect in form, which it would have been difficult if not impossible to avoid, the volume is a useful presentation of a much-disputed character, valuable for the employment of all the material available and still more for its sane judgment and sound historical sense.

J. C. A., Jr.

The Establishment of Christianity and the Proscription of Paganism. By Maude Aline Huttman, Ph.D. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LX., no. 2.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1914, pp. 257.) The title of this useful work is somewhat misleading. In reality, it consists of two parts entitled respectively: "Toleration under Constantine" and "Laws against Paganism in the Roman Codes". In the former, after a chapter on Constantine's personal religion, neither very exhaustive nor penetrative, the author plunges into the problem respecting the edicts of toleration, including the famous "Edict of Milan". She gives a careful examination of the conflicting theories of Seeck and of Görres, inclining, on the whole, to the opinion of the latter, that there was an Edict of Milan, which we find reproduced in essentials in the Edict of Nicomedia, which alone we actually have. This latter edict is then analyzed and interpreted. Under "Constantine's Legislation for Christians" we are given an account of the favors shown the adherents of his new religion. This is balanced with an excellent account of Constantine's laws respecting paganism, in which is discussed at some greater length the vague reference of Constantius to his father's prohibition of sacrifices. This section of the book concludes with a chapter on the oft-disputed point, paganism in connection with the "founding" of Constantinople. The conclusion of the author is that pagan rites were observed, though of not an elaborate character, that the patronage of paganism by Con-

stantine in the new city was at the most slight, and that he did not deviate from his principle of toleration in his new capital, which applied to heathen as well as to Christian.

The second part, according to its title, might be supposed to include only laws in the Theodosian and Justinian Codes, but its scope is considerably more ample. It includes laws preserved in histories and inscriptions, *e. g.*, the famous inscription of Hispellum. These laws and edicts are grouped under each reign, and for the reign of Constantine are of great value for the reader of the first part of the work, as here are the texts referred to in the longer historical discussion. The edicts and laws are grouped under each reign, and for each ruler's laws there is an historical and critical introduction giving a brief statement of his attitude toward Christianity and paganism. The laws are provided with notes, especially those of the earlier reigns, where the bulk of the writer's interest seems to be. The whole concludes with the customary bibliography which seems to be necessary in such productions.

The principal value of the book is its clear presentation of conflicting theories, its judicious weighing of arguments advanced on each side, and its cautious conclusions. There is nothing of the dash and paradox we would expect to find in German and French monographs on such a subject, which often seem to be little more than *tours de force* in special pleading. It is a prosaic attempt to understand the historical problem and to present reasonable but not startling conclusions, as well as abundant material for tracing the process of religious revolution after the death of Constantine. It is a book that ought to be of special value for the student of church history.

J. C. A., Jr.

The Venetian Republic: its Rise, its Growth, and its Fall, A. D. 409-1797. By W. Carew Hazlitt. In two volumes. (London, Adam and Charles Black, New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. xxxix, 988; xv, 1080.) Mr. Hazlitt was only twenty-four years old in 1858 when he published his first essay on Venetian history, out of which the work grew, by successive additions, to its final massive form. The two volumes recently issued aggregate more than 2000 pages, of which some 350 pages have been added since the third edition of 1900. Mr. Hazlitt's devotion to his subject never flagged through more than half a century, and we can imagine that if his life had been prolonged to the age of the Hebrew patriarchs, he would have gone on bringing out an amplified edition of his history for each new generation; unless indeed the time came when the last fact was gleaned.

The new parts of the work consist largely of details concerning Venetian civilization during the last four centuries of the republic, that period of magnificence which has most dazzled posterity, but which really witnessed the decline and decrepitude of Venice. Historical students do not need to be reminded that material pertaining to Venetian

life and manners during the Renaissance and later has been edited in an ever-increasing stream for several decades; and it is just such material that Mr. Hazlitt has incorporated in his new edition. He has not neglected the earlier periods, but the store of new facts or new documents about them is comparatively small.

As I said in reviewing the earlier edition, *The Venetian Republic* is both a history and an encyclopedia. Even more valuable than Mr. Hazlitt's narrative of the evolution of the Venetian state are the many chapters, each of which is an essay, on the manners and customs of the people. He writes exhaustively and enables you to trace the rise, growth, and decay of each manifestation of popular life, or of religion or of the arts. As a writer he has much personal flavor, never hesitating to express an opinion and often taking brief excursions into fields other than that under his immediate attention. This results in diffuseness, which occasionally causes us to wish that a judicious blue pencil had been applied to his manuscript.

Mr. Hazlitt did not live to revise the proofs of his final edition, but we need not suppose that he would have made many changes. The work stands as he would have left it, and nobody who uses it will fail to pay tribute to its many points of excellence. The reader in search of a brief, consecutive story of the Venetian Republic will turn to Mr. Horatio Brown's *Historical Sketch* and then, when he wishes to extend his knowledge of a particular topic or episode, he will consult Hazlitt's thesaurus. It does not seem likely that the history of Venice will ever be written again in English on so ample a scale.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Studies and Notes supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History. By Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Honorary Professor in the University of Lille, Rector of the Academy of Grenoble. Translated by W. T. Waugh, M.A., Assistant Lecturer in History. Volume II. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXII.] (Manchester, University Press, 1914, pp. 147-316.) The first volume of these supplementary studies, covering roughly the ground of volume I. of Stubbs, appeared in connection with M. Petit-Dutaillis's French edition of the *Constitutional History* in 1907, and, translated into English, in the *Manchester University* series in 1908. With its twelve studies and notes, it was truly, as Professor Tait said in his preface, a student's supplement to Stubbs. To publish the volume under review with the same title is grotesque. How many supplements, original or summaries, are now due the student on the teeming period (1215-1399) of Stubbs's second volume? Yet here we have but two papers (as originally published, of course, along with the French text of Stubbs where the new foot-notes are valuable additions); one, of 105 pages, on "The Forest and the Right of the Chase in Medieval England"—quite clearly a supplement to Turner's introduction to *Select Pleas of the Forest* and Lieber-

mann's treatise on the "Pseudo-Cnut *Constitutiones*"; the other, of 53 pages, on "Causes and General Characteristics of the Rising of 1381", supplementary to M. Petit-Dutaillis's own introduction to Réville's *Soulèvement*.

But let them be welcomed in English under any title; they are valuable studies and excellent reading, as scarcely needs stating. Like those of the first volume, they unite original research with the use and acute criticism of recent monographs and articles—some thirty to thirty-five in each paper. In their broad outlines the results are not strikingly new, or, in fact, final. The author has used "such printed records, whether published in full or calendared", as he has "been able to consult". Very learned commentaries they make, with many keen explanations and new details: for example, the nicer definitions of *forest*, *park*, *warren* (p. 149 *et seq.*), and *purlieu* (p. 233 *et seq.*), and the analysis of the Assize of Woodstock (p. 175 *et seq.*) in the first paper; the discussion of the dislocation between the economic and the legal advance of the peasants (p. 262 *et seq.*), their variety of motive and the lack of formulation in their revolt (p. 278), the chance character of the Smithfield events (p. 287, note 1) in the second.

In treating the forest M. Petit-Dutaillis has the advantage of his full knowledge of the whole background of Continental forest law. As in his previous work, the Continental origin of the English forest is assumed, and there are here many interesting illustrations of the connection. As in Mr. Turner's study, the interest centres in the thirteenth century; little is done for the time of forest decline, for which "elaborate researches among original records would be necessary". So much is being done just now on fourteenth-century movements antecedent to, and conditioning, the rising of 1381—indeed has been done since M. Petit-Dutaillis wrote—that one feels the second paper already lagging a bit behind the literature. The town risings do not get their due attention, and it is acknowledged that much is still to be learned on all aspects of the subject by "a thorough examination of the judicial documents of the second half of the fourteenth century".

A. B. WHITE.

Some Love Songs of Petrarch. Translated and annotated with a biographical introduction by William Dudley Foulke, LL.D. (London and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. 244.) This little volume spreads a feast which the small and diminishing band of Petrarch lovers will welcome with glad acclaim. Its mainstay, as indicated in the title, is a translation of selected poems of the *Canzoniere*.

I have omitted those poems which are filled with elaborate mythological allusions, metaphors, and similes . . . or with excessive punning upon the name of Laura. I have also omitted most of the poems filled with the artificial conceits of the troubadours and those which seem to be gymnastic exercises in the art of rhyming (p. 126).

Considerable omissions these but necessary to make Petrarch palatable, above all in translation, to the modern reader. The famous lover of Laura has long been a classic according to the familiar definition of an author who is no longer read. To save him for our age, the method of excision and reduction carried out by Matthew Arnold for some of the English classics becomes unavoidable. Even thus compressed to his essential message the Italian sonneteer runs the risk of appealing to our ruder taste as candied fruit, which, though it flatters, quickly gluts the senses, leaving behind an active craving for more solid nourishment. However, for the historian, it is rather Petrarch the humanist than Petrarch the poet who awakens interest, and with Petrarch's humanism the present author is only casually concerned. He has prefaced his translations with an excellent little biographical sketch coupling sane judgment with a knowledge of the sources but neither adding nor claiming to add anything new. From the purely historical and scholarly point of view the most interesting feature of the book is the discussion contained in appendix I. of the many questions that have arisen touching the reality behind the adored Laura of the poems. The conclusion that the Abbé de Sade's identification, though supported by often dubious material, cannot in its main claims be overthrown, seems to square with the opinion of the majority of present-day students.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

Diplomatieke Betrekkingen tusschen Spanje en de Republiek der Vereenigde Nederlanden, 1678-1684. Door Dr. S. W. A. Drossaers. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1915, pp. viii, 172.) The six years covered by Dr. Drossaers's monograph are for western Europe years of political depression between the ebbing of one great tide of opposition to the predominance of France and the gathering of another. The diplomacy of the time is tentative: treaties are made and broken, congresses assemble and do nothing, troops are levied but withheld from action. To explain this shuffling and fumbling for a cheap peace is no easy task. Dr. Drossaers extricates a single relationship, that of the Dutch Republic with Spain, and analyzes it with clarity and thoroughness. His research in the archives at Brussels and the Hague has brought to light much interesting material hitherto unused. The introductory chapter sketches summarily the decline of Spain in the seventeenth century, with many illustrations drawn from the letters of the Dutch envoy and consuls in Spain and the correspondence of the Governor-general of the Netherlands with the Spanish court. This is by way of background for the principal thesis developed in the three remaining chapters, which is, that the republic in 1683-1684 acted in the spirit of its treaty with Spain, though failing by force of circumstances to observe the letter. One is disposed to concede this even with less ample proof than the author is willing to provide, nor do I recall that the contrary has been maintained, except, it may be, by Spanish writers.

Especially noteworthy, as the author suggests, are the activities of the Prince of Orange during this period. It is an epitome of his career, showing the pettiness at home and the weakness and opportunism abroad with which he had to contend in his efforts to build up a coalition against France; showing, too, the undefeated determination with which he sustained defeat.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

Baron d'Holbach: a Study of Eighteenth-Century Radicalism in France. By Max Pearson Cushing. (New York, 1914, pp. 108.) Holbach was a distinguished member of that group of eighteenth-century writers who were sometimes known as the Encyclopaedists. For many years his house was a kind of philosophical seminary; and he must, one supposes, have exercised a good deal of influence, not only because he was himself a man of ability, but because he was so constantly in touch with a great number of the intellectuals. Besides, he himself, in the *Système de la Nature*, a book printed many times and translated into English, German, and Italian, "gathered up", as Lord Morley says, "all the scattered explosives of the criticism of the century into one thundering engine of revolt and destruction". Yet this man, as Mr. Cushing says, "has no biographer". That is in itself a fact requiring explanation, and an adequate explanation of it would bring out the strength and weakness of Holbach, both as a man and as a thinker, and some fundamental characteristics of eighteenth-century thought as well.

As far as it goes, Mr. Cushing's book is useful, but it is rather too slight to carry the title. There is a chapter on Holbach the Man, another devoted to presenting the essential bibliographical information about his works, a third devoted to his principal work, the *Système de la Nature*. The extant letters of Holbach, there are very few of them, are printed in an appendix, and the study closes with an excellent bibliography of all his writings. One welcomes even this much, but it is far from being an adequate treatment of the subject. Mr. Cushing says that Holbach's house was "the social centre of the century". It was at least one of the important intellectual centres of the century; but one wishes to know how much influence came from this centre, of what kind it was, and through what channels propagated. Again, it is said that to Holbach's "translations from the best German scientific works is largely due the spread of scientific learning in France in the eighteenth century". This is important, if true; but we should like to have it well established. Almost the whole question of Holbach's place in the intellectual history of the time is involved in an adequate treatment of these two points. Mr. Cushing has scarcely done more than to make the preliminary work for a study of Holbach; but the care which he has given to this preliminary work leads one to regret that he should not have found it possible to furnish us with a book which might be pronounced adequate to the subject.

CARL BECKER.

German Culture: the Contribution of the Germans to Knowledge, Literature, Art, and Life. Edited by Professor W. P. Paterson of Edinburgh University. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915, pp. x, 384.) This is a collection of essays by nine British writers all of whom are university specialists. The preface and the final essay, on religion and theology in Germany, are contributed by the general editor, who is a professor of divinity. Professor Richard Lodge, of Edinburgh, contributes an historical sketch of Germany and Prussia. A. D. Lindsay, fellow of Balliol College, Oxford, discusses German philosophy; Professor J. Arthur Thomson, of Aberdeen, German science; Dr. John Lees, lecturer at Aberdeen, German literature; Professor G. Baldwin Brown, of Edinburgh, German art; Professor D. F. Tovey, of Edinburgh, German music; Dr. Michael E. Sadler, vice-chancellor of the University of Leeds, German education, and Professor D. H. Macgregor, of Leeds, the political and economic aspects of German nationalism. The word "culture" is used very much as the Germans use *Kultur*.

After animadverting on the recent German pose of superiority to the rest of the world and the present tendency in Great Britain to disparage Germany as a "second-rate figure and perhaps not much better than a plagiarist and impostor", the editor observes that the latter view is "as little fair and sane as the estimate put upon Germany by herself in her worst accesses of megalomania". He goes on to say that "the Germans are undoubtedly one of the great peoples of history", and that they have made some mark—often a very deep mark—"in every department of the life and labor of the human spirit". The "aim of the present book", he then explains, "is to give a somewhat detailed account of what Germany has thus accomplished in the chief spheres of human activity, and an effort has been made to estimate the value of its work without prepossession or prejudice".

All who hope for the speedy return of international comity and sanity of judgment among the knights of the intellect will be disposed to commend this enterprise of British scholars. It was a good and timely idea, and only a very captious or fanatical critic could find fault with the general temper and spirit manifested in the volume. The various chapters are written with fullness of knowledge and fairness of mind. The large matters discussed are necessarily treated with a brevity which leaves much unsaid, and this makes here and there an impression of sketchiness. In some of the chapters, especially in those dealing with literature, art, and music, some allowance has to be made for the personal equation; another unbiased expert might judge this and that differently. This was inevitable and is of little moment in view of the evident and well-sustained effort of the writers to look at their several subjects in a large way and to write with a judicial mind.

Evidently no one reviewer can presume to pass the judgment of an expert on the volume as a whole, and we have no space for extended quotation. The longest of the contributions—nearly a hundred pages—

is the one devoted to German science, and this teems with high and generous appreciation. "For we can not allow what has been done to-day to affect our judgment of scientific achievements in the past." The shortest chapter, at the same time the least technical and the most illuminative for the general reader, is Dr. Sadler's admirable account of German education.

CALVIN THOMAS.

La Russie et la Guerre. By Grégoire Alexinsky, Ancien Député à la Douma. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1915, pp. 568.) M. Grégoire Alexinsky, author of *La Russie Moderne*, has given to the world another interesting and timely book, *La Russie et la Guerre*. It is not an account of battles but a discussion of the social and intellectual forces which animate present-day Russia. The book is divided into three parts: (1) Before the War; (2) The War; (3) After the War.

In the first part the author takes up the international position of Russia since the Japanese War, the European political situation which led to the alliances between Russia, France, and England, the relations between Germany and Russia, the Balkan Question, the social, military, and industrial condition of Russia before the war. He concludes by pointing out that neither the people nor the bureaucracy desired the conflict.

The second part deals with the shifting diplomacy just before the outbreak of hostilities, the national character of the war, the hope of the large mass of the educated that the defeat of Germany will put an end to the reactionary influence of the German party in Russia, the fear of some liberals that a Russian victory will strengthen the autocracy, the financial and military measures taken to carry on the struggle, and the high ideals and patriotic devotion of the army.

In the third part the author discusses some of the results of the war, assuming that the allies will be victorious. He hopes that Russia will not demand an increase of territory, and that the Dardanelles and Constantinople will be neutralized. He maintains that the defeat of Germany will bring about the overthrow of absolutism and militarism and will encourage the growth of democracy everywhere, and particularly in Russia where the influence of France and England will be strongly felt.

M. Alexinsky is a social-democrat and he looks on the war from the point of view of a liberal. This does not mean that he distorts the facts, for he does not. But to him the important question is: will the Russian government become more democratic after the war? He believes, or rather hopes, that it will. He gives arguments to support his position but he himself realizes how unconvincing they are if judged by the despotic acts of the present régime since the commencement of the war. He begs the reader not to confuse the Russia of czarism with the Russia of the people. In saying that Russia should not lay claim to Constanti-

nople he speaks for himself and not for the Russian people. Liberals like Miliukov and Raditchev would hardly agree with him on this point, to say nothing of the conservative leaders.

Students of history who have closely followed Russian affairs will find in the book little that is new. The author has, nevertheless, done a real service by bringing together the various social phenomena which are stirring the Russian people and discussing them honestly, intelligently, and, as much as it is possible under the circumstances, impartially.

F. A. GOLDER.

American Policy: the Western Hemisphere in its Relation to the Eastern. By John Bigelow, Major U. S. Army, Retired. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, pp. vi, 184.) Major Bigelow has made a contribution to American policy rather than to American history, although he presents his views as based upon historic development. His book was written before the Great War, and the incentive for it is to be found on the last three pages. He wrote it fearing the Anglo-Saxon *rapprochement* which played so large a part in the thought of the period following the Spanish War. It seemed to him that, for purposes of international policy, the unity of the Americans was more fundamental than that of race, whether Anglo-Saxon or Latin. He would foster Pan-Americanism. The greatest problem of the Americans, in his opinion, is the underpopulation of the Latin countries and the numerical predominance there of non-white elements. He would encourage the flow of United States population into this region and the study of United States institutions by the citizens of those countries. Even if reasonably populated, the Americans would still be inferior in strength to the outside world, and friendships should be cultivated; first, that of Germany, and, more fundamentally, those of Japan and Russia.

Major Bigelow realizes that the Monroe Doctrine is a policy, but he cannot escape the American habit and he treats it as if it were a documented law. While he realizes that other nations are not bound by it, he cannot realize that United States policy is ever controlled by circumstance. The middle third of the book deals with contraventions of the Doctrine. He differentiates the Washington "Precept" and the "Doctrine" of Monroe from Pan-Americanism, and denominates the latter the Bolivar "Idea".

In a book of this size and one which is primarily one of opinion, the selection of facts, whether as to illustrative value or accuracy, seldom has historic value. Major Bigelow's objection to Great Britain's annexation of New Zealand and Fiji as violations of the Monroe Doctrine because they lie in the Western Hemisphere, will seem to many highly technical. A merit of the book lies in Major Bigelow's unusually wide acquaintance with the writings of Latin-American publicists. On page 98, 1871 should be 1861.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Some Aspects of the Tariff Question. By Frank William Taussig, Ph.D., Litt.D., Henry Lee Professor of Economics, Harvard University. [Harvard Economic Studies, published under the Direction of the Department of Economics, vol. XII.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1915, pp. 374.) The author, who has been publishing on this subject for many years, gives us in this volume the results of his ripe scholarship—the fruits of about thirty years of study. The work is in no significant sense a reprint of earlier writings. Many topics and many details on different topics were required for completeness in the *Tariff History of the United States* that are omitted here. He deals here only with the sugar, iron and steel, copper, wool and woollens, and cotton industries.

Professor Taussig, while granting the validity of the doctrine of protection to young industries, manifests a general leaning toward free trade. He never, however, uses the language or the methods of an advocate, but is always strictly scientific. He shows the unsoundness of the popular arguments on both sides impartially. The growth of American manufactures and the recent rapid expansion of our export trade he ascribes chiefly to the doctrine of comparative advantage. Such advantage in connection with rich resources calls, under normal conditions, for high wages: general domestic high wages, under such circumstances, are not an obstacle to international competition. But of greater importance than rich resources are the social environment and the genius of the people. These are applied with most telling effect where products easily capable of standardization are produced in large masses, by complex and automatic or semi-automatic machinery for a wide market. For in such cases only can machinery be used to the greatest advantage on the basis of decreasing unit costs. The author explodes the doctrine that protection as a universal rule either checks or causes progress in improved methods.

In detail, Professor Taussig concludes that the duty on raw sugar has been a heavy burden on the consumer chiefly for the benefit of the grower (except in the case of the Louisiana cane-growers and the producers of beet sugar). He grants much less influence to the duty on refined sugar and to the sugar trust than is usually the case. So far as the Louisiana cane sugar and the beet sugar producers are concerned, they have, generally speaking, been able to make but fair profits while carrying on an industry which from the public standpoint is undesirable. Here he calls attention, as in the case of the silk industry, to the social danger of maintaining, by means of a protective tariff, an industry which is at such a comparative disadvantage that it can live only by exploiting cheap foreign labor. The great growth of the iron and steel industry (excepting such products as are not easily amenable to the application of large scale, standardized, mass-production), he considers not due, primarily, to the tariff, but explains it by the doctrine of comparative advantage (pp. 154-158). The tariff in such a case merely adds to the

gains of a successful venture. The development of the copper industry he thinks needed no tariff (p. 169). The silk manufacture, unquestionably built up by the tariff, he regards as unsuited to the genius of the American people, which tends towards standardized, mass, automatic, machine-production. So of the woollen and worsted industries and the finer grades of cottons.

JOHN H. GRAY.

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Volume XLVIII., October, 1914-June 1915. (Boston, the Society, 1915, pp. xvii, 553.) The attentive reader of this new volume of the *Proceedings* will perhaps be impressed, most of all, with the loss which the society has sustained in the death of Mr. Charles Francis Adams. He had been president of the society for twenty years, and had certainly left a stronger impress upon it than any of its preceding presidents unless it were James Savage; and his influence must on the whole be counted as more salutary than that of Savage, his range of thought and historical interest having been much broader. Before his presidency, the output of the society had been scholarly indeed, but almost confined in interest to the history of a single state before 1789. Mr. Adams's energy, independence, and breadth of thought kept it out of the ruts of tradition and drew it on to wider and later fields. Moreover, each volume of its *Proceedings* has in later years consisted largely of well-made, vigorous, and interesting contributions from his pen, which can ill be spared from the papers of a society not composed primarily of historical writers. In the present volume his chief contribution is a long paper on the British Proclamation of May, 1861, into which he wove much of the fresh material he had recently gathered from the papers of British statesmen of that period, and which therefore leaves the case for the British course of action more reasonable than it had ever appeared before. Tributes to his memory and memoirs of a number of other departed members fill an additional portion of the volume. Of the other contents, the most noteworthy papers contributed by members are those of Mr. Jonathan Smith on Toryism in Worcester County, of Professor John S. Bassett on the Development of the Popular Churches after the Revolution, and of Professor Theodore C. Smith on General Garfield at Chickamauga. Of the groups of documents, the most important are a collection of letters of William Pynchon, the instructions and despatches of the British commissioners at Ghent in 1814, and a body of extracts from the diary of Benjamin Moran, who from 1860 to 1868 was a secretary of the American legation in London. Moran had excellent opportunities for the observation of events of signal importance to the history of his country, but was not a man of sufficient calibre to make use of these opportunities in such a way as to make his diary a source of primary importance. Nevertheless it adds many interesting touches to the history of Mr. Adams's legation.

Church and State in Massachusetts, 1691-1740. By Susan Martha Reed, Ph.D., Professor of History, Lake Erie College. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. III., no. 4.] (Urbana, published by the University of Illinois, 1915, pp. 208.) Dr. Reed has done a real service for the illumination of a rather obscure period in colonial history. The circumstances under which toleration and exemption from taxation were secured for Quakers, Baptists, and Anglicans in Massachusetts have never been so fully presented, or the causes leading to these results so carefully examined or the various influences estimated. In particular, Dr. Reed makes evident a degree of influence on the part of the Quakers in securing the religious freedom obtained which had not been previously recognized but of which she gives ample proof, making it evident that the largest single force in obtaining toleration and exemption from taxation in the period she has in review, was that of the Quaker communion. By reason of their close relations with the English Quakers, especially through the London Yearly Meeting, and the respect which these Friends commanded from the Whig leaders through their wealth and influence, the New England Quakers were able to bring pressure to bear upon the Massachusetts legislative authorities, and actually did so in the period under consideration more effectively than Anglicans or Baptists. This valuation of Quaker influence is Dr. Reed's chief contribution to a clearer understanding of the forces at work in this period, and her task has been thoroughly well done.

A few minor blemishes may be noted. She seems to have forgotten (pp. 9, 25) that the "old church membership qualification for voting" had been repealed in the colonial period in 1664, and had not continued throughout that epoch. Those who know the Genevan situation under Calvin will regard the statement that "the alliance between church and state" was one "which the Massachusetts government had carried further than it had ever been in Geneva" as highly exaggerated. But these are very minor defects in a meritorious contribution to Massachusetts history.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Creed of the Old South, 1865-1915. By Basil L. Gildersleeve. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1915, pp. 129.) Many readers of the *Atlantic Monthly* of 1892 and 1897 will still remember the delight with which they read the two papers, "The Creed of the Old South" and "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War", by the now venerable and always brilliant Greek professor of the Johns Hopkins University. For twenty years before the Hopkins was founded he had been professor of Greek in the University of Virginia, and he had served in the Confederate Army—a Virginian Confederate, but one of Carolinian antecedents and Princeton and German training, and of such wide reading and keen intelligence that he could not take provincial views, though he could appreciate well the worth of provincial character. Twenty-five years

after the war he made his attempt to show a later generation what were the feelings with which a Southern scholar and gentleman put on and wore the Confederate uniform. One who read the essay then remembers well not only the charm of that grace and wit which it has in common with all its author's writings, down to the merest note in the *American Journal of Philology*, but still more the moving power of that eloquent presentation of the Lost Cause as a scholar saw it. It was new doctrine to many a reader, and inspired new and salutary feeling. In reading it again, when still another quarter-century has passed, there is a deep satisfaction, to one who has been occupied with the teaching of American history, in perceiving that, while as charming as ever, it will seem to the young present-day reader far less striking, so much have Time and the teachers and writers of history enlarged the general appreciation of the Southern cause. The other paper, "A Southerner in the Peloponnesian War", ranges with delectable learning and humor around the parallels that might be drawn between the war of North and South and the war of Athens and Sparta. It is frankly said at the beginning, in characteristic phrase, that "Historical parallel bars are usually set up for exhibiting feats of mental agility"; but Professor Gildersleeve has shown in his *Pindar*, and shows in glimpses here, how well he can depict, with a few strokes, the essential likeness of the thinking non-Athenian Greek—Boeotian or Spartan—to the thinking Virginian of 1861.

The Illinois Whigs before 1846. By Charles Manfred Thompson, Ph.D., Associate in Economics, University of Illinois. [University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IV., no. 1.] (Urbana, Ill., published by the University, 1915, pp. 159.) As stated in the preface, "This study is intended to be but preliminary to a history of the Illinois Whigs which will consider not only the origin and development, but also the decline and decay of that party." The titles to the five chapters indicate the general scope of the work. I. Genesis of the Illinois Whigs, 1809-1834. II. The Emergence of the Whig Party, 1834-1839. III. Harrison and Tyler, 1839-1841. IV. Sectionalism and State Issues, 1841-1845. V. The Illinois Whigs and National Politics, 1841-1845. The study is an excellent introduction to the promised complete history of the party. There is abundant evidence from the foot-notes on nearly every page and from the classified bibliographical references that available materials have been wisely used and the plan of the work deserves high commendation. The study should be read having constantly in mind the history which is to follow, and the two books will serve as guides to a correct knowledge of the national Whig party. Only through state parties are national parties understood. Illinois holds a favorable position for exemplifying national politics. It had in itself a north and a south. While the nation was excited over the question of

slavery in Missouri there was a corresponding contest in the neighboring state which resulted in a victory for free labor in 1824. No state was more vitally interested in the subject of internal improvements and in the banking system. During the early years state politics overshadowed national politics. There was great confusion in party issues and in the use of party names. Throughout the period covered by Dr. Thompson's work personal leadership dominated national politics, and this was pre-eminently characteristic of Illinois politics. Joseph Duncan was elected governor in 1834. "Men of all shades of political belief voted for him, evidently believing that he represented their views regarding national issues."

When the work which Dr. Thompson has projected for the Whigs of Illinois shall have been completed for all the parties in all the older states the student will be supplied with the necessary means for gaining a correct, comprehensive view of our national politics.

JESSE MACY.

A Concise History of New Mexico. By L. Bradford Prince, LL.D. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1912, pp. 272.) The author of this book is well known as ex-governor of New Mexico, president of the Historical Society of New Mexico, and author of several works relating to the history of that state. As he tells us in his preface, the book consists primarily of a condensation and revision of his *Historical Sketches of New Mexico*, published in 1883, "for the general reader and for use in the schools of New Mexico". Like the older work, which was issued as a tri-centennial memorial, this was issued to mark the close of the history of the territorial period in New Mexico history.

Most of the condensation was done many years ago. As a matter of fact, the condensation feature is not especially striking—272 pages against 327 of about equal size. Some emendation of the older work has been done on the basis of material acquired by the New Mexico Historical Society.

On the whole the book should serve its purposes well, and is welcome, particularly in view of the burning of the plates of the *Historical Sketches*.

H. E. B.

The Sovereign Council of New France: a Study in Canadian Constitutional History. By Raymond du Bois Cahall, Ph.D., Acting Assistant Professor of European History and Government, Miami University. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 274.) The French régime in North America has afforded many a theme for the historian of the romantic school. Only recently has it come to be recognized as a fruitful field for the student of institutions. While the aspirants for the doctor's degree have been studying the minutiae of the government of the English colonies the political and administrative

structure upon which Louis XIV. endeavored to build an empire in the New World has been almost ignored.

It is therefore most encouraging to find in the present volume, following as it does, Professor Munro's work on the *Seigniorial System in Canada*, evidence that the attention of students is being turned to the institutions which for over a century had their important part in the historical development of the valleys of the Saint Lawrence and the Mississippi.

The Sovereign Council was the most important political institution of the French régime in Canada. It corresponded only in the vaguest way to the governor's council or to the assemblies of the English colonies, for its functions were far more diversified. The first three chapters of the present study are devoted to a narrative history of the council from 1647 to 1763. Much attention is devoted to the quarrels between the council and the governor, which have already been detailed to us by Parkman and others. One feels that the study, as a study in institutional history, would have been more effective had this part of it been restricted to the limits of an introductory chapter.

The remaining chapters deal with the membership and organization of the council, its methods of procedure, its functions, and its administrative and judicial achievements. This part of the study, based upon the records of the council, preserved in Quebec, constitutes a valuable contribution not only to Canadian political history, but, because of the great variety of the council's functions, to economic and social history as well.

The principal limitation of the study is that its point of view is too exclusively Canadian. One cannot help feeling that researches in Paris should have supplemented the author's investigations in Ottawa and Quebec, and that more attention should have been given to French institutions in general, and to provincial administration in particular, as the proper background of colonial institutions and administration.

Latin America. By William R. Shepherd, Professor of History in Columbia University. [Home University Library.] (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1914, pp. 256.) Small books on great subjects have their difficulties, and these are increased when the subject is not only great but complex. The twenty republics lying to the south of the United States—Spanish, Portuguese, French-negro—vary immensely in conditions and characteristics. To treat this vast, complex total—Latin-American geography, demography, history, politics, economics, civilization—in fifty-odd thousand words, or, the more immediate matter of this review, to treat all Latin-American history in twenty thousand, is an appalling task, hardly capable of satisfactory accomplishment. Professor Shepherd has acquitted himself of it better than anyone could readily be expected to do. He has a clear and definite plan. He does not waste

time over the many exceptions and qualifications that must be made to every broad general statement respecting Spanish American history. He tries to give its due amount of attention to the "neglected period" between 1580 and 1780, though solid general statements in that field are hard to make. He gives quite its proportional space to the simpler history of Portuguese America. What is said of the histories of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Central America is very slight. The account of Spanish colonial administration is less satisfactory than that of Spanish American civilization in the period before independence. The history of the republics, for the last hundred years, is as well characterized as the space permits.

Compendio de la Historia General de América. Por Carlos Navarro y Lamarca. Prólogo de D. EDUARDO DE HINOJOSA. Tomo II. (Buenos Aires, Angel Estrada y Compañía, 1913, pp. xi, 886.) The period covered in this second volume of Dr. Navarro's elaborate manual extends practically from the conquest of Mexico to the attainment of independence by the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. Supplementary chapters or paragraphs carry the story chronologically forward to the freedom of the Dominican Republic and Cuba from foreign rule and to the separation of Panama from Colombia. The work, therefore, is a history of colonization in America, but one hardly so comprehensive in scope and proportion as the title indicates. A treatise written in Spanish presupposes naturally a dominant interest in Latin America which would reduce an account of the areas under English, Dutch, and French control to a minimum, though not perhaps to only about seventy-five pages.

Now the question arises whether the author has traversed ground already examined, or whether he has branched out into fields that are little known. In a work devoted to the history of Spanish and Portuguese dominion in the New World the period stretching from the conquest to the revolution calls for especial consideration. But the lure of an abundance of secondary material concerning what happened or existed before the middle of the sixteenth century, and from 1806 to 1826, is so powerful that new writers fall readily into the temptation of following in the wake of their predecessors. Dr. Navarro's first volume bulked excessively large on the situation prior to 1519;¹ his second similarly assigns to the conventionalized periods altogether too much attention. The achievements of two centuries and a half of colonial development he discusses in fewer than 140 pages given over to a descriptive account of the institutions and culture found within the Spanish area alone. It may be true that the occurrences before and after these 250 years lend themselves more easily to a narrative form of treatment, but the circumstance does not justify a failure to make any effort at all in this direction. Moreover, if the Spanish sections are chosen for what

¹ *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 595.

might be termed a "static" consideration of the topics in question, why not the Portuguese, English, French, and Dutch in some measure also?

Replete though the manual is with notes, references, maps, and illustrations far surpassing those contained in any other work of its nature known to the reviewer, much will have to be done before it satisfies the conditions under which it may be employed to the best advantage. It is one thing to compile bibliographical data, and quite another to select just the material that will be accessible to the student in the various countries of Latin America where good libraries are scarce. Of the latter point the author has not taken sufficient heed. Then, too, the copious foot-notes furnished in addition to the elaborate references appended to the chapters appear rather anomalous in what is primarily a text-book. At times (*e. g.*, p. 255) the foot-note is much more comprehensive than the importance of the topic in the text would warrant. Misspelling or misquotation of non-Spanish words, and errors or discrepancies in the maps are numerous. Though usually apt enough, the illustrations are so poorly executed in many cases as to become almost caricatures. From the table of contents an entire chapter is omitted. Yet, despite all these defects, Dr. Navarro has produced a praiseworthy piece of work that raises very appreciably the standard of such manuals in Latin America.

WILLIAM R. SHEPHERD.

HISTORICAL NEWS

It is expected that the General Index to Volumes XI.-XX. of this journal will be published before our next number appears. Up to the date of the publication of this index, orders for it, and orders for its predecessor, the General Index to volumes I.-X., will be received at the price of one dollar for each; after that date, the price of both will be raised to \$1.25. Orders should be addressed to the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York. The prices mentioned are for copies in paper binding. If indexes bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the binding of the *Review*, are desired, fifty cents should be added.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The thirty-first annual meeting of the American Historical Association, held at Washington, December 28-31, promises, as we go to press, to be attended by a quite exceptional number of members. The programme stands substantially as reported in our last issue. The main subject for the annual conference of historical societies is the papers of business firms, their collection and use for historical purposes. The general meeting of allied societies in behalf of a National Archive Building is held in the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and consists largely of illustrated addresses. Among other archive-pictures, the architectural studies prepared for the proposed building in Washington by Mr. Louis A. Simon, of the office of the Supervising Architect, are to be thrown on the screen. Receptions at the building of the Pan-American Union, at the National Museum, and at the house of Hon. and Mrs. John W. Foster, are announced.

The annual preparatory meeting of the Executive Council was held in New York on November 27. The annual report made on that occasion by the Board of Editors of this journal has, by vote of the Council, been printed and distributed to members of the Association.

In honor of Professor H. Morse Stephens, Professor J. L. Myres of Oxford has published a pamphlet analysis of 28 pages entitled *The Provision for Historical Studies at Oxford, surveyed in a Letter to the President of the American Historical Association on Occasion of its Meeting in California, 1915* (Oxford University Press).

In the *Original Narratives* series, the printing of Professor Herbert E. Bolton's volume, *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, has not been completed in season to admit of publication in November or December; it will appear in February. The concluding volume of the

series, *Early Narratives of the Northwest*, edited by Miss Louise Phelps Kellogg, will appear either late in the spring or early in the autumn. Mr. Bolton's volume consists mainly of narratives never before printed in English; several have never been printed even in Spanish.

PERSONAL

Theodor Brieger, professor of church history in the University of Leipzig, and one of the editors of the *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, died in Leipzig on June 8, 1915, aged seventy-three years. His numerous historical writings related chiefly to Luther and his period.

Dr. James Sullivan has been appointed by the Regents of the University of the State of New York director of archives and history in the University, under arrangements by which that office will hereafter embrace the functions hitherto exercised by the state historian, the work of the chief archivist, and that of the public records division.

Dr. Albert E. McKinley, hitherto of Temple University, has become a professor of American history and pedagogics in the University of Pennsylvania.

Mr. John Zedler has been made professor of history and political science in Albion College.

Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, who for the last two years has been an instructor in Columbia University, and during the two years preceding was in the service of the Carnegie Institution at Seville, has been elected professor of history, with special view to Latin-American history, in the University of New Mexico.

Dr. Frank J. Klingberg has been promoted to the full rank of professor of modern European history in the University of Southern California.

GENERAL

In celebration of the centenary anniversary of Argentine independence, an American Congress of Bibliography and History will be held at Buenos Aires and Tucumán in July, 1916. In the historical section, papers relating to all periods of American history will be included. The president of the executive committee is Dr. Nicanor Sarmiento. Its secretary is Dr. Ignacio S. Toledo (hijo), Avenida de Mayo 715, Buenos Aires, from whom the provisional programme can be obtained. It is planned in Brazil that another American Congress of History shall take place at Rio de Janeiro in 1922.

The American Jewish Historical Society holds its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 20 and 21. The corresponding secretary is Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, 38 Park Row, New York. The society has just brought out Number 23 of its *Publications* (pp. 236), upon which we shall be able to comment later.

La Géographie de l'Histoire (Paris, 1914, pp. 70) is an excellent essay by J. Brunhes based upon some of his lectures at the College of France.

The *Skrifter* of the Academy of Sciences of Christiania for 1914, Hist.-Fil. Kl. (Christiania, Jacob Dybwad, 1915, 2 vols.), contains a long monograph (493 pp.) by Dr. S. Eitrem on ceremonies of sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans; a group of short studies by Professor Alexander Bugge on various points in Norwegian history in the eleventh century, such as the designs of Magnus the Good upon England, his death, the joint kingdom of Magnus and Harald Sigurdsson, the marriage of Harald Haardraade, and the expeditions of Magnus Barfot to the British Isles; a monograph (in German) on "Das Christus-Mysterium" by Dr. Christian A. Bugge; a work on indications of heathen worship in Norwegian place-names by Professor Magnus Olsen; and one (in German) on "Altnordische Waffenkunde" by Professor Hjalmar Falk.

The third number of the *Catholic Historical Review* (October) has articles on Lulworth Castle by C. M. Antony; on Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States by Dr. Paul J. Foik; and on Catholic Beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester by Professor Frederick J. Zwierlein. The editor of the *Official Catholic Directory* furnishes a bibliographical note upon the issues of that repertory from 1817 to the present time. A valuable report of Bishop Flaget on the diocese of Bardstown, made to Pope Pius VII. in 1815, is printed from the archives of the Propaganda. In editorial pages, a strong appeal is made for the awakening in the United States of a corporate Catholic historical conscience, with a view to more adequate treatment of Catholic American history and of cordial co-ordination of such work with that of other historical agencies in the United States.

Among the numerous articles and studies in the recent numbers of the *History Teacher's Magazine* are the following: the Study of State History, by C. S. Larzelere (September); American Colonial History in the High School, by A. E. McKinley (October); American Colonies and the British Empire, by W. T. Root; and the Paterson Plan for a Federal Constitution, by C. R. Lingley (November). In the December number, Professor Edward C. Page of the State Normal School at DeKalb, Illinois, gives an account of the museum of history attached to that institution; Professor James A. Woodburn sets forth Political Parties and Party Leaders as a subject for an historical course, and Professor Edgar Dawson treats of Answers in American History, meaning answers given to the questions of the College Board, as a means of judging the general level of work expected by this system of examinations.

In the first or January number of *The Military Historian and Economist* the title of Contre-Amiral Degouy's article, with which the number begins, will be "Hostile Submarine Action and the American Sea-

board". Otherwise the contents will be as announced in our last issue. It is gratifying to know that the future of the journal is assured for a considerable period.

Articles in the June number of the *Magazine of History* are: Closing War Scenes, by Rev. C. W. Backus, Old Roxbury Town, by Elizabeth M. Gosse, and a continuation of General Philip Reade's Massachusetts at Valley Forge; also a letter of Lincoln to Rev. James Lemen, March 2, 1857, and one of Benjamin Franklin to Dr. Price, March 18, 1785, both reprints.

Upon the model of the annual reports which in happier times Professor Cauchie published concerning the transactions of his historical seminary at Louvain; Professor Peter Guilday of the Catholic University of America begins the issue of *Reports* from his seminar in American church history. The first issue relates to work done by members during the academic year 1914-1915. Most significant are the reports, of several pages each, of Rev. Raymond Payne on the work of the Leopoldine Association in the United States, 1829-1861; of Rev. Daniel O'Connell on the Spanish Inquisition in the Spanish Colonies of the United States; and of Rev. Michael Grupa on the Jesuit Peter Skarga and the Polish Counter-Reformation, 1536-1612.

The volume of *Historisch-Politische Studien* (Vienna, St. Norbertus, 1915) by Professor Karl Hugelmann is made up largely of essays on the history of Austria in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. A volume of *Studi di Storia e di Critica* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915) has been dedicated to Professor Pio Carlo Falletti of the University of Bologna in commemoration of his forty years of teaching. The seventieth birthday of Professor Dietrich Schäfer of the University of Berlin has been recognized by a *Festschrift*, entitled *Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Jena, Fischer, 1915), compiled by his pupils.

A work of the highest importance to the history of ancient and medieval astronomy is M. Pierre Duhem's *Le Système du Monde: Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques, de Platon à Copernic* (Paris, A. Hermann, 1914, 2 vols., pp. 512, 522).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. von Gierke, *Ueber die Geschichte des Majoritäts princips* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 2); P. Gentile, *Sulla Possibilità d'una Storia Universale del Diritto* (Rivista Italiana di Sociologia, May); G. Prato, *L'Occupazione Militare nel Passato e nel Presente: Barbarie Antica e Civiltà Moderna* (La Riforma Sociale, August); W. F. Willcox, *The Expansion of Europe in Population* (American Economic Review, December).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, I. (Revue Historique, September).

Volume II. of Leonard W. King's *History of Babylonia* (Chatto and Windus) closes with the Persian conquest.

Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions, by Dr. Albert T. Clay, constitutes vol. I. of the Yale Oriental series, *Babylonian Texts*. It is issued by the Yale University Press. In the same series, vol. II. of *Researches* by Edward T. Newell, *The Dated Alexander Coinage of Sidon and Ake*, is shortly to be issued. The Yale University Press has also issued George Dahl's *The Materials for the History of Dor*.

The series *Columbia University Oriental Studies* contains Professor Wallace B. Fleming's *History of Tyre*.

The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites, by Dr. Henry Schaeffer (Yale University Press) attempts a study of the laws and customs of the people of Arabia, Babylonia, and Israel. In one of the *Bulletins* of the University of Iowa (Studies in Sociology, Economics, Politics, and History, volume IV., no. 2, pp. 98) Mr. M. J. Lauré studies carefully *The Property Concepts of the Early Hebrews*.

Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton announce for early publication an *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the Holy Land* by Professor George Adam Smith.

Some recent contributions to Greek history have been: F. Sartiaux, *Troie: la Guerre de Troie et les Origines Préhistoriques de la Question d'Orient* (Paris, Hachette, 1915); C. N. Rados, *Les Guerres Médiques: la Bataille de Salamine* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915); M. Romstedt, *Die Wirtschaftliche Organisation des Athenischen Reiches* (Weida, Thomas and Hubert, 1914, pp. 72).

Professor Ettore Pais has issued a first series of *Ricerche sulla Storia e sul Diritto Pubblico di Roma* (Rome, Loescher, 1915, pp. xii, 469). Five of the studies deal with the laws of the Twelve Tables.

Franz Leifer has made a careful study of the several officials of the Roman republic and of their powers in *Die Einheit des Gewaltgedankes im Römischen Staatsrecht: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Oeffentlichen Rechts* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1914), in which he seeks to prove that the Romans of the republic had a definite idea of the unity of the imperium.

Varese, *Ricerche di Storia Militare dell' Antichità* (Palermo, Reber, 1915) deals with Rome and Carthage in the first volume. P. Fraccaro has issued a volume of *Studi sull' Età dei Gracchi* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1914). C. Lanzani has written *Mario e Silla, Storia della Democrazia Romana negli Anni 87-82 av. Cristo* (Catania, Battiato, 1914, pp. 386). *Die Feldzüge C. Julius Cäsar Octavianus in Illyrien in den Jahren 35-33 v. Chr.* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915) is by Veith.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Wiegers, *Die Entwicklung der Diluvialen Kunst mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Darstellung des*

Menschen (Zeitschrift für Ethnologie, XLVI. 2); J. Joulin, *Les Âges Protohistoriques dans l'Europe Barbare* [conclusion] (Revue Archéologique, January, May); G. Elotz, *Les Lois de la Guerre dans l'Antiquité Grecque* (Revue de Paris, September 1); A. Stein, *Tacitus als Geschichtsquelle* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 6); S. Reinach, *Les Funérailles d'Alaric* (Revue Archéologique, January).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The Environment of Early Christianity, by Professor S. Angus of the University of Sydney (Scribner), though a small volume, provides a thoughtful consideration of the social, moral, and religious conditions of the Jew, the Greek, and the Roman at the beginning of the Christian era. The volume is one of the series entitled *Studies in Theology*.

The American Lectures on the History of Religions, given each year in various universities and cities, are this year being given by Principal J. Estlin Carpenter of Manchester College, Oxford, on the subject of "The Early Organization of the Christian Church".

L'Eglise Apostolique et les Juifs Philosophes jusqu'à Philon, by L. Bouillon, of which the second volume (Orthez, Faget, 1914, pp. xvi, 1050) contains *Documents et Démonstrations*, is intended to serve as a justification of Christian tradition and as an introduction to the New Testament.

F. R. Montgomery Hitchcock has published *Irenaeus of Lugdunum: a Study of his Teaching* (Cambridge, University Press, 1914, pp. 382).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The first volume of C. R. L. Fletcher's *The Making of Western Europe* (Dutton) covers the years 300 A. D. to 1000. The same period in a more restricted area is dealt with by Mr. H. B. Cotterill in *Medieval Italy during a Thousand Years, 305-1313* (Stokes), an excellent volume of the *Great Nations* series. Mr. Cotterill, in order to make the most of his space, presents historical summaries of leading events, then chapters in which the most important aspects are discussed.

The Letters of Sidonius, translated by R. M. Dalton (Oxford, Clarendon Press), give easy access to a famous picture of the life and habits of the Romans of the fifth century.

The third volume of L. Caetani's *Studi di Storia Orientale* contains *La Biografia di Maometto Profeta ed Uomo di Stato; il Principio del Califfato; la Conquista d'Arabia* (Milan, Hoepli, 1914, pp. xix, 431).

T. H. Weir has recently published a revised edition of Sir William Muir's *The Caliphate, its Rise, Decline, and Fall*.

Dr. A. J. Carlyle has completed vol. III. of *A History of Medieval Political Theory in the West*, which is published by Messrs. Blackwood.

Dr. R. L. Poole, lecturer on diplomatic in the University of Oxford, has published, through the Cambridge University Press, *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery down to the Time of Innocent III.*

G. Schober has published a study of *Das Wahldekret vom Jahre 1059* (Breslau, 1914, pp. iv, 79), which regulated papal elections.

K. H. Schäfer has published a third volume of his *Deutsche Ritter und Edelknechte in Italien* (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Amélineau, *La Conquête de l'Égypte par les Arabes* [conclusion] (*Revue Historique*, September); Ephraim Emerton, *Fra Salimbene and the Franciscan Ideal* (*Harvard Theological Review*, October); M. Prou, *La Forêt en Angleterre et en France* (*Journal des Savants*, June, July, August); R. Leonhard, *Flurgemeinschaft und Feudalität* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 1); J. Flach, *Les Révendications Françaises de la Lorraine et de l'Alsace du XI^e au XVII^e Siècle* (*Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques*, September).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

General review: E. Mayer, *Histoire Militaire des Deux Empires* (*Revue des Études Napoléoniennes*, July).

The Library of Congress has published a *Catalogue of the John Boyd Thacher Collection of Incunabula* (pp. 329), compiled by Mr. Frederick W. Ashley. The collection is now at the Library.

A revised edition of Professor Edward M. Hulme's *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution and the Reformation* (Century Company, pp. 629) has appeared this fall. This edition contains a "prefatory note" explaining the genesis of the volume, and the debt which the author gladly acknowledges to Professor George L. Burr, whose *Outlines* served as the framework of this study. The fifty pages of appendix added to this edition contain useful genealogical tables, a list of the Holy Roman Emperors, a list of the popes, and an extended and critical bibliography (pp. 571-607). Various missprints of the first edition have been corrected and in a few cases the text has been slightly recast.

In the series of *Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, S. Steinherz has edited the reports of the nuncio Delfino, 1564 (Vienna, Hölder, 1914) and J. Schweizer those of Antonio Puteo from Prag, 1587-1589 (Paderborn, Schöningh, 1915, pp. cxlvi, 630).

The Oxford University Press announces *The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire*, by J. A. R. Marriott and C. Grant Robertson, and *The Balkans and Turkey: the History and Development of the Balkan States and the Turkish Empire*, by Nevill Forbes, D. Nitrany, Arnold Toynbee, and others. These volumes are the first of a series of histories of the warring countries projected by this press.

H. Sieveking has contributed *Grundzüge der Neueren Wirtschaftsgeschichte vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915) to the second volume of Meister's *Grundriss der Geschichtswissenschaft*.

An Historical Atlas of Modern Europe from 1789 to 1914, prepared by C. Grant Robertson and J. G. Bartholomew (Oxford University Press) contains 43 maps with historical text.

Commandant Maurice Weil has reprinted from the *Revue de Paris* his study *Cent-Jours*, a study of the diplomacy of the Waterloo campaign.

A volume of *Études Historiques et Stratégiques: la Solution des Enigmes de Waterloo* (Paris, Plon, 1915) has been written by E. Lenient.

Under the title *European Politics during the Decade before the War as described by Belgian Diplomats*, the Imperial German Foreign Office has issued, in a folio pamphlet of some 144 pages, with an introduction and some facsimiles, a selection from the reports of the Belgian representatives in Berlin, London, and Paris to the minister of foreign affairs in Brussels from 1905 to 1914. The documents are presented in their original French and in English translation. They form a volume of extraordinary interest, for it is rare that diplomatic reports so nearly contemporary are published, otherwise than after a selection made by friendly hands and for defensive purposes, while these are documents which the Germans found in the Brussels archives. They have also the merit of exhibiting Berlin, London, and Paris politics from the point of view of disinterested, and sometimes sagacious, observers.

W. W. Claridge, senior medical officer of the West African Medical Staff, is the author of a work in two volumes entitled *A History of the Gold Coast and Ashanti, from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the Twentieth Century* (John Murray).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. H. Lybyer, *The Ottoman Turks and the Routes of Oriental Trade* (English Historical Review, October); F. Brunot, *La Civilisation Française en Allemagne au XVII^e Siècle* (Revue de Paris, August 1); E. Karácson, *Die Pforte und Ungarn im Jahre 1788* (Ungarische Rundschau, IV. 1); W. M. Kozłowski, *Kosciuszko et les Légions Polonaises en France 1798-1801* [conclusion] (Revue Historique, September); H. Welschinger, *Les Préliminaires d'Iéna* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques, September); *Napoleons Kontinentalssperre und das England von Heute* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, July); J. H. Rose, *Wellington dans la Campagne de Waterloo* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Fournier, *Briefe vom Wiener Kongress: Prinz Anton Radziwill an seine Gemahlin Prinzessin Luise von Preussen* (Deutsche Rundschau, June, July); P. Bourée, *Une Mission Secrète en Allemagne, Mai-Juin 1859* (Revue de Paris, August 1); C. Pitollet, *Le "Fameux*

Raid" du Comte Zeppelin, Juillet, 1870 (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Brückner, *Russland und Europa* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VI. 1); P. Arminjon, *Le Soudan Égyptien* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1).

THE GREAT WAR

Lange and Berry have published two parts of a bibliography of the war, consisting mainly of English and American titles, which covers publications previous to March, 1915. About a thousand books are listed.

The firm of Berger-Levrault of Paris have published an *Atlas-Index de tous les Théâtres de la Guerre* in three octavo volumes. The first volume has 16 maps and 24 detail maps of the French and Belgian front, with an index of 8352 names; the second has 33 maps of the eastern front; and the third, 8 maps and 32 detail maps of Italy, the Balkans, and the Caucasus. These handy volumes sell at the modest price of three francs each.

In addition to the works mentioned in the last number, and their continuations, the following histories of the war have appeared: G. H. Perris, *The Campaign of 1914 in France and Belgium* (New York, Holt, 1915, pp. xxiii, 395); H. Belloc, *A General Sketch of the European War: the First Phase* (New York, Nelson, 1915, pp. 377); F. S. Burnell, *Australia versus Germany, the Story of the Taking of German New Guinea* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. 254); C. H. Baer, *Der Völkerring: eine Chronik der Ereignisse seit dem 1. Juli 1914* (vol. III., to January, 1915; Stuttgart, Hoffmann, 1915, pp. viii, 320); P. Dauzet, *Guerre de 1914, de Liège à la Marne* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1915, pp. 94); H. de Rothschild and L. G. Gourraigne, *La Grande Guerre d'après la Presse Parisienne, Recueil d'Articles* (Paris, Hachette, 1915, pp. 447); and P. Nothomb, *L'Yser, les Villes Saintes, la Victoire, la Bataille d'Été* (Paris, Perrin, 1915).

La Guerre Européenne, Avant-Propos Stratégiques, la Manoeuvre Morale, Front d'Occident, Août 1914-Mai 1915 (Paris, Payot, 1915) by Colonel F. Feyler, and *La Guerre de 1914, Notes au Jour le Jour par un Neutre* (Paris, Crès, 1915, 2 vols.) by Jean Debrit are the works of Swiss military writers.

The origins of the war are discussed in G. Wampach, *Le Dossier de la Guerre* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1915, 3 vols.); Yves Guyot, *Les Causes et les Conséquences de la Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 416); G. Somville, *Vers Liège: le Chemin du Crime, Août 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915). R. Moulin has republished numerous articles in *La Guerre et les Neutres* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. ix, 375); and *Problèmes de Politique et Finances de Guerre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) contains contributions by G. Jêze, C. Rist, L. Rolland, and J. Barthélemy.

Books by those who have been at the front are beginning to appear. *Behind the Scenes at the Front* (London, Chatto and Windus, 1915, pp. 240) is by George Adam, a correspondent of the *Times*, who visited the western front last winter. L. Colin, *Les Barbares à la Trouée des Vosges, 1914-1915, Récits des Témoins* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915, pp. xvi, 355); M. Gauchez, *De la Meuse à l'Yser, ce que j'ai Vu* (Paris, Fayard, 1915, pp. 254); M. Dupont, *En Campagne, 1914-1915, Impressions d'un Officier de Légère* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. iii, 321); and B. Descubes, *Mon Carnet d'Éclaireur, Août-Novembre, 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915) recite experiences in the French army. German experiences on the eastern front are recorded by F. Wertheimer, *Im Polnischen Winterfeldzug mit der Armee Mackensen* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. 194); by P. Lindenberg, *Gegen die Russen mit der Armee Hindenburgs* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1914) and *Beim Armee-Oberkommando Hindenburgs: ein Neues Kriegsbuch* (Stuttgart, Bonz, 1915, pp. 192); and Paul Schweder, "Kriegsberichterstatte", *Im Kaiserlichen Hauptquartier, Deutsche Kriegsbriefe von der Donau zur Maas* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 320).

In *The Log of a Noncombatant* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. 169), Horace Green has put into connected form his personal experiences as correspondent for the New York *Evening Post* and the Boston *Journal* during the first year of the present war. Vivid accounts are given of conditions and events noted by the observant reporter in his wanderings from Ghent to Brussels, to Aix-la-Chapelle by way of Louvain and Liège, to the Hague, to Berlin, and through rural Germany. The second attack on Termonde and the bombardment and capture of Antwerp are the main military actions described. There is an appendix in which evidence of German atrocities is sifted. The author's verdict is that the Germans are not guilty in the manner and form in which they stand indicted.

Mr. Frederick Palmer's *My Year of the Great War* (Dodd, Mead, and Co.) has very high merit among books of its class, and the advantages arising from his position as the sole accredited American correspondent with the British army.

The relations of the Socialists to the war are examined in a well-documented volume by Omer Boulanger, entitled *L'Internationale Socialiste a Vécu* (Paris, Ollendorff, 1915). In *Le Groupe Socialiste au Reichstag et la Déclaration de Guerre* (Paris, Colin, 1915, pp. 109) P. G. La Chesnais attacks the disloyalty of the German socialists to their principles.

In the series called *International Conciliation*, no. 95 continues the documents regarding the European war by printing official correspondence between the United States and Great Britain, between August 5, 1914, and July 31, 1915, on the Declaration of London, on contraband of war and restraints upon commerce, and on the case of the *Wilheimina*

The World Peace Foundation has begun the issue of a series of pamphlets containing the official documents concerning neutral rights and freedom of commerce and navigation which have passed between this country and belligerent nations since August 1, 1914.

The *Second Belgian Gray Book*, published in French in Paris by Hachette, is printed less completely in English by the British government. This English edition embraces, among other documents relating to the war, a section relating to the German accusation that Belgium had before the war concluded a military understanding with Great Britain. The official Belgian edition contains also the protests addressed by the Belgian government to the governments of Germany and Austro-Hungary against violations of the laws of war and of the Hague Convention.

Undoubtedly one of the war books of permanent interest is *L'Allemagne avant la Guerre: les Causes et les Responsabilités* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915) by Baron Beyens, who was the Belgian ambassador in Berlin on the eve of the war. Numerous photographs of documents and other pertinent illustrations appear in *La Belgique et l'Allemagne, Textes et Documents* (London, Harrison, 1915, pp. iv, 128) by H. Davignon. Waxweiler's presentation of the case for Belgium has been answered in a pamphlet by Dr. R. Grasshoff entitled *Belgiens Schuld* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. 104). Several officers of the Belgian ministry of war have compiled *La Campagne de l'Armée Belge, 31 Juillet 1914-1 Janvier 1915, d'après les Documents Officiels* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915). A citizen of Louvain who remained in the city through the early months of German occupation, Hervé de Gruben, has written *Les Allemands à Louvain, Souvenirs d'un Témoin* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. iii, 157).

English discussions of the war and its problems include Arnold Toynbee, *Nationality and the War* (London, Dent, 1915, pp. x, 522); J. M'Cabe, *The Soul of Europe: a Character Study of the Militant Nations* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. vi, 407); Frederic Harrison, *The German Peril: Forecasts, 1864-1914; Realities, 1915; Hopes, 191-* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 300), in which he claims to be "the oldest and most persistent of those politicians who warned our countrymen of what they had to meet". H. P. Okie, *America and the German Peril* (London, Heinemann, 1915, pp. 198) is a collection of miscellaneous war articles of which only the last relates to the title subject.

The French war ministry has issued a *Recueil des Documents insérés au Bulletin Officiel et concernant spécialement la Période des Hostilités du 2 Août 1914 au 30 Juin 1915* (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1915, pp. 690). The sixth volume of the series *Guerre de 1914, Documents Officielles, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1915) contains documents to October 15, 1915.

Arras sous les Obus (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915) is by Abbé E. Foulon, professor in the Institution Saint-Joseph at Arras, and is illustrated with a hundred photographs. A similar work with photographs and documents has been compiled under the auspices of the French ministerial bureau of fine arts relating to Reims, Arras, Senlis, Louvain, Soissons, and other cities under the title *Les Allemands Destructeurs de Cathédrales et de Trésors du Passé* (Paris, Hachette, 1915, pp. 88). The ministry of foreign affairs has issued a similar volume on *Les Violations des Lois de la Guerre par l'Allemagne* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. 208) containing 72 photographs of documents. These are supplemented by *Le Livre Rouge: les Atrocités Allemandes en France, Rapport Officiel* (Paris, Bibliothèque des Ouvrages Documentaires, 1915, pp. 62), and *Rapports et Procès-Verbaux d'Enquête de la Commission instituée en vue de constater les Crimes commis par l'Ennemi en Violation du Droit des Gens* (2 parts, Paris, Hachette, 1915).

Among the more thorough and substantial German discussions of war questions may be noted A. Hettner, *Englands Weltherrschaft und der Krieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. v, 269); Helmolt, *Die Geheime Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1915); G. F. Steffen, *Weltkrieg und Imperialismus: Sozialpsychologische Dokumente und Beobachtungen vom Weltkrieg, 1914-1915* (Jena, Diederichs, 1915, pp. 255); K. Quenzel, *Wir "Barbaren": Anekdoten und Begebenheiten aus dem Weltkriege, mit Beiträgen von R. Eucken und Ernst Freiherr von Wolzogen* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 288); E. Müller, *Der Weltkrieg und das Völkerrecht: eine Anklage gegen die Kriegführung des Dreiverbandes* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. v, 378); and *Deutschland und der Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. 686) which contains contributions by O. Hintze, F. Meinecke, H. Oncken, H. Schumacher, and others.

Vice-Admiral H. Kirchhoff has collected much interesting material in *Der Seekrieg, 1914-1915: Schiffspost- und Feldpostbriefe sowie andere Berichte von Mitkämpfern und Augenzeugen* (Leipzig, Hesse and Becker, 1915, pp. 319).

Recent additions to the series *Quaderni della Guerra* are *Diario della Guerra d'Italia*, containing official despatches from the front; also *La Triplice Alleanza dalle Origini alla Denunzia, 1882-1915*, by A. Italo Sullioti (Milan, Treves, 1915).

The relations of Italy to the war are discussed in S. Barzilai, *Dalla Triplice Alleanza al Conflitto Europeo* (Rome, Tip. Ed. Nazionale, 1915); H. Welschinger, *La Mission du Prince de Bülów à Rome, Décembre 1914-Mai 1915* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915); J. Destrée, *En Italie avant la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Van Oest, 1915, pp. 200). G. E. Curatulo, *Francia e Italia, Pagine di Storia, 1849-1914* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, pp. viii, 238) emphasizes the unfriendly rather than the friendly relations and is apparently a work of propaganda rather than of scholarship.

Russia and the Great War (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 357) is a translation by B. Miall of the work of G. Alexinsky. Some elements of the Russian problem are presented from the German side in M. Friederichsen, *Die Grenzmarken des Europäischen Russlands, ihre Geographische Eigenart und ihre Bedeutung für den Weltkrieg* (Hamburg, Friederichsen, 1915, pp. 148).

The Turkish and Balkan phases of the war and its origins may be studied in H. von Bülow, *Deutschland, Oesterreich-Ungarn, und die Balkanstaaten* (Hamburg, Der Süd-West-Verlag, 1914, pp. 166); E. Jäckh, *Der Aufsteigende Halbmond: auf dem Weg zum Deutsch-Türkischen Bündnis* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. 247); *La Guerre et la Turquie* (Paris, Alcan, 1915); G. Domergue, *La Guerre en Orient, aux Dardanelles, et dans les Balkans* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); and E. Edwards, *Journal d'un Habitant de Constantinople, 1914-1915* (Paris, Plon, 1915).

Other books dealing with the Balkan situation are *The Politics of the Balkan League*, by M. Gueshoff, and *Eleftherios Venizelos: his Life and Work*, by Dr. C. Kerofilas (John Murray), translated by Beatrice Barstow.

India and the War, a collection of proclamations, speeches, and extracts from the Indian press, contains an introduction by Lord Sydenham of Combe (till lately Sir George Sydenham Clarke), on British rule in India. The volume, which is published by Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton (London), is chiefly distinguished by its illustrations, 32 in number.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Wampach, *Le Grand-Duché de Luxembourg et l'Invasion Allemande* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August); E. Bernstein, *L'Internationale Ouvrière et la Guerre* (Revue Politique Internationale, May); P. Jacobs, *Der Englische Handelskrieg gegen Deutschland: ein Handelspolitische Studie* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 1); E. von Salzmänn, *Im Weltkriege von Südchile zur Front* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, July); T. Rocholl, *Kriegsbriefe eines Malers, Neue Folge* (*ibid.*, June); *Lettres d'un Soldat* (Revue de Paris, August 1, 15); J. E. Blanche, *Cahiers d'un Artiste, 1914-1915*, I., II. (*ibid.*, August 15, September 1); P. Nothomb, *La Bataille de l'Yser* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); P. Nothomb, *L'Yser, la Bataille de l'Été* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 16); *Aux Dardanelles, Février-Mars 1915, l'Attaque des Détroits, Récit d'un Témoin* (Revue de Paris, October 15); P. P. de Sokolovitch, *Le Problème Italo-Slave dans la Guerre Actuelle* (Revue Hebdomadaire, October 9).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

A work of substantial value to historical students is Mr. E. A. Fry's *Almanacks for Students of English History* (London, Phillimore), which, in addition to thirty-five almanacs, contains a "Roman and Church Calendar"; an alphabetical list of saints' days; a list of popes; tables of law terms, 1264-1830; and identification of regnal years.

From the sixth volume of the *Proceedings* of the British Academy, its publisher, the Oxford University Press, publishes separately a paper by Mr. Arthur F. Leach on Some Results of Research in the History of Education in England with suggestions for its Continuance and Extension, learned and pungently expressed.

The *Bamff Charters, 1232-1703*, edited by Sir James Ramsay (Oxford University Press), proves to be a collection important to Scottish history and edited with much insight and knowledge.

The most recent volume of the *Oxford Studies in Social and Legal History* contains two monographs, A. E. Levett and A. Ballard's "Some Effects of the Black Death", and R. Lennard's "Rural Northamptonshire".

L. Hennebicq, *Genèse de l'Impérialisme Anglais* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) is a survey of English foreign and colonial policy from the Spanish war of Elizabeth to the time of Disraeli.

Royalist Father and Roundhead Son, by the Countess of Denbigh (London, Methuen), consists of biographies of the first and second Earls of Denbigh, 1600-1675, accompanied by many interesting letters; but the most engaging figure in this admirable book is Susan Villiers, Buckingham's sister, wife and widow of the first Earl of Denbigh, and mother of the second.

Mr. John Murray announces *Christopher Monck, Duke of Albemarle*, by Estelle Frances Ward.

Oxford Historical and Literary Studies is soon to include a volume on *Keigwin's Rebellion (1632-1684)* by Ray and Oliver Strachey. The rebellion named was an incident of the early history of the English occupation of Bombay.

The volume on *War Medals and their History* (London, Stanley Paul and Company, 1915, pp. xvii, 407) by W. A. Steward contains 253 illustrations and relates solely to England.

Volume III. of *A Picture Book of English History*, compiled by Mr. S. C. Roberts, dealing with the years 1688 to 1910, is now being prepared for issue at the Cambridge University Press.

The *Life of the Duke of Marlborough* by Mr. Edward Thomas (Chapman and Hall) is a sympathetic study both of the soldier and of the man.

Mr. Alfred W. Rowden is the author of a volume entitled *The Primates of the Four Georges*, announced by Mr. John Murray. It contains the biographies of the archbishops of Canterbury from Wake to Manners Sutton.

The Correspondence of Gray, Walpole, West, and Ashton (1734-1770), is announced by the Oxford University Press. The volume contains a considerable number of hitherto unpublished letters.

A biography of considerable interest is *The Life of Thomas Pitt* by Sir Cornelius Neale Dalton (Cambridge University Press). The study, based in part on the *Fortescue Papers* published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, presents an excellent picture of Pitt as a figure in the history of the period, and also as a man.

Dr. W. L. Davidson has written for the *Home University Library* a volume on *Political Thought in England: the Utilitarians from Bentham to J. S. Mill*.

Monsignor Bernard Ward follows up his Catholic history from the time of Emancipation by two volumes of *The Story of the English Catholics down to the Re-establishment of their Hierarchy in 1850* (Longmans, pp. xx, 288; viii, 320) including an outline of the Oxford Movement and the relation of the more conservative English Catholics to it.

Somewhat after the manner of Mr. Justin McCarthy's *Portraits of the Sixties*, the Right Hon. G. W. E. Russell writes *Portraits of the Seventies*, the portraits including, among others, Gladstone, Disraeli, John Bright, and Lord Salisbury.

Mr. Gilbert Murray's pamphlet *The Foreign Policy of Sir Edward Grey, 1906-1915* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, p. 127) is, of course, a defense, but has value for the historian as an intelligent survey of an important period in English diplomatic history.

Makers of the Kirk: a History of the Church of Scotland, by T. Ratcliffe Barnett, emphasizes, as its title implies, the lives of those figures important to the Scottish church.

Messrs. Blackwood announce vol. V. of *The Archbishops of St. Andrews*, by John Herkless and Robert Kerr Hannay.

The F. A. Stokes Company has recently published *Wales: her Origins, Struggles, and Later History, Institutions and Manners*, by Mr. Gilbert Stone, with an introduction by Mr. Ellis J. Griffith. The chief contribution of the study is in his treatment of prehistoric Wales; the last 500 years of Welsh history the author dismisses in one short chapter.

The Library Committee of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, in its important publication of the *Historical Records of Australia*, first series, *Governor's Despatches to and from England*, has reached 1804 in the fourth volume, which has just appeared (Sydney, 1915).

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, January 1, 1679, to August 31, 1680, ed. F. H. Blackburne Daniell; *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland*, third series, vol. VII., 1681-1682, ed. P. Hume Brown.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Keith, *The Bronze Age Invaders of Britain* (Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, January); F. J. Zwielerlein, *The Delay in the Divorce Trial of Henry VIII. and Katherine of Aragon* (Ecclesiastical Review, November); F. Keutgen, *Die Entstehung des Britischen Weltreiches* (Weltwirtschaftliches Archiv, July); C. C. Crawford, *Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act and the Revolution of 1689* (English Historical Review, October); C. K. Webster, *Castlereagh and the Spanish Colonies*, II. (*ibid.*); T. H. Boggs, *The Trend within the British Empire* (American Political Science Review, November); J. H. Round, *Recent Peerage Cases* (Quarterly Review, July); R. S. Rait, *Parliamentary Representation in Scotland*, V. *The Lords of the Articles* (Scottish Historical Review, October).

FRANCE

R. Koebner is the author of a life of *Venantius Fortunatus* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915), the sixth-century bishop of Poitiers and Latin poet.

The Direction des Archives Nationales has published M. Coulon, *Inventaires des Sceaux des Provinces de France* (tome I., *Bourgogne*, Paris, Leroux, 1915); and P. Lauer and C. Samaran, *Les Diplômes Mérovingiens des Archives Nationales* (*ibid.*).

The *Recueil des Actes de Louis IV., Roi de France, 936-954* (Paris, Klincksieck, 1914, pp. lxxv, 154), edited by P. Lauer, is published by the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres in the series *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France*.

F. B. Willett's *Craft-Guilds of the Thirteenth Century in Paris*, is issued as *Bulletin* no. 17 of the departments of history and political and economic science in Queen's University, Kingston.

Professor A. Gazier has published numerous letters in *Jeanne de Chantal et Angélique Arnauld d'après leur Correspondance, 1620-1641: Étude Historique et Critique* (Paris, Champion, 1915, pp. 204). H. Coville has used documents from the Vatican and other archives in his *Étude sur Mazarin et ses Démêlés avec le Pape Innocent X., 1644-1648* (*ibid.*, 1914, pp. vii, 197), in which he exhibits Mazarin's opposition to the election of Innocent X. and the resulting situations. W. Heinecker, *Die Persönlichkeit Ludwigs XIV.* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915, pp. 119) is a mosaic of memoir materials rather than a critical or psychological study. G. A. Prevost has edited *Notes du Premier Président Pellot sur la Normandie: Clergé, Gentilshommes, et Terres Principales, Officiers de Justice, 1670-1683* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 400).

Several studies in the diplomatic history of France in the eighteenth century are among the recent publications. J. Souchon has edited the *Correspondance Diplomatique du Comte de Montaigu, Ambassadeur à Venise, 1743-1749* (Paris, Pion, 1915, pp. lxx, 605). A. de Curzon has given an account of *L'Ambassade du Comte des Alleurs à Constantinople*

(Paris, Fischbacher, 1914, pp. 68) which lasted from 1747 to 1754. *Les Rapports de la France et de l'Espagne après le Pacte de Famille jusqu'à la Fin du Ministère du Duc de Choiseul* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. xv, 238) are described by L. Blart. F. Olmo has written *La Rivoluzione Francese nelle Relazioni Diplomatiche di un Ministro Piemontese a Roma, 1792-1796* (Rome, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1915, pp. 207).

Materials in the departmental archives have been used by A. Puis in the preparation of *Les Lettres de Cachet à Toulouse au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 333).

A series of valuable lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1914, by Professor Spenser Wilkinson, has now been published by the Oxford University Press under the title *The French Army before Napoleon*.

Madame de Staël et Monsieur Necker: d'après leur Correspondance Inédite, by the Comte d'Haussonville (Paris, *Revue des Deux Mondes*), contains a number of interesting letters.

Nos. 1 and 2 of the *Bulletin d'Histoire Économique de la Révolution* for 1913, published by the Commission on the Economic Life of the Revolution, have lately appeared. No. 1 contains an interesting body of documents for the student of industrial history, in the minutes of the Bureau de Consultation des Arts et Métiers, 1791-1796, and a contemporary official report on the harvest of 1792. No. 2, beside copious minutes of the deliberations of the commission, contains a valuable contribution on the statistics collected in 1790 by the Comité de Mendicité and a variety of briefer articles of interest to the economic history of the period.

The third volume of *Notices, Inventaires, et Documents*, published by the Comité de Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques, Section d'Histoire Moderne, is *L'Instruction Primaire en France aux XVIII^e et XIX^e Siècles, Documents d'Histoire Locale* (Paris; Rieder, 1914, pp. 210), edited by Décap, La Martinière, and Bideau.

Letters of Captain Engelbert Lutyens, Orderly Officer at Longwood, St. Helena, February, 1820-November, 1823, edited by Sir Lees Knowles, is announced by the John Lane Company.

A series of *Documents Inédits pour l'Histoire Contemporaine de la Savoie* has been initiated with a volume of *Extraits des Procès-Verbaux de l'Administration du Département du Mont-Blanc sous la Convention, Octobre 1793-Fructidor, An III*. (Chambéry, Imprimerie Nouvelle, 1915, pp. 581); P. Rambaud has completed the second volume of *L'Assistance Publique à Poitiers jusqu'à l'An V*. (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 589); J. H. König has issued a volume on *Die Katholischen Körperschaften des Unterelsasses vor und während der Grossen Revolution* (Strassburg, Heitz, 1915). The fourth volume of G. Fabry, *Campagne de l'Armée*

d'Italie, 1796-1797 (Paris, Dorbon, 1914, pp. 266) has appeared, dealing with the events from Loano to Montenotte.

L'Empire Libéral: la Fin (Paris, Garnier, 1915) was left incomplete by the late E. Ollivier and has been published with little attempt to give it finished form. Fortunately the chapters on Sedan and the Revolution of September 4 are substantially complete. The present war has called forth several histories of the war of 1870-1871, of which the *Histoire de l'Invasion Allemande en 1870-1871* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. xxxvi, 372) by General F. Canonge may be mentioned. Dr. J. Figard has published a monograph on the *Lendemain Financiers d'une Guerre, Léon Say, Ministre des Finances après 1870-1871* (Paris, Alcan, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. W. Thompson, *The Commerce of France in the Ninth Century* (Journal of Political Economy, November); V. Carrière, *Les Débuts de l'Ordre du Temple en France* (Le Moyen Âge, December, 1914); E. Armstrong, *The Italian Wars of Henry II.* (English Historical Review, October); A. Aulard, *Patrie, Patriotisme, au Début de la Révolution Française*, I. (La Révolution Française, August); E. Lintilhac, *La Défense Posthume de Vergniaud d'après son Manuscrit* (*ibid.*); J. P. Picqué [deputy from the Hautes-Pyrénées to the Convention], *Souvenirs Inédits*, I. (Revue Historique de la Révolution et de l'Empire, January); C. Ballot, *Les Banques d'Émission sous le Consulat* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May); R. Lévy, *La Disette au Havre en 1812* (*ibid.*, July); J. K. Paulding, *An Interview with Napoleon's Brother* (Harper's Monthly, November); G. Weill, *L'Anticléricalisme sous le Second Empire* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, July); A. Beaunier, *L'Historien de l'Empire Libéral* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 15); E. Eichthal, *Après Douze Mois de Guerre, Coup d'Oeil sur la Situation Économique en France* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, August 15); X., *Troupes Coloniales: les Contingents Créoles* (Revue de Paris, September 1).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

P. Egidi has written *La Colonie Saracena di Lucera e la sua Distruzione* (Naples, Pierro, 1915), and has edited the second volume of *Necrologie e Libri Affini della Provincia Romana* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1915).

Die Ordensregeln des Heiligen Franz von Assisi und die Ursprüngliche Verfassung des Minoritenordens (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915) by Kybal; and *Saint Clare of Assisi: her Life and Legislation* (London, Dent, 1914, pp. 320) by Ernest Smith are recent contributions to Franciscan history.

W. von Hoffmann has compiled two volumes of *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Kurialen Behörden vom Schisma bis zur Reformation* (Rome, Loescher, 1915).

Some phases of the Enlightened Despotism in Italy are shown in H. Büchi, *Finanzen und Finanzpolitik Toskanas im Zeitalter der Aufklärung, 1737-1790, im Rahmen der Wirtschaftspolitik* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915); and in U. Benassi, *Guglielmo du Tillot, un Ministro Riformatore del Secolo XVIII.*, the first part of which appears in volume XV. of the *Archivio Storico per le Province Parmensi* (Parma, 1915, pp. 121).

The Napoleonic period in Italy has furnished the subjects for the following monographs: M. d'Ercole, *Un Biennio di Storia Senese, 1799-1800* (Siena, Giuntini and Bentivoglio, 1914, pp. 289); G. Rizzardo, *Il Patriarcato di Venezia durante il Regno Napoleonico, 1806-1814* (Venice, Ferrari, 1914, pp. 119); R. Palmarocchi, *Le Riforme di Gioacchino Murat nel Primo Anno di Regno* (Rome, Loescher, 1914, pp. 47); and *Gli Italiani in Germania nel 1813* (Città di Castello, Unione Arti Grafiche, 1914).

The Patrizi Memoirs: a Roman Family under Napoleon, 1796-1815, by the Marchesa Maddalena Patrizi, translated by Mrs. Hugh Fraser, is made up of letters and diaries, with some connecting and explanatory narrative.

Among recent biographical volumes relating to the period of the Risorgimento are L. Messedaglia, *La Giovinezza di un Dittatore, Luigi Carlo Farini, Medico* (Milan, Albrighi, Segati and Company, 1914, pp. lxii, 552); Passamonti, *Il Giornalismo Giobertiano in Torino nel 1847-1848* (*ibid.*, 1915); G. Giusti, *Memorie Inedite, 1845-1849* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. lxiv, 318), edited by F. Martini; N. Fabrizi, *Lettere Inedite, 1858-1859* (Molfetta, Conte, 1914, pp. 81), edited by V. Azzariti; and Castellini, *Crispi* (Florence, Barbèra, 1915). Other monographs on the Risorgimento are A. Mauriel, *L'Opera della Sicilia per la Cessazione del Potere Temporale e la Liberazione di Roma e di Venezia all'Inizio del Regno d'Italia* (Palermo, Priulla, 1914, pp. 400); E. Gamerra, *L'Eloquenza in Toscana fra il 1847 e il 1849* (Rome, Soc. Ed. Dante Alighieri, 1914, pp. 209); G. Gonni, *La Campagna Adriatica del 1848-1849 e la Famiglia Mameli* (Pistoia, Tip. Cooperativa, 1915, pp. 108); and C. Fogli, *Comacchio nel Risorgimento Italiano* (Prato, Nutini, 1915, pp. 170).

From the irredentist literature called forth by the present struggle of Italy with Austria, the following may be cited as among the more important volumes: G. Cassi, *Il Mare Adriatico, sua Funzione attraverso i Tempi* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, pp. 532); A. Tamaro, *L'Adriatico, Golfo d'Italia; l'Italianità di Trieste* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. vii, 252); F. Caburi, *L'Austria e l'Italia* (*ibid.*, 1915, pp. xi, 166); P. Rohrer, *Als Venedig noch Oesterreichisch War* (Stuttgart, 1914); V. Gayda, *L'Italia d'oltre Confine, le Province Italiane d'Austria* (Turin, Bocca, 1914, pp. xix, 490); G. Prezzolini, *La Dalmazia* (Florence, Voce, 1915, pp. 74); G. Silvestri, *Terre Irredente* (Mantua, Mondovi, 1915, pp. viii, 141);

and T. Sillani, *Lembi di Patria* (Milan, Alfieri and Lacroix, 1915, pp. 185).

Professor Charles Diehl has written an excellent survey of the political and economic history of Venice, *Une République Patricienne, Venise* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915, pp. viii, 316), which is very timely for its exposition of the Italian activities in the Adriatic and the Levant in the Middle Ages. V. Bellemo has written a volume on *Questioni di Storia Veneziana* (Venice, Istituto Veneto di Arti Grafiche, 1914, pp. 254); and B. Zanazzo, on *L'Arte della Lana in Vicenza* (Venice, 1914). G. Monticcolo and E. Besta have edited the third volume of *I Capitolari delle Arti Veneziane sottoposte alla Giustizia e poi alla Giustizia Vecchia, dalle Origini al 1330* (Rome, Tip. del Senato, 1915); and L. Simeoni, *Gli Antichi Statuti delle Arti Veronesi secondo la Revisione Scaligera del 1319* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1915).

The bicentenary of the coronation of Victor Amadeus II. as king of Sicily has been marked by the publication of a half-dozen monographs on his career under the auspices of the city of Turin, which are reviewed by L. Usseglio in the *Rivista Storica Italiana*, October, 1915, pp. 432-442.

T. Rossi and F. Gabotto treat the period prior to 1280 in the first volume of their *Storia di Torino* (Turin, Baravalle and Falconieri, 1914, pp. viii, 410); and F. Cognasso has edited a volume of *Documenti Inediti e Sparsi sulla Storia di Torino* (*ibid.*, 1914, pp. viii, 405).

M. Volpe has written a centenary work on *I Gesuiti nel Napoletano dopo il 1815* (Naples, D'Auria, 1914-1915, 2 vols., pp. xviii, 305; xv, 417), and A. Leanza, on *I Gesuiti in Sicilia nel Secolo XIX*. (Palermo, Lugaro, 1914, pp. 324).

The ministry of the colonies has published a *Bibliografia della Libia* compiled by U. Ceccherini of the National Library at Turin, in continuation of the work of Minutilli, published in 1903.

The Library of Congress has issued, and the Superintendent of Documents at Washington can supply, a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Spain*, by Thomas W. Palmer, jr. (pp. 174).

In 1912 Senhor Joaquim Bensaude published an important work, entitled *L'Astronomie Nautique au Portugal à l'Époque des Grandes Découvertes* (Bern, Max Drechsel), in which he produced much evidence to show that Portugal was the pioneer in modern nautical astronomy, as well as in maritime enterprise, and refuted the assertion that the *Ephémérides* of Regiomontanus played any important part in solving the nautical problems of the Portuguese. Now, at the expense of the Portuguese government, he is bringing out a *Collection de Documents* (Munich, Kuhn; Bern, Drechsel) in seven volumes, of which six are reproductions in facsimile of early Portuguese works dealing with nautical astronomy. Several of the volumes have already been issued. The

titles are as follows: *Regimento do Estrolabio: Tratado da Spera*, from a unique and early copy at Munich; *Tratado da Spera: Regimento do Astrolabio*, Evora copy; *Almanach Perpetuum*, by Abraham Zacuto; *Tratado del Esphera y del Arte del Marear: con el Regimiento de las Alturas*, by Francisco Faleiro; *Reportorio dos Tempos*, by Valentim Fernandes. The seventh volume will contain the introductions to volumes 2 to 6, and will constitute the second volume of Senhor Bensaude's above-mentioned work on Portuguese nautical astronomy.

B. Romano has written a history of *L'Expulsione dei Gesuiti dal Portogallo, con Documenti. dell' Archivio Vaticano* (Città di Castello, Lapi, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Eduard Meyer, *Italien und die Entstehung der Italischen Nation im Altertum* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, June); R. Davidsohn, *Vom Mittelalter zu Unseren Tagen* (ibid.); P. Fedele, *La Coscienza della Nazionalità in Italia nel Medio Evo* (Nuova Antologia, October 16); C. Arnò, *L'Idea della Guerra contro Toscana e Roma accolta e voluta dal Gioberti* (ibid., August 1); H. N. Gay, *Difficoltà, Glorie, ed Errori della Campagna del 1848, da Lettere Inedite del Generale Franzini* (ibid., September 1); C. Pellegrini, *Edgar Quinet e l'Italia* (ibid., August 16); "Un Bresciano", *L'Intervento e le Pressioni dell'Austria nella Crisi Ministeriale del 1893* (ibid., October 16); J. Bainville, *Le Mois Historique de l'Italie, Mai 1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, October 1); G. Desdèvises du Dezert, *Saint Ignace de Loyola* (Revue Hispanique, June); L. Sanchez Costa, *La Peninsula á Principios del Siglo XVII*. [description, city by city] (ibid., August).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Chapters in the history of the Church in medieval Germany are narrated in Sellin, *Burchard II., Bischof von Halberstadt, 1060-1088* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915); B. Wosasek, *Der Heilige Norbert, Stifter des Prämonstratenser-Ordens und Erzbischof von Magdeburg* (Vienna, Eichinger, 1914, pp. 318); and F. M. Steele, *The Life and Visions of St. Hildegarde* (London, Heath, Cranton, 1914, pp. 260).

Dr. M. Schwann has published three volumes on *Ludolf Camphausen* (Essen, Baedeker, 1915) in the *Veröffentlichungen des Archivs für Rheinisch-Westfälische Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, setting forth his services in the development of Rhenish Prussia.

Of the ten-volume edition of the *Works of Martin Luther* being published by the A. J. Holman Company (Philadelphia), vol. II. has now been issued.

The Baden Historical Commission has issued a sixth volume, containing supplementary materials, of the *Politische Correspondenz Karl Friedrichs von Baden, 1783-1806*, ed. K. Obser (Heidelberg, Winter, 1915, pp. vi, 379).

B. Ihringer has edited the *Reden gegen Napoleon* (Munich, Müller, 1915) of Görres.

J. Bachem has published a small volume *Zur Jahrhundertfeier der Vereinigung der Rheinlande mit Preussen* (Cologne, Bachem, 1915). The centenary of the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach is commemorated by H. Freiherr von Egloffstein, *Carl August auf dem Wiener Kongress* (Jena, Fischer, 1915, pp. x, 199).

G. Gaillard, *Culture et Kultur* (Paris, Reinwald and Schleicher, 1915, pp. 101) contains five studies of German leaders of thought. C. Andler has published, with interesting comments, texts from Dietrich von Bülow, Arndt, List, Jahn, Moltke, Bismarck, Treitschke, and others in *Les Origines du Pangermanisme, 1800-1888* (Paris, Conard, 1915); J. de Dampierre has collected much similar material in *L'Allemagne et le Droit des Gens d'après les Sources Allemandes et les Archives du Gouvernement Français* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915). Professor M. Milliod of Lausanne is the author of *La Caste Dominante Allemande, sa Formation, son Rôle* (Paris, Tenin, 1915).

The career and influence of List have been studied recently in K. Goeser, *Der Junge Friedrich List: ein Schwäbischer Politiker* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1915, pp. ix, 134); F. Borckenhagen, *National- und Handelspolitische Bestrebungen in Deutschland, 1815-1827, und die Anfänge Friedrich Lists* (Berlin, Rothschild, 1915); and K. Kumpmann, *Friedrich List als Prophet des Neuen Deutschland* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915).

Vor 50 Jahren: Briefwechsel zwischen Dr. Karl Lorentzen und den Führern der Augustenburgischen Partei, 1863-1866 (Leipzig, Haessel, 1915) has been edited by Kupke. E. Sieper has edited the *Lebenserinnerungen* (Berlin, Reimer, 1914, pp. vi, 420) of Hermann Hueffer, which are interesting for his service in the Prussian Landtag in the sixties, for the war of 1870-1871, and for the Old Catholic movement. H. Hofmann has issued the third volume completing *Fürst Bismarck, 1890-1898* (Stuttgart, Union, 1915). *The Soul of Germany: a Twelve Years' Study of the People from Within, 1902-1914* (London, Hutchinson, 1915, pp. xv, 352), is by Thomas F. A. Smith, who was a lecturer in the University of Erlangen.

Two additional volumes dealing with the life and character of the German emperor are *The Public and Private Life of Kaiser Wilhelm II.* (London, Eveleigh Nash), and *The Psychology of the Kaiser* by Dr. Morton Prince (T. Fisher Unwin).

In the *Fontes Rerum Transylvanicarum*, A. Veress has edited the first volume of *Acta et Epistolae Relationum Transylvaniae Hungariaeque cum Moldavia et Valachia* (Vienna, Hölder, 1915), which covers the years 1468-1540.

The vexed questions of the economic relations within the Dual Monarchy have received exhaustive treatment in *Zolltrennung und Zolleinheit: die Geschichte der Oesterreichisch-Ungarischen Zwischen-Zoll-Linie* (Vienna, Manz, 1915, pp. 415), by Dr. Rudolf Sieghart.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Hampe, *Die Pfälzer Lande in der Stauferzeit* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); A. E. Harvey, *Economic Self-Interest in the German Anti-Clericalism of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Am. Journal of Theology, October); W. Sohm, *Die Soziallehren Melancthons* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); E. Müsebeck, *Die Deutsche Burschenschaft: ein Gedenkblatt zu ihrem Hundertsten Gründungstag* (Süddeutsche Monatshefte, June); H. von Langermann, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Flotte im Jahre 1848* (Deutsche Rundschau, August); Erich Marcks, *Bismarck und der Deutsche Geist* (Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte, July); E. Daudet, *Les Dernières Années de la Dictature de Bismarck, Notes et Souvenirs, 1887-1890* (Revue des Deux Mondes, September 1, October 15); R. Pichon, *Mommsen et la Mentalité Allemande* (ibid., October 15); J. Bourdeau, *Les Socialistes Allemands, l'Internationale, et la Guerre* (ibid., October 1); F. Farjenel, *Les Allemands en Extrême-Orient* (Revue de Paris, October 15); W. Fraknoi, *König Matthias Corvinus und der Deutsche Kaiserthron* (Ungarische Rundschau, IV. 1); F. Bac, *Quelques Souvenirs sur François-Joseph* (Revue de Paris, September 1); G. d'Acandia, *La Dominazione Austriaca in Polonia e il Dissidio Polacco-Ruteno* (Nuova Antologia, October 16).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The Dutch archive service has reprinted the *Verslagen omtrent 's Rijks Oude Archieven* for 1865-1877. Dr. Heeringa has finished the manuscript of the Resolutions of the States of Zeeland, vol. I., 1574-1578. No. XXXVII. of the *Verslagen*, that for 1914, lately issued in two volumes (pp. 561, 512) contains a calendar, filling 200 pages, of documents from the archives of the abbey of St. Agatha at Kuik, 1367-1691; an inventory of the papers, recently acquired, of J. G. Verstolk van Soelen, minister of foreign affairs from 1825 to 1841; and an inventory of the documents of the minters of Dordrecht, 1291-1806, with a calendar of the earlier pieces. The progress of Dr. Colenbrander's *Gedenkstukken* for the period 1816-1840 has been held back by detention of the materials gathered by him in the archives of Petrograd. Vol. IV. of Huygens's correspondence is in the press, as also vol. I. (1576 and 1577) of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*.

An additional installment of the catalogue of sources for the military history of the Netherlands has been issued by General F. de Bas, director of the archives of the Dutch War Office.

In the *Nederlandsch Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis*, n. s., XII. 2, Dr. A. Eekhof presents an account of the pastorate of Domine Henricus

Selyns at Waverveen in Utrecht, 1666-1682, during the interval between his two periods of pastoral service in New Netherland, together with an account of the ecclesiastical history of the parish, drawn from materials compiled by Selyns. The number also contains a score of miscellaneous documents relating to Gisbert Voetius.

The extent to which American political institutions are modelled on those of the Dutch is the theme of *Holländ: an Historical Essay* by H. A. van C. Torchiana (San Francisco, Paul Elder).

Dr. A. Kalshoven's *De Diplomatieke Verhouding tusschen Engeland en de Republiek der Vereen. Nederlanden, 1747-1756* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. x, 268), traces the transition of Dutch diplomacy under Bentinck, from zeal for common action with England in accord with Newcastle's plan of alliance, through various turns of party fortunes in both countries, to the position of neutrality in which the Republic decided to remain during the approaching war of England and Prussia against France and Austria.

Professor Paul Delannoy, the librarian of the University of Louvain, delivered a series of lectures at the College of France in February last which have been published under the title *L'Université de Louvain* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. xx, 230). The glorious early days of the university are depicted as well as the recent misfortune which has overwhelmed it.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Cumont, *Comment la Belgique fut Romanisée* (Société Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, XXVIII.; see also Camille Jullian in *Journal des Savants*, August).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A. Ridderstad, *Östergötlands Historie från Äldsta indtill Nuvarande Tid* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1914, pp. ix, 607), and H. Schött, *Östergötlands Läns Hushållningssällshaps Historia* (Linköping, Sahlström, 1914, pp. xvi, 522) are two thorough studies in Swedish local history.

L. Finkel, H. Sawczynski, and E. T. Modelski have issued the section of their *Bibliografia Historyi Polskiéj* for the years 1901 to 1910 (Cracow, Gebethner, 1914, pp. 174). Among recent volumes on Poland are Ninian Hill, *Poland and the Polish Question: Impressions and Afterthoughts* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. 340); G. Kurnatowski, *La Pologne Contemporaine* (Paris, Rivière, 1914); J. de Lipkowski, *La Question Polonaise et les Slaves de l'Europe Centrale* (Paris, "Polonia", 1915, pp. 164), which contains articles and documents relating to the present war; and Lord Eversley's *The Partitions of Poland* (New York, Dodd, pp. 328).

Poland, by Professor W. Alison Phillips, is one of the recent numbers of the *Home University Library*.

A new work on the *Origine ed Evoluzione Storica delle Nazioni Balcaniche* (Milan, Hoepli, 1915) is by Pernice. An anonymous volume on *The Near East from Within* (New York, Cassell, 1915, pp. viii, 256) is by a careful observer of persons and policies of recent years.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Hennig, *Zur Verkehrsgeschichte Ost- und Nordeuropas im 8. bis 12. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 1); M. Rémusat, *Christine de Suède, Prétendante au Trône de Pologne* (Revue de Paris, October 15); G. H. Holmberg, *Die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in Schweden* (Archiv für die Geschichte des Sozialismus und der Arbeiterbewegung, VI. 1); M. Hoschiller, *La Russie sur le Chemin de Byzance* (Revue de Paris, August 1, 16); T. Schiemann, *Die Geschichte der Ostseeprovinzen* (Süd-deutsche Monatshefte, July); C. Diehl, *Une Vie de Saint (Étienne d'Auxence) de l'Époque des Empereurs Iconoclastes* (Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, March); A. Sorbelli, *La Battaglia del Bosforo, Febbraio 1352* (Nuova Antologia, August 1); P. H. Mischef, *La Question des Détroits et la Russie d'après un Document Bulgare* (Revue Politique Internationale, May); A. Schopoff, *Les États Balkaniques et le Principe Confédératif* (Revue Hebdomadaire, August 21).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis has continued his studies on paper money by a small volume entitled *Certain Old Chinese Notes* (Boston, Goodspeed, pp. 63).

Volume II. of the *Quest and Occupation of Tahiti by Emissaries of Spain in 1772-1776* has been translated and annotated by B. G. Corney and is published by the Hakluyt Society.

In an interesting little book based on family chronicles, *Shivaji the Maráthá: his Life and Times* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, pp. 125), Professor H. G. Rawlinson of Poona recounts the marvellous career of the hero (1627-1680) who founded the Mahratta state.

Colonel L. W. Shakspear has issued a *History of Upper Assam, Upper Burmah, and the Northeastern Frontier* (London, Macmillan, 1914).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale et d'Extrême-Orient* (T'Oung Pao, December, 1914); W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, II. (*ibid.*, March).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington held in its office, in the latter part of November, a series of conferences on the problems connected with the cartographic representation of the disputes and settlements of boundary lines between the United States and its neighbors, especially Canada. Those participating, besides the director and Dr. Paullin, were Dr. Otto Tittmann, formerly superintendent of the Coast and Geodetic Survey, Mr. J. E. McGrath of the present staff of that survey, Mr. James White of Ottawa, formerly geographer to the government of the Dominion of Canada, and Professor Jesse S. Reeves of the University of Michigan. Professor Faust's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives* is in page-proof. Professor R. R. Hill's *Descriptive List of Papers relating to the History of the United States in the Archives of the Indies, Papeles de Cuba*, is in the printer's hands. Miss Donnan has begun the compilation of a volume of original materials illustrating the early history of the slave-trade. The Department has finished for the present its work of photography in the Papeles de Cuba at Seville, and now holds, for sale at cost price, ten sets of photographs of the regular series of despatches from the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captain-general of Cuba, from the beginning in 1768 to the end of the year 1791 and the arrival of Carondelet—some 2400 pages in all.

The Superintendent of Documents has printed a new edition of his list of government publications in American history and biography for sale at his office (*Price List 50*, 5th edition, 48 pp.). Copies may be had gratis.

Among the recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress are: minutes of proceedings of the commissioners of Georgetown, 1751-1789; record of by-laws and ordinances of Georgetown, 1791-1816; minutes of the levy court of Georgetown, 1836-1867; book of accounts of American officers, prisoners of the British, 1777-1778; the diary (in German) of Captain Friedrich Wilhelm von der Malsburg, of the Regiment Dittfurth, in America, 1776; General Beauregard's note-book of the Mexican campaign, January to September, 1847; George Y. Bradley's diary of the first Powell expedition through the Grand Cañon of the Colorado, 1869; Charles Lever's journal of the voyage on the U. S. S. *Release* to rescue Dr. Kane, 1855; a body of papers of William L. Marcy; and sundry photographic reproductions of Mexican and Central American documents pertaining to the native languages and dialects.

In the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1915, Mr. Howard M. Chapin presents a check-list of Rhode Island

almanacs; Dr. Charles L. Nichols a paper on Justus Fox (1736-1805), German printer in Philadelphia; Dr. Bernard C. Steiner an elaborate article on Connecticut's ratification of the Federal Constitution; and Mr. Clarence S. Brigham the third part (Maryland to Massachusetts, Boston) of his bibliography of American newspapers from 1690 to 1820. The society in a recent *Bulletin* announces an extraordinary increase in its newspaper collection, amounting for the past year to 492 bound volumes and 45,528 unbound issues. These include long files of Rhode Island newspapers and an unrivalled collection of Bolivian newspapers, 33,685 in number.

After a suspension of several years *The Genealogical Magazine* will again be published (26 Broad Street, Boston, Massachusetts), under the editorial charge of Mr. Eben Putnam, assisted by Messrs. John E. Bowman, G. Andrews Moriarty, Charles S. Remington, and Stephen P. Sharples. Excerpts and abstracts from original records, brief pedigrees of American, chiefly New England, families, and similar articles will make up the contents. Especial attention will be given to English sources likely to disclose the origin of American families; and some space will be devoted to notes and queries. The number just issued, designated as "New Series, Vol. III., Number 1", or "Whole Number 127", contains papers on the seal of the Prerogative Court of New England, 1689, on the merchant John Williams of Newport and his family, on the records of Melford, England, Morristown, Vermont, and Lyme, New Hampshire, and material relating to several families.

The *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the Bureau of American Ethnology (pp. 453) contains two extensive papers, one by Mrs. Matilda Cox Stevenson on the ethnobotany of the Zúñi Indians and one by Mr. Walter E. Roth on animism and folk-lore among the Indians of Guiana.

The *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, III. 12 and 13, contains continuations of Señor Serrano y Sanz's valuable article on Spain and the Cherokees and Choctaws in the second half of the eighteenth century, and the latter number has also a paper by Miss Irene A. Wright on the materials in the Archives of the Indies for the history of Cuba from 1508 to 1538.

The September *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library contains an extensive bibliography (72 pp.) of political parties in the United States. The *Bulletin* for November begins the printing, from the original manuscript in the Library, of the journal of Berlin and the Prussian court in 1798 kept by Thomas Boylston Adams while secretary of the United States legation at Berlin when his brother, John Quincy Adams, was minister to Prussia. The picture of conditions and events is distinctly interesting.

The most extended paper in the *Historical Records and Studies*, vol. VIII. (June, 1915), of the United States Catholic Historical Society is

the Sulpicians in the United States, by Dr. Charles G. Herbermann. Of especial interest is a paper concerning Dr. John McLoughlin, by Rev. T. J. Campbell, S. J. The volume also includes translations of two letters of Father Adam Gilg, missionary in Mexico in the latter part of the seventeenth century. The letters are dated October 8, 1687, and February, 1692.

Of the *Index of Economic Material in the Documents of the States of the United States*, compiled by Miss Adelaide R. Hasse for the Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution, the volume for New Jersey, 1789-1904, has been issued.

Messrs. Little, Brown, and Company have recently brought out a volume by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart entitled *The Monroe Doctrine: an Interpretation*.

Professor Raymond G. Taylor of the Kansas State Agricultural College has brought out, primarily for use in that institution, *Outlines of American Industrial History* (pp. 89). These *Outlines* have been constructed with a broad view, relating the industrial to the whole history of the American people. Lists of references accompany the several chapters.

Professors Homer C. Hockett and Arthur M. Schlesinger of the Ohio State University have brought out *A Syllabus of United States History* (pp. 119), based on Bassett's *Short History of the United States*. A classified list of references to other texts and readings accompanies each topical section.

The Neale Publishing Company has issued *The Political History of Slavery in the United States*, by James Z. George, with a foreword and a sketch of the author's life by W. H. Leavell, and with a preface by Professor John Bassett Moore. The work is in two books, the first of which gives title to the volume; the second book deals with the legislative history of Reconstruction.

The Macmillan Company have added to their series of *True Stories of Great Americans* the following volumes: *William Penn*, by R. S. Holland, *Benjamin Franklin*, by E. L. Dudley, *Davy Crockett*, by W. C. Sprague, *Christopher Columbus*, by Mildred Stapley, and *Thomas A. Edison*, by Francis Rolt-Wheeler.

In a new edition of his work, *The Story of the American Merchant Marine*, Mr. John R. Spears has added an introduction of about twenty pages reviewing the events of 1914-1915 in their bearing on merchant shipping (Macmillan).

The Macmillan Company has recently brought out a revised and-re-written edition of *A History of Currency in the United States*, by A. Barton Hepburn, based on his *The Contest for Sound Money* (1903).

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

The Spirit of the American Revolution as revealed in the Poetry of the Period: a Study of American Patriotic Verse from 1760 to 1783, by S. W. Patterson, will probably interest students of American history quite as much as students of American literature (Boston, Badger).

Mr. Julius F. Sachse, librarian of the Masonic Temple in Philadelphia, has ready for publication *The Masonic Correspondence of George Washington* (Lancaster, New Era Press, pp. 144), being his correspondence with the Masonic authorities in various states.

In volume X. of this journal, pp. 816-817, an interesting letter of John Marshall, dated December 12, 1783, was published, from an original in the possession of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. The letter, which bears no evidence as to the place where it was written, or as to the person to whom it was addressed, was stated in the *Review* to be a letter of Marshall to Thomas Jefferson and, in square brackets, was indicated to have been written from Williamsburg, Virginia. Hon. Albert J. Beveridge, who is now at work upon a life of Chief Justice Marshall, has brought to our attention facts which prove with certainty that the letter was addressed, not to Jefferson but to James Monroe, and was written at Richmond, not at Williamsburg.

In *The Political Science of John Adams* (Putnam) C. M. Walsh has essayed a critical study of the political philosophy of Adams as set forth in his formal writings, and in his correspondence.

Professor Charles A. Beard has brought out a second volume of his work *An Economic Interpretation of American History*. The volume is entitled *Economic Origins of Jeffersonian Democracy* (Macmillan).

Volume VI. of *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Dr. Worthington C. Ford, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Lincoln and Episodes of the Civil War, recently published by Putnam, is by W. E. Doster, who was provost-marshal of Washington in 1862-1863 and was one of the lawyers for the defense in the conspiracy trials of 1865.

The Constitutional Doctrines of Justice Harlan (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXIII., no. 4, pp. 208), by Floyd B. Clark, Ph.D., besides being a study of the judicial opinions of a single member of the Supreme Court, is in fact a study of dissenting opinions, for it is largely in his dissenting opinions that the constitutional doctrines of a justice can be traced. This survey of the court's decisions, through a period of more than thirty years, from the angle of dissent is at once interesting and useful. An introduction gives a sketch of Justice Harlan's career.

The Life and Letters of John Hay, by William R. Thayer, has now been issued in book form, in two volumes (Houghton Mifflin).

A volume of no small historical and political interest as well as religious, educational, journalistic, etc., is the *Reminiscences* of Lyman Abbott just issued by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Life of Clara Barton, by Rev. P. H. Epler, tells the story of Miss Barton's early life as well as of her career as a nurse in the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the Spanish-American War. It is understood that the author has had the co-operation of friends and relatives of Miss Barton and has had access to unpublished letters and diaries and official documents (Macmillan).

LOCAL ITEMS ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Vol. V., no. 3, of the *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* contains an article on the life of Cardinal Cheverus and one relating to the career of Father Râle, both of which are continued in nos. 4 and 5.

A History of Brookline, New Hampshire, by E. E. Parker, has been brought out by the Historical Committee of Brookline.

The October serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a memoir of Dr. William Everett, by Dr. James Schouler, written with insight and discrimination; a group of letters of John Smibert and his associates; and a striking letter, 1815, of Madame Elizabeth Patterson Bonaparte.

Mr. James H. Stark's *Antique Views of Ye Towne of Boston* (first published in 1882) is now brought out in a new edition with much additional material. It now embraces reproductions of more than 170 old prints (Boston, George H. Ellis Co.).

In Chauncey E. Peck's *The History of Wilbraham, Massachusetts*, the historical account published in 1863 is brought down to date (Wilbraham, the town). The work was prepared in connection with the celebration, June 15, 1913, of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the incorporation of the town.

The *News Sheet* of the Rhode Island Historical Society for July-October, 1915, contains an important and interesting note on the cartography of Rhode Island.

Mr. Thomas W. Bicknell of Providence has published *The Story of Dr. John Clarke of Newport*, in which he essays to prove the primacy of the colony of Rhode Island (Aquidneck) in the founding of democracy and soul liberty.

Under the editorial conduct of Professors John S. Bassett and Sidney B. Fay, a new series, *Smith College Studies in History*, is inaugurated. The issues are to be brought out quarterly. The first is *An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State*, by Grace Pierpont Fuller, a clear and intelligent account, relating chiefly to the transitional period 1815-1845.

The New York State Historical Association has now issued its volume of *Proceedings* of the fifteenth annual meeting, held at Oswego September 29 to October 2, 1913. Naturally many of the papers and addresses presented at the meeting concerned Oswego and its regional history. Among these are: Sir William Johnson and Pontiac, by James T. Clark; the Defenses of Oswego, by Major W. H. Bertsch; the Fur-Traders of Early Oswego, by F. W. Barnes; the Capture of Oswego in 1756, by W. L. Grant; Montcalm's Victory and its Lessons, by Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt; Lake Ontario in History, by Professor H. W. Elson; the Old Trail from the Mohawk to Oswego, by A. W. Skinner; and Wolfe Island, Past and Present, by R. M. Spankie. An historical address on Oswego delivered by G. T. Clark in 1896 is also included in the volume. Another group of papers concerns the Loyalists. These are: the Loyalist Migration Overland, by W. S. Wallace; Two Typical United Empire Loyalists and Founders of Canada (Richard Cartwright and Col. Joel Stone), by Miss Agnes M. Machar; and the Bay of Quinte Settlements, by C. M. Warner. Professor Moses Coit Tyler's paper, the Party of the Loyalists in the American Revolution, is reprinted from the first volume of this journal. Two other papers require mention: the Cornbury Legend, by Professor C. W. Spencer, an investigation of the character and administration of Lord Cornbury, governor of New York and New Jersey, 1702-1708; and How the State and the Historical Association may be of Mutual Assistance, by James A. Holden, state historian.

The October number of the *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* contains a brief article by G. A. Morrison, jr., concerning the commissary service in the Revolution, embodying a number of documents from the Hughes Manuscripts and the Gates Papers in possession of the New York Historical Society.

The Story of Old Fort Plain and the Middle Mohawk Valley, by Nelson Greene, has been brought out in Fort Plain, New York, by O'Connor Brothers.

George P. Humphrey, of Rochester, N. Y., has brought out a reprint (from the *Portfolio*, July to October, 1810) of *A Ride to Niagara in 1809*, by T. C., an account of a journey on horseback from Williamsport, Pennsylvania, to Niagara Falls and return.

Recent accessions to the manuscript collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania are: seventy-one letters and documents added to the Greer collection, and 146 to the General A. A. Humphreys collection.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September contains a paper by H. F. Covington on the Discovery of Maryland, or Verrazano's Visit to the Eastern Shore; a continuation of the extracts from the Carroll Papers (pp. 40); and a journal kept by Uria Brown of a journey (1816) from Baltimore to Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, and through part of Maryland.

Volume 18 of the *Records* of the Columbia Historical Society (Washington, D. C., 1915, pp. 280) contains an account by Dr. William Tindal of Booth's escape from Washington after the assassination of Lincoln, his subsequent wanderings, and final capture; by the same writer, a sketch of Mayor Sayles J. Bowen; a summary of information respecting the title-deeds of the city of Washington, by Mr. H. C. Gauss; an address by Hon. W. P. Borland on the relation of the District of Columbia to the general government; an account of Old Homes of Georgetown Heights, by Mr. William A. Gordon; a valuable paper on Aspects of the Cabinet Meeting, by Dr. Henry B. Learned; an account of Dr. and Mrs. William Thornton, by Mr. Allen C. Clark, with the text of many letters; and a history of the Old Glass-House, by Mr. Robert H. Harkness, illustrated.

The history of the designing and erection of the Virginia State Capitol is related by Professor Fiske Kimball of the University of Michigan in *Thomas Jefferson and the First Monument of the Classical Revival in America*, a brochure of forty-eight pages, prepared with scholarly care and excellently illustrated. With the aid of Jefferson's correspondence with the Virginia commissioners of public buildings, now in the Library of Congress, of his accounts, now in the Virginia State Library, and of the original studies for the Capitol, preserved among the papers of the late T. Jefferson Coolidge, jr., Mr. Kimball seems to settle in favor of Jefferson all question as to the main responsibility for the design.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the October number a miscellaneous selection of letters, ranging in date from 1705 to 1829. They include four (1705, 1707, 1708) from Nathaniel Blakiston, agent in England for Virginia and Maryland, to Philip Ludwell, member of the Virginia council, one (1713) from William Bassett to Ludwell, chiefly concerning Bassett's candidacy for the council, and three (1769, 1771, 1775) from Jerman Baker, a distinguished lawyer of Virginia, to Thomas Adams in London. In Mr. David I. Bushnell, jr.'s studies of the Virginia Frontier in History appear some reports of the board of war to Congress, 1778, concerning the western Indians, one of which embodies a census of the tribes beyond the Ohio, prepared by William Wilson. A group of council papers, all of them communications to Governor Nicholson, 1702, includes a letter of November 4, 1702, from the Board of Trade to the governor concerning a variety of matters. Of especial interest, as describing the situation in Norfolk and agricultural conditions in Virginia in 1785, is a letter from John Joyce to Rev. Robert Dickson, March 24, 1785.

The October number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Magazine* contains a brief discussion of Lincoln's course in regard to Fort Sumter, together with a reprint (from the *Richmond Daily Ex-*

aminer of August 8, 1861) of a letter from Governor Pickens of South Carolina, dated August 3, 1861; a group of documents concerning the alleged claim against the state of Virginia of Lady Virginia Murray, the daughter of Lord Dunmore, the last colonial governor of Virginia; and some Recommendations and Qualifications of Military and Civil Officers in Brunswick County, Virginia, March, 1777, to October, 1782.

An *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography* in five volumes, edited by President Lyon Gardiner Tyler, is an output of the Lewis Publishing Company.

Historic Virginia Homes and Churches, by R. A. Lancaster, jr., from the press of Lippincott, is elaborately illustrated.

Mr. Conway W. Sams, who is preparing a series of volumes on the *Conquest of Virginia*, has issued the first volume, entitled *The Conquest of Virginia: the Forest Primeval*.

The Révolution in Virginia: the Tories and the Patriot Parties, by H. J. Eckenrode, is the outcome of extended research into local records (Houghton Mifflin Company).

North Carolina Schools and Academics, 1790-1840: a Documentary History (pp. lii, 846), by Charles L. Coon, is put forth by the North Carolina Historical Commission as one of its *Publications*. This volume is similar in character to the author's *Beginnings of Public Education in North Carolina, 1790-1840*, brought out in 1908, and the material of this in large measure supplements that of the former work. In the introduction the author analyzes his material, pointing out the most significant facts and developments, as, for instance, the influence which the University of North Carolina (opened in 1795) has had upon education in the state, the physical equipment of the schools, the qualifications of teachers and their salaries, the courses of study, the methods of teaching, the character of the closing exercises, the current ideas of religious education, the beginnings of denominational colleges, etc. He calls attention to the effort about 1815 to establish Lancaster schools in the state, but he fails to explain, what a wayfaring man naturally wishes to know, what Lancaster schools actually were; and the documents do not clarify the mists very much. The documents are drawn from newspapers and other periodicals, in a preponderating measure, in fact, from two Raleigh newspapers, the *Register* and the *Star*. Greater uniformity in citing these papers would have been commendable. The material is assembled by counties alphabetically arranged. A separate section concerns the beginnings of colleges, and other sections embody educational essays, etc. In the collection of this material Mr. Coon has performed a very useful service to educational history.

The Autobiography of Asa Biggs, including a Journal of a Trip from North Carolina to New York in 1832 (pp. 51), edited by R. D. W. Con-

nor, is Bulletin no. 19 of the *Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission. In this brief sketch of his career as member of the North Carolina legislature, member of Congress (1845-1847), senator (1855-1858), United States district judge, Confederate district judge, etc., the autobiographer has left several bits of interesting record. That part of the *Journal* also which relates to his visit to Washington records some matters of interest.

Historical Papers, series XI., published by the Trinity College Historical Society, includes a reprint of the *Letters of Silvius*, a series of letters written by Dr. Hugh Williamson of North Carolina and published in the *American Museum* in the summer of 1787. Included also are two studies: the Manhood Suffrage Movement in North Carolina, by John W. Carr, jr., and Some Phases of Reconstruction in Wilmington and the County of New Hanover, by B. W. Ruark.

The first installment of an interesting paper, by L. R. Garrison, on the Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post-Office Department, appears in the October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*. Another article of interest is Early Presbyterianism in Texas as seen by Rev. James Weston Miller, D.D., from the pen of his son, Robert Finney Miller, M.D. The Alta California Supply Ships, 1773-1776, is an investigation by Dr. Charles E. Chapman. This number of the *Quarterly* contains also the concluding portion of W. W. Pierson, jr.'s study of the case of *Texas v. White*, and a continuation of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The Texas History Teachers' Bulletin inaugurates in the number of May 15 a department of Source Readings in Texas History. In the number mentioned are given some extracts (7 pp.) from *A Visit to Texas* (1836), describing the principal settlements in Austin's colony in 1831, and a letter (4 pp.) of David Woodman, jr., taken from *A Guide to Texas Emigrants* (1835). The readings are edited by Professor Eugene C. Barker.

The late Constantin Lionel Gruzevski, a Lithuanian nobleman, who for thirty years lived in poverty as a sign-painter in San Antonio, Texas, collected a noteworthy library of books relating to history, geography, military science, and folklore, of which a leading feature was a remarkable collection of books on the Peninsular War and on Wellington, said to be the finest in America. This library has lately been acquired by the Scientific Society of San Antonio and will be kept as a memorial to the man.

The University of California Press has just published a new volume by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, based almost entirely on unpublished manuscript sources, *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (pp. 458).

The September number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains articles by Professor Herbert E. Bolton on the Location of

La Salle's Colony on the Gulf of Mexico, by Professor William S. Robertson on the First Legations of the United States in Latin America, and by Miss Susan M. Reed on British Cartography of the Mississippi Valley in the Eighteenth Century, and a survey of recent historical activities in Canada by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee. The diary of a journey of Samuel Montgomery, who in 1785 went out through the Indian country, beyond the Ohio, to make a treaty with the Shawnees, is also printed in this number.

At a conference of directors of historical work in the Northwest, held in Chicago October 23, 1915, it was determined to have a calendar made of the documents in the State Department at Washington which relate to any of the co-operating states, and Dr. N. D. Mereness was engaged to make the calendar. It is presumed that the work will require about five months, and when completed the calendar will be sent to each of the co-operating states (Indiana, Iowa, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Illinois) to be copied or used in making selections of documents to be transcribed.

The Tories of the Upper Ohio, by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, is from the *Biennial Report* (1911-1914) of the Department of Archives and History of West Virginia.

The April-July issue (double number) of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* contains the Journal of Francis Collins, an artillery officer in the Mexican War. The journal proper begins January 29, 1847, when the writer, who was then a second lieutenant, was at Tampico, Mexico, and ends August 19, 1848, a few days after his landing at Old Point Comfort. Some earlier facts are recorded, by way of introduction, by Lieutenant Collins himself. These experiences and contemporary observations of an intelligent officer form an interesting bit of material upon the Mexican War. They are edited by his niece, Maria Clinton Collins.

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is entirely occupied with a monograph on the History of Banking and Currency in Ohio before the Civil War (pp. 305), by C. C. Huntington. The author has gathered much material, and has related it to general economic conditions and to the course of economic and financial events in the country at large.

Tract No. 95 of the Western Reserve Historical Society includes, as part I., the *Annual Report for 1914-1915* and, as part II., *Letters from the Samuel Huntington Correspondence, 1800-1812*. Huntington came to Ohio from Connecticut in 1801, became chief justice in 1804 and governor in 1808. In fact, during most of the period of this correspondence he was in public office. Of the 53 letters here printed 48 were written to Huntington, five by him. His correspondents were prin-

cipally such men as Moses Cleaveland, Arthur St. Clair, Gideon Granger, Jeremiah Morrow, Edward Tiffin, Stanley Griswold, and Thomas Worthington. A frequent correspondent from Connecticut was Elisha Tracy, whose letters touch upon Connecticut politics. Subjoined are four letters from the correspondence of George Tod, one of which, from D. L. Tod, August 15, 1809, describes conditions in the territory of Orleans; another, from William Creighton, June 2, 1811, touches upon Tammany Societies in Ohio; and still another embodies a hitherto unpublished letter of Thomas Jefferson, February, 1821.

The plans of the Indiana Historical Commission for the Centennial Celebration in 1916 include exercises on May 13 at Corydon, the original seat of government, where the first constitutional convention met. A more elaborate celebration, which will include a state pageant, will take place in Indianapolis during the first half of October.

The contents of the September number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* include An English Colony in Floyd County, by John Poucher, Vevay and Switzerland County, by Julia L. Knox, Indiana Methodism, 1816-1832, by Ruth Price, and the Era of the Tassements or Stockaded Trading Camps, by Hubert M. Skinner.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for the year 1913 (*Publication* no. 19 of the Illinois State Historical Library) includes papers read at the annual meeting and other papers. Among these are: Benjamin Lundy, a Pioneer of Freedom, the annual address before the society, by George A. Lawrence; the Disciples of Christ in Illinois and their Attitude toward Slavery, by Rev. N. S. Haynes; the History of Presbyterianism in Illinois, by H. D. Jenkins; Stephen A. Douglas the Expansionist, by F. E. Stevens; and the Tragedy of Starved Rock, by W. A. Jones.

In the January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* Mr. Jesse W. Weik, using the title An Unpublished Chapter in the Early History of Chicago, relates the story of James M. Bucklin (1802-1890), chief engineer of the Illinois and Michigan Canal. Credit Island, 1814-1914, is the title of an historical address delivered on the island by William A. Meese at the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the battle. There is a paper by C. M. Thompson on Elections and Election Machinery in Illinois, 1818-1848, one by W. E. Stevens, on the Shaw-Hansen Election Contest, 1822-1823, an episode of the slavery contest in Illinois, and a brief discourse concerning the County Records of Illinois, by T. C. Pease. A prodigious index (pp. 136) to vol. VII. of the *Journal* (April, 1914, to January, 1915) is included in this number. In the April number appears an address by President E. J. James on the Life and Labors of Jonathan B. Turner, credited with being the real originator of the Morrill Land Grant Act. Rev. John H. Ryan writes a Chapter from the History of the Under-

ground Railroad in Illinois, and also concerning an Old Time Postal Distribution in Illinois. Historical Sketches of Part of the Wabash Valley is an address delivered in 1878 by H. W. Beckwith. Mr. John R. Rowland contributes a biographical sketch and appreciation of William T. Davidson (1837-1915), long editor of the *Fulton Democrat* of Lewistown, Illinois.

The *Register* of the Kentucky State Historical Society for September contains a valuable article by Miss Mary Scrugham on George D. Prentice, and another by Mr. A. C. Quisenberry on "Heads of Families" in Franklin County in the Census of 1810.

Mr. Otto A. Rothert has "printed as manuscript" (Louisville, press of John P. Morton and Company, 1915) an interesting paper on *Local History in Kentucky Literature*, in which he gives an account of Kentucky biographies, autobiographies, and stories of travel, and of such poems, novels, and short stories as have found their material in the local life of the state.

The September number of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains a brief though useful piece of historical exposition, the True Route of the Natchez Trace: the Rectification of a Topographical Error, by Park Marshall. Mr. John H. DeWitt's paper on General James Winchester, with selected letters from the Winchester Papers, is concluded. Much the most interesting and valuable item in this number of the *Magazine* is, however, a group of letters from James K. Polk to Cave Johnson, 1833-1848. These letters constitute the greater part of a collection inherited by the descendants of Cave Johnson and now in the possession of Judge C. W. Tyler of Clarksville, Tennessee. Of the forty-six letters here printed, those written in 1844 (23 in number) possess the largest interest, inasmuch as their central theme is the campaign for the presidency. Another group, those of 1835, concern the break between Andrew Jackson and Hugh L. White and the beginnings of the Whig party in Tennessee. The letters are well edited, with extended introductory notes, by the editor of the *Magazine*, Professor St. George L. Sioussat.

The Burton Historical Library has come into possession of the diaries kept by the late Justice Henry B. Brown of the United States Supreme Court, beginning in 1856. During most of the earlier part of this period Mr. Brown was a resident of Detroit, and the diaries of those years possess an especial interest for that city, as the later period has for the city of Washington. A collection of photostat copies, some four thousand in number, of papers in the War Department, the Senate and House archives, and the Department of State, pertaining to the formation of the territory of Michigan, the War of 1812, etc., is being added to the library. The library has also come into possession of a collection of papers from the library of the late Peter White, containing interesting items of Michigan history.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin is doing a notable service in publishing detailed calendars of the Draper Manuscripts. The first volume to appear is *The Preston and Virginia Papers of the Draper Collection of Manuscripts* (pp. 357), calendared by Miss Mabel C. Weeks. These two series are about equal in extent, and both of them relate primarily to Virginia and its border history. The Preston Papers extend from about 1730 to 1791, the Virginia Manuscripts from about 1750 to 1891. The calendar is constructed upon an approved method and typographically so presented as to facilitate use.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its sixty-second annual meeting (October 22, 1914) has come from the press. As usual the volume contains a number of historical papers. The most notable of these is the Treaty of Ghent, and After, by Dr. Worthington C. Ford. Papers of local interest are: the Taverns and Stages of Early Wisconsin, by J. H. A. Lacher; the Labor Movement in Wisconsin during the Civil War, by Frederick Merk; and a Semi-Historical Account of the War of the Winnebagoes and the Foxes, by Paul Radin. A document of especial interest is Henry Hay's Journal from Detroit to the Miami River, edited with introduction and notes by M. M. Quaife. The journal, which begins December 9, 1789, and ends abruptly April 3, 1790, casts some light on the fur-trade of the region at the time and is particularly interesting for its picture of life at the French and Indian trading post, Miamitown, the present Fort Wayne. The volume of *Proceedings* for 1915 is now in press, and a volume on the industrial history of Wisconsin during the Civil War period, by Frederick Merk, and an additional volume of the calendar series pertaining to the Revolution in the West, by Miss Louise P. Kellogg, are expected to be ready for the printer early in the year. The society has issued a *Bulletin of Information* (no. 77) descriptive of the collections on labor and socialism in the library and will shortly issue a bulletin of information descriptive of the Strong and Woodman manuscript collections. The society has arranged to make photostatic copies of the records of the American Fur Company still to be found at Mackinac. Important among the manuscript accessions of the past year is a large body of the papers of the late Judge E. W. Keyes, whose prominence in the political life of the state gives to his papers unusual value. They extend from 1847 over a period of sixty years. Another accession of some interest is a collection of letters of members of the Continental Congress, officers of the Revolution and of the War of 1812, etc., the gift of Mr. Simon Gratz of Philadelphia.

Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, missionary at Mackinac, Green Bay, and Galena, and in the surrounding regions, from 1830 to 1864, published his memoirs in Italian at Milan in 1844. A member of the Dominican sisterhood at Sinsinawa, founded by him, has now trans-

lated the book into English and it has been published under the title *Memoirs, Historical and Edifying, of a Missionary Apostolic of the Order of Preachers among Tribes of Savages and among Catholics and Protestants in the United States of America*. The book has particular value with respect to early conditions in Wisconsin.

The *Minnesota History Bulletin*, vol. I., no. 3 (August), contains an account, by Solon J. Buck, superintendent of the Minnesota Historical Society, of the Recent Activities of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, and prints a selection of letters from the papers of William P. Murray, which recently came into the Minnesota society's possession, a group of about 200 letters and other documents dating from 1842 to 1911. Among the letters printed is one from Charles K. Smith to Thomas Corwin, September 1, 1849, advocating a military academy in the northwest.

In the contents of vol. IV., no. 1, of *Acta et Dicta*, published by the Catholic Historical Society of St. Paul, the main historical item is a history of that diocese by the Reverend Dr. Francis J. Schaefer. There is also much material respecting the history of the cathedral of St. Paul, apropos of the dedication of the new cathedral. By the last will of Monsignor A. Oster the society has come into the possession of several thousand dollars with which to carry on its work.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains a History of Presbyterianism in Iowa City (pp. 52), a paper read at the celebration (September 26, 1915) of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the First Presbyterian Church of Iowa City, by Mr. Jacob Van der Zee. Mr. F. E. Horack presents in the same number an analytical discussion of the legislation of the thirty-sixth general assembly of Iowa (January to April, 1915).

The State Historical Society of Iowa has in press a volume on *Third Party Movements since the Civil War*, by F. E. Haynes.

The principal article in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review* is by Floyd C. Shoemaker, entitled the Fathers of the State: Personnel of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1820, being chapter V. of the author's work *Missouri's Struggle for Statehood*. A list of historical articles in Missouri newspapers, June, July, and August, 1915, is included in this number.

The Aftermath of the Civil War in Arkansas (Neale), by Powell Clayton, governor of Arkansas from 1868 to 1871, is an effort "to clear the political atmosphere of perversions made by the slave-holding régime, upon the one hand, and by the factions in the Republican party on the other".

Local and Nebraska History in Nebraska Public Schools (Nebraska History and Political Science series, Bulletin no. 8), by C. R. Anderson

of the State Normal School, Kearney, is a brief discussion of the methods of teaching local and state history.

A contribution of some interest to the study of American folk-lore is *Folk-Song of Nebraska and the Central West: a Syllabus* (*Nebraska Academy of Sciences Publications*, vol. IX., no. 3, pp. 89), by Louise Pound, Ph.D. The songs are grouped in 32 classes, usually a stanza is given, and a considerable number of songs are printed in full. The compiler states that the title "Folk-Song of Nebraska" was discarded for the more comprehensive title; and it must still be said that such a title is misleading if understood in any other sense than that the songs have been current in Nebraska and the central West, for very few of them are peculiar to that region.

The Outing Publishing Company has included in the *Outing Adventure Library* Major J. W. Powell's *First through the Grand Canyon: being the Record of the Pioneer Exploration of the Colorado River in 1869-1870*, edited by Horace Kephart. The book was first published by the Smithsonian Institution in 1875.

A History of Arizona, in two volumes, by T. E. Farish, has been published in Phoenix by the state.

An addition to *Heartman's Historical Series* is Jonathan S. Green's *Journal of a Tour on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1829* (New York, C. F. Heartman Company).

The *Washington Historical Quarterly* for October contains the story of the Mercer Expeditions, two migrations, principally of women, conducted by Asa S. Mercer from the eastern seaboard to Washington in 1864 and 1866. The story is written by Flora A. P. Engle, who, as a girl of fifteen, accompanied the second expedition. W. B. Seymore writes in this number concerning Pioneer Hotel Keepers of Puget Sound, Hiram F. White concerning the Mormon Road, and J. M. Canse has a paper entitled Jason Lee: New Evidence on the Missionary and Colonizer. The *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, is continued. A complete photostatic transcript of this journal has been secured by the State University.

The Washington State Historical Society (Tacoma) has issued vol. II. of its *Proceedings*, covering the years 1907-1915.

The June number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, designated "The Open Rivers number", is occupied with papers prepared for the celebration of the opening of the Dalles-Celilo canal, May 5, 1915, and the opening of the Oregon City locks and canal May 6. The paper of chief historical importance is the Dalles-Celilo Portage: its History and Influence, by T. C. Elliott. Of interest also is the paper of H. L. Talkington, the Story of the River: its Place in Northwest History.

In the *Philippine Journal of Science* for November, 1915, Dr. James A. Robertson has an interesting article on the "Igorots of Lepanto", which contains a multitude of depositions by representatives of various townships and barrios, as to native customs and historical traditions.

The *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada* bearing date of March, 1915 (série III., vol. VIII., section 1), contains two articles of historical interest. The one, entitled *Deux Oubliés de l'Histoire*, recounts the career of Jean-Baptiste Bruce, a member of the expedition of Richardson and Rae in search of Sir John Franklin, and that of Jean-Louis Légaré, an Indian trader who also achieved something in Indian diplomacy; the other, entitled *Les Indiens du Canada depuis la Découverte*, is by C. M. Barbeau. The English section, *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (section 2 of the same volume), includes the following: the Loyalist Settlements on the Gaspé Peninsula, and the Temporary Settlements of Loyalists at Machiche, P. Q., two articles by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, and the First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River Saint John, by Archdeacon Raymond. A separate from vol. IX., section 2, of the *Transactions*, which has also come to hand, is the Loyalists and Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula (pp. 50), by Professor Siebert.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: a Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry, by W. J. A. Donald, is a Hart, Schaffner, and Marx prize essay (Houghton Mifflin).

Dodd, Mead, and Company have brought out *Bernal Diaz del Castillo: being some Account of him taken from his True History of the Conquest of New Spain*, by R. B. Cunninghame Graham.

The Lopez Expedition to Cuba, 1848-1851, by R. G. Caldwell, is issued by the Princeton University Press.

The Construction of the Panama Canal, by Brigadier-General W. L. Sibert and J. F. Stevens, possesses an authoritative character, as Mr. Stevens was for a time chief engineer and Brigadier-General Sibert was in charge of an important part of the construction. The book is intended for the general reader (Appleton).

Mr. Peter H. Goldsmith, director of the Pan-American division of the American Association for International Conciliation, brings out *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish, and Portuguese relating to the Republics commonly called Latin American, with Comments* (Macmillan, pp. xix, 107), excellently conceived, and likely to be useful to many historical students.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. B. Hart, *American Historical Liars* (Harper's Monthly, October); C. H. Sherrill, *American Country Life in Old French Memoirs* (Yale Review, October); C. W. Spencer, *Sectional Aspects of New York Provincial Politics* (Political Science

Quarterly, September); Basil Williams, *Charles Fox and the American Revolution* (Quarterly Review, October); F. I. Schechter, *The Early History of the Tradition of the Constitution* (American Political Science Review, November); Helen Nicolay, *Our Nation in the Building*, I. (Century Magazine, December); J. B. Moore, *Henry Clay and Pan-Americanism* (Columbia University Quarterly, September); L. N. Feipei, *The United States Navy in Mexico, 1821-1914*, cont. (U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings, September-October); J. F. Rhodes, *Lincoln in some Phases of the Civil War* (Harvard Graduates' Magazine, September); J. B. Moore, *A Great Secretary of State: William L. Marcy* (Political Science Quarterly, September); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Gamaliel Bradford, *Union Portraits*, VI., *William H. Seward* (Atlantic Monthly, September); A. W. H. Eator, *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, III. (Americana, September); George Bryce, *The Real Strathcona*, IV., V., VI. (Canadian Magazine, October, November, December).

LIST OF DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN HISTORY NOW IN PROGRESS AT THE CHIEF AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES, DECEMBER, 1915

[In 1897 the compiler of this list began the practice of collecting, from professors of American history having charge of candidates for the doctor's degree, lists of the subjects of their dissertations. These were then circulated among the professors, in typewritten form, to avoid duplication and for other purposes. Subsequently the list was enlarged to include all subjects, and not solely the American. In 1902 the practice began of printing the lists. That for December, 1909, was accompanied by a list of those historical dissertations which had been printed. The list for December, 1912, was printed in the *History Teacher's Magazine* for January, 1913; those for December, 1913 and 1914, in this journal (XIX. 450-465, XX. 484-502). Henceforward, it may be expected that such lists will appear annually in the January number of this journal. Copies of the printed lists for the years 1910, 1911, and 1914 can still be supplied by the compiler, J. F. Jameson, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington, D. C.]

GENERAL

- E. P. Smith, A.B. Goucher 1904; A.M. Columbia 1909. History of the Opposition to the Theory of Evolution. *Columbia*.
 R. R. Powell, A.B. Rochester 1911. The Development in Roman and English Law of Remedies against Fraud. *Columbia*.
 A. C. Norton, S.B. Temple 1909; A.M. Pennsylvania 1915. Historical Study of the Separation of Powers. *Harvard*.

ANCIENT HISTORY

- S. G. Dunseath, A.B. Ursinus 1910; A.M. Columbia 1911. An Economic Interpretation of Hebrew History from the Egyptian Bondage to the Fall of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. *Columbia*.
 Carl Huth, A.B. Wisconsin 1904, A.M. 1905. Rights and Customs of Sanctuary in Ancient Greece and Rome. *Columbia*.
 W. E. Caldwell, A.B. Cornell 1910. Development of the Ideas of War and Peace among the Ancient Greeks. *Columbia*.
 E. J. Jennings, A.B. St. Stephens 1912. Some Aspects of Greek Society in the Seventh and Sixth Centuries. *Columbia*.
 E. C. Hunsdon, A.B. Barnard 1908. Epigraphic Studies in the History of the Delphic Amphictyony. *Columbia*.
 R. V. Cram, A.B. Harvard 1907, A.M. 1908. Studies in the History of Attic Demes. *Harvard*.
 H. G. Teel, A.B. Dickinson 1911, A.M. 1912. Athenian Social Conditions represented in the Orations of Lysias. *Columbia*.
 C. W. Blegen, A.B. Minnesota 1907; A.B. Yale 1908. Studies in the History of Ancient Corinth. *Yale*.
 A. D. Muir, A.B. McGill 1912. Ptolemy Philadelphus. *Harvard*.

- S. P. R. Chadwick, A.B. Harvard 1892, A.M. 1899. The Conditions of Italian Colonization during the Government of the Roman Senate. *Harvard*.
- R. N. Blews, A.B. Greenville 1904. The Lex Julia Municipalis. *Cornell*.
- L. A. Lawson, A.B. Upsala 1909; A.M. Columbia 1911. Social Conditions in the Principate of Augustus. *Columbia*.
- E. D. Pierce, A.B. Vassar 1910, A.M. 1912. Asinius Pollio. *Columbia*.
- M. F. Lawton, A.B. Columbia 1904, A.M. 1912. Philanthropy in Rome and Italy under the Early Roman Empire. *Columbia*.
- D. McFayden, A.B. Toronto 1896. Studies in the Reign of Domitian. *Chicago*.
- Margaret Bancroft, A.B. Wellesley 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Popular Assemblies in the Municipalities of Spain and Gaul. *Columbia*.
- Maud Hamilton, A.B. Cornell 1902. The Sources of Metal and Ore Supplies in the Roman Empire. *Wisconsin*.
- R. P. Blake, A.B. California 1908; A.M. Harvard 1909. Imperial Legislation on Religious Matters during the Later Roman Empire. *Harvard*.
- J. M. Dadson, A.B. McMaster 1906, A.M. 1909, Th.B. 1909. Persistence of Paganism in the Roman Empire. *Chicago*.

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

- J. R. Knipfing, A.B. Cornell 1910. The Roman State and Christianity. *Columbia*.
- Joseph Swain, A.B. Columbia 1912; A.M. Harvard 1913. Early Christian Criticism. *Columbia*.
- C. H. Lytle, A.B. Western Reserve 1907, A.M. 1908; S.T.B. Meadville 1910; S.T.M. Harvard 1913. Bar-Daisan of Edessa: his Influence upon the Doctrines of Mani the Persian. *Harvard*.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

- T. P. Oakley, A.B. Cornell 1909. The Penitentials. *Columbia*.
- E. Joranson, A.B. Augustana 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1914. The Monastic Ideal of Service in the Twelfth Century. *Chicago*.
- Norman Winestine, A.B. Yale 1914. The Attitude of the Papacy toward the Jews to 1216. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. H. George, A.B. Amherst 1911; A.M. Harvard 1913. The Relations of England and Flanders, 1066-1215. *Harvard*.
- Elizabeth Rogers, A.B. Goucher 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. Peter Lombard and the Sacramental System. *Columbia*.
- H. H. Maurer, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1909; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. Feudal Procedure in the Courts of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Chicago*.

- A. C. Krey, A.B. Wisconsin 1907, A.M. 1908. The Latin Patriarchate in the Kingdom of Jerusalem. *Wisconsin*.
- T. C. Van Cleve, A.B. Missouri 1911, A.M. 1912. John Holywood's Sphaera. *Wisconsin*.
- G. B. Hatfield, A.B. Oberlin 1908, S.T.B. 1908; S.T.M. Harvard 1914. The Influence of the Nominalistic Philosophy upon the Reformation Doctrine of the Church, with especial reference to the Period following the Council of Basel. *Harvard*.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

- A. P. Evans, A.B. Cornell 1911. Religious Tolerance in the Age of the Reformation (1516-1530). *Cornell*.
- N. A. Olsen, A.B. Luther 1907; A.M. Wisconsin 1909; A.M. Harvard 1914. Trade Relations between England and the Scandinavian Countries from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century. *Harvard*.
- C. L. Grose, A.B. Findlay 1910; A.M. Harvard 1914. Anglo-French Relations, 1672-1685. *Harvard*.
- F. A. Middlebush, A.B., A.M. Michigan 1914. The Diplomatic Relations between England and Holland, 1678-1688. *Michigan*.
- J. H. Robinson, A.B. Hamline 1908; A.M. Columbia 1911; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1911. Peter Bayle's Thoughts on the Great Comet of 1680. *Columbia*.
- Frances Marion Fay, A.B. Radcliffe 1912, A.M. 1913. Trade Policy of England and France from 1689 to 1715. *Radcliffe*.
- H. E. Barnes, A.B. Syracuse 1913, A.M. 1914. The Place of Montesquieu and Hume in the History of Sociological Theory. *Columbia*.
- Anne E. Burlingame, A.B. Syracuse 1900; A.M. Columbia 1910. The Anti-Slavery Movement in England and France in the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- J. V. Fuller, A.B. 1914. The Armed Neutrality. *Harvard*.
- Margaret W. Piersol, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. England and France in the Mediterranean during the Continental System. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. W. Eddy, A.B. Princeton 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Maronites and the French Protectorate in Syria in the Nineteenth Century. *Harvard*.

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

- J. L. Miner, A.B. Allegheny 1909. The Classical Ideal in England. *Columbia*.
- A. J. Meyer, A.B. Rutgers 1900; A.M. New Brunswick Theological Seminary 1904. A History of the Observance of the Lord's Day, with special reference to Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- G. D. Hoxey, A.B. Hobart 1904; A.M. Columbia 1910. History of the Historiography of the Church of England, to the death of Queen Anne. *Columbia*.

- W. O. Ault, A.B. Baker 1907; B.A. Oxford 1910. The Private Court in England. *Yale*.
- J. E. Miller, A.B. Kansas 1910; A. M. Illinois 1913. Benefit of Clergy in England. *Illinois*.
- James Kenny, A.B. Toronto 1907; A. M. Wisconsin 1908. An Introduction to the Sources for the Early History of Ireland. *Columbia*.
- A. H. Sweet, A.B. Bowdoin 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Ecclesiastical Relations of the English Benedictines. *Cornell*.
- J. L. Moore, A.B. Harvard 1914, A.M. 1915. The Lawmen and the Justicia. *Harvard*.
- E. S. Morris, A.B. Cornell 1914. The Royal Taxation of the Clergy in England. *Cornell*.
- C. W. New, A.B. Toronto 1903; Th.B. McMaster 1906, B.D. 1907; Ph.D. Chicago 1913. History of the Alien Priories in England to the Confiscation of Henry V. *Chicago*.
- C. W. David, B.A. Oxford 1911; A.M. Wisconsin 1912. Robert Curthose. *Harvard*.
- H. H. Holt, B.A. Oxford 1908; A.M. Wisconsin 1909. The Cost of Living in England, 1172-1183. *Wisconsin*.
- H. A. Kellar, A.B. Chicago 1909. King John: the Interdict and Exchequer. *Wisconsin*.
- Lyman Howes, A.B. Leland Stanford 1906; A.M. Columbia 1911. Educational Theories and Educational Influence of Roger Bacon. *Columbia*.
- Carl Wittke, A.B. Ohio State 1913; A.M. Harvard 1914. The History of Parliamentary Privilege in England. *Harvard*.
- Frederic Schenck, A.B. Harvard 1909; Litt.B. Oxford 1912; A.M. Harvard 1914. The Merchants of London in the Reign of Edward I. *Harvard*.
- P. G. Mode, A.B. McMaster 1897, A.M. 1898, Th.B. 1899; Ph.D. Chicago 1914. The Influence of the Black Death on the Church in England. *Chicago*.
- R. A. Newhall, A.B. Minnesota 1910, A.M. 1911; A.M. Harvard 1914. The English in Normandy, 1417-1422. *Harvard*.
- F. C. Dietz, A.B. Pennsylvania 1909; A.M. Harvard 1912. English Finances under the Tudors. *Harvard*.
- Harriett Bradley, A.B. Vassar 1913. Agrarian Problems of the Sixteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.
- Elizabeth F. Jackson, A.B. Wellesley 1913; A.M. Pennsylvania 1914. The Lord Lieutenant of the English County in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries. *Pennsylvania*.
- Susan M. Lough, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.M. 1909. Administration of Ireland in the Time of Elizabeth. *Chicago*.
- A. J. Klein, A.B. Wabash 1906; D.B. Union Theological Seminary 1909; A.M. Columbia 1909. The Sources for Tolerance in England during the Reign of James I. *Columbia*.

- F. R. Flournoy, A.B. Washington and Lee 1905; A.M. Columbia 1912. The Extent of Parliamentary Control of Foreign Policy in Great Britain. *Columbia*.
- J. E. Gillespie, A.B. Cornell 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Influence of Oversea Expansion on England to 1700. *Columbia*.
- Mabelle Louise Moses, A.B. Leland Stanford 1899; A.M. Radcliffe 1908. The Economic Policy of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. *Radcliffe*.
- Frances H. Relf, A.B. Minnesota 1911, A.M. 1912. Imprisonment in the Petition of Right. *Minnesota*.
- Ruth E. Marshall, A.B. Minnesota 1913, A.M. 1914. John Pym: a Study in Political Biography. *Minnesota*.
- H. M. Wriston, A.B. Wesleyan 1911, A.M. 1912. The English Monarchomachs. *Harvard*.
- T. C. Pease, Ph.B. Chicago 1907, Ph.D. 1914. John Lilburn and the Levellers. *Chicago*.
- A. C. Dudley, Princeton Theological Seminary 1907. The Clarendon Code in England, 1660-1689. *Johns Hopkins*.
- P. C. Galpin, A.B. Yale 1910, A.M. 1912. The Rise of Political Non-conformity in England after 1660. *Yale*.
- G. F. Zook, A.B. Kansas 1906, A.M. 1907. The Royal African Company, 1662-1715. *Cornell*.
- W. T. Morgan, A.B. Ohio 1909; A.M. Harvard 1910. The Whig Party, 1700-1720. *Yale*.
- Alden Anderson, A.B. Bethany 1910. British Trade in the Baltic in the Eighteenth Century. *Yale*.
- Judith B. Williams, A.B. Vassar 1912; A.M. Columbia 1913. An Introduction to the Literature and Sources for the English Industrial Revolution. *Columbia*.
- Witt Bowden, A.B. Colorado 1914. Contemporary Opinions in England concerning the Industrial Revolution. *Pennsylvania*.
- R. L. Tucker, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. Literary Conflicts in Methodism during the Latter Half of the Eighteenth Century. *Columbia*.
- N. Macdonald, A.B. Queen's (Kingston, Canada) 1913. Henry Dundas, first Lord Melville (1742-1811). *Cornell*.
- J. A. Woolf, Ph.B. Chicago 1912. Political Theory of Jeremy Bentham. *Chicago*.
- Anna L. Lingelbach, A.B. Indiana 1895, A.M. 1896. The English Navigation System from 1783 to 1803. *Pennsylvania*.
- W. F. Galpin, A.B. Northwestern 1913, A.M. 1914. The Grain Trade of England during the Napoleonic Wars. *Pennsylvania*.
- P. L. White, A.B. Bowdoin 1914. England's Orders in Council during the Napoleonic Wars and Now. *Pennsylvania*.
- Isabel Simeral, Ph.B. Chicago 1905; A.M. Columbia 1911. Reform and

Reform Movements on behalf of Children during the Early Nineteenth Century in England. *Columbia*.

R. W. Sockman, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan 1911; A.M. Columbia 1913. The Revival of Monasticism in England in the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

F. F. Rosenblatt, A.B. Columbia 1907, A.M. 1908. History of the Chartist Movement. *Columbia*.

Harold U. Faulkner, A.B. Wesleyan 1913; A.M. Columbia 1915. The Chartist Movement and the Church. *Columbia*.

P. L. Slosson, S.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1914. The Last Phases of Chartism. *Columbia*.

J. H. Park, A.B. Columbia 1912, A.M. 1913. The English Reform Bills of 1866-1867. *Columbia*.

M. W. Smith, A.B. Ursinus; A.M. Columbia 1915. Radicalism in the British Tory Party in the Latter Part of the Nineteenth Century. *Columbia*.

FRANCE

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AMERICA: IN LOCAL ORDER

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MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

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The

American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL
ASSOCIATION AT WASHINGTON

THE act of Congress of January 4, 1889, incorporating the American Historical Association, makes Washington the official headquarters of the organization. Seven of its first eleven meetings were held in that city. When, as the result of a gently insurgent movement in 1895, the Association began to go regularly on circuit, an informal rule was posited, in accordance with which the society should hold its annual meetings, in triennial rotation, first in some Eastern city, then in some Western city, then in the capital. In reality, however, the rule has been more often infringed than followed. After 1895, the society did not again meet in Washington till 1901. In 1905 that city had a share in a meeting held mostly in Baltimore, in 1908 in a meeting held mostly in Richmond. From 1901 until December, 1915, there was no meeting held entirely in Washington.

In a sense, however, the Association when it meets in Washington meets *zu Hause*. It is entitled to meet here without local invitation, and the local members, though glad to join in extending such an invitation, may comfort themselves with the thought of these statutory rights, and of the various attractions of the national capital, whenever they wish to excuse to themselves the less elaborate character, in comparison with what has been extended in some other cities, of the welcome they were able to put forward. They share the gratitude felt by out-of-town members for the generous hospitality accorded, in very agreeable receptions, by the Regents and Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, and by the Honorable and Mrs. John W. Foster. The Department of State included the officers of the society and the chairmen of its committees among those invited to the handsome reception given at the building of the Pan-American Union in honor of the representatives of American re-

publics convened, at the same time, in the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. The Catholic University of America, with great generosity, invited the Association to luncheon in one of its interesting buildings at Brookland; the invitation deserves to be recorded with none the less gratitude though considerations of distance and of adjustment with other elements of the programme hindered the committee of local arrangements from acceptance.

The chairman of the committee on programme was Professor Charles D. Hazen. That of the committee of local arrangements was at first Dr. Herbert Putnam, afterward Dr. S. N. D. North. The work of the latter committee was invested with unusual difficulty because of the enormous influx into Washington of other scientific societies holding meetings at the same time. Not only did the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Society of International Law, the Naval History Society, the Association of History Teachers of the Middle States and Maryland, and some other societies with which the American Historical Association is more or less accustomed to be associated on these occasions, hold annual meetings at the same time and place, but an enormous gathering of scientists, of the United States and of Latin America, attended from December 27 to January 8 the sessions of the Second Pan-American Scientific Congress. Also, the Nineteenth International Congress of Americanists was held in Washington in the closing days of December.

With several of these societies, joint sessions were held. The most notable of these was that held in conjunction with the American Economic Association on the first evening. In this, Professor Walter F. Willcox of Cornell University, president of the economists, read his presidential address, on the Apportionment of Representatives;¹ and this was followed by the learned and thoughtful address, on Nationality and History, which Professor H. Morse Stephens delivered as president of the American Historical Association, and which we had the pleasure of printing in our last issue.

An agreeable feature of another session was the reading of a letter of greeting from Lord Bryce, the sole honorary member of the American Historical Association, who when it last met in Washington had, with Lady Bryce, welcomed it with cordial hospitality at the British Embassy. He urged upon the attention of American historians the duty of making the contribution, which their unique position during the great war gave them the opportunity to make,

¹ Printed in the supplement to the *American Economic Review* for March (VI. 3 ff.).

toward writing the history of its causes and developments. He also adverted to the historical aspects of nationalism, which was to be the theme of one of the sessions, and to the partially changed light in which British Liberals, after the experiences of sixty years, were now obliged to view the principle of nationality.

By a greater extension than has been usual, the meeting occupied four days, from Tuesday, December 28, to Friday, December 31, inclusive. Headquarters were at the New Willard Hotel. The programme seemed to most members excellent and, spread over four days, was marked by a happy avoidance of congestion, though some of the good effect was undone by the excessive concourse of other societies. The registration was 430.

Among the sessions having a general character, as distinguished from those devoted to specific fields of history, one stands out as of especial practical importance, the meeting held in the interest of a National Archive Building in Washington. The movement for the erection of such a building, and for ending the discreditable conditions now existing in respect to government archives in Washington, has now been for eight years pursued by the Association. Ultimate success is certain, and in such form that, without exaggeration, we are destined to have the finest national archive building in the world. The erection of such a building has been authorized, but no appropriation has yet been made for anything beyond the preparation of preliminary plans and estimates. In the hope that appropriations for construction may be obtained this winter, an impressive demonstration of needs and possibilities was arranged for the first afternoon session, a session held in the Continental Hall of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and presided over by Senator Poindexter, who has been the leader in all legislative promotion of the object. It was a joint session of various interested societies. Professor Frank W. Taussig, professor of political economy in Harvard University, spoke of the Value of Archives to the Student, Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress, of the Value of Archives to the Administration, the former giving various illustrations of the use of archival materials in scholarly researches, the latter dwelling upon the dependence of government on precedent and its consequent need of well-preserved and well-ordered archives. In the four remaining papers, which were accompanied by interesting lantern illustrations, Professor Benjamin F. Shambaugh, of Iowa, set forth many examples of what American states, cities, and business corporations have done for the preservation of their records, and of the

work of the Association's Public Archives Commission and of the archive departments or commissions of states; Mr. Waldo G. Leland, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, described and showed whatever was most apposite and interesting among the archival buildings and arrangements of Europe; Mr. Leo F. Stock, of the same institution, exposed with telling photographs the shocking conditions at present prevailing in the various buildings in Washington; and Mr. Louis A. Simon, of the office of the Supervising Architect of the Treasury, exhibited and explained the architectural studies made in that office for the proposed building, especially the strikingly handsome design which is likely to be selected.

The annual conference of historical societies was presided over by Mr. Frank H. Severance, of the Buffalo Historical Society. The secretary, Mr. Augustus H. Shearer, made the usual report of such statistics as he had been able to obtain from a considerable number of societies, as to accessions and other progress during the past year. The main theme of the conference, however, was the acquisition, the care, and the use of the Papers of Business Houses, in Historical Work. Dr. Milo M. Quaife, of the Wisconsin Historical Society, in a well-considered paper, discussed some of the problems of the collection of such papers, especially in a Western state. They do not come in without solicitation. They are often surrendered with hesitation, sometimes because standards of business ethics formerly acted upon may now seem improper, sometimes because private interests of the present time give ground for reluctance, in a region where few parts of economic history lie remote from our own day. But the Wisconsin fur-trade was nearly a closed chapter when Dr. Thwaites began his great collection of materials upon it, and the Wisconsin lumber industry will soon advance into the same category. Professor Ulrich B. Phillips, of Michigan, followed with remarks upon the papers of systematically managed Southern plantations; Governor L. Bradford Prince, of the New Mexico Historical Society, with remarks on the Álvarez papers and other documents of business houses flourishing in Santa Fé just before and just after the American occupation; Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, of the New York Public Library, with suggestions as to coping with the excessive bulk of collections of business papers—for instance, encouraging their preservation by local chambers of commerce.

Another session having general objects in view was the conference of teachers of history, in which the main matter propounded for discussion was the question, whether more precise definition is

desirable either for college entrance requirements or for general courses in secondary schools. Remarks were made by Dr. James Sullivan, Miss Margaret McGill, and Professors Herbert D. Foster, Henry E. Bourne, Eugene M. Violette, and Edgar Dawson. There was general agreement in favor of a more precise definition. The Association's Committee on History Teaching, of which Professor William S. Ferguson, of Harvard, is chairman, was authorized to prepare such a definition, upon the basis of a list of essential topics to be emphasized and a list of collateral readings.

Turning now to those numerous papers that dealt with restricted fields of history, it may conduce to clearness if we take them up in the chronological order of their subjects, rather than in the partly casual order into which they were thrown by the exigencies of programme-making.

In ancient history the chosen theme was the Economic Causes of International Rivalries and Wars in Ancient Times. There were two main papers, by Professor Ferguson and by Professor George W. Botsford, of Columbia University. The tracing of ancient Greek wars to economic causes was, said the former, a procedure not unknown to Greek thought, and many facts can be adduced in support of the contention. Without ignoring these, the origins of the old Greek wars are in fact to be sought in many causes besides the mere collision of economic forces—the same varied causes which in all modern history have bred wars between the large states of Europe—and as in the one case so in the other, wars may finally be checked by higher organization and developed policy. After an acute analysis of the causes of the Peloponnesian War and of the war of 395 B.C., Professor Ferguson summed up. "To conclude: there were many different causes of war in ancient Greece. Each nation was a complex of ideas as well as of men; of hopes, fears, and memories, as well as of desires; of customs as well as of institutions; yet through them all live wires of internationalism ran, transmitting both war and peace. There were as many possibilities of wars as there were points of contact. They fought for land, they fought for trade; they fought to gratify the vanity or ambition of leaders or kings, and they fought to gratify their own pride; they fought through fear and they fought for revenge. They never fought, I think, because they liked fighting."²

With a similar unwillingness to attribute constant and pre-dominating influence to any one cause, Professor Botsford re-

² For the full text of the paper, see the *Military Historian and Economist* for April.

viewed the origins of various Roman wars. Economic factors operated to some extent, but many other motives, motives of defense, for instance, and even individual ambition, played quite as frequent a part. Nearly all the wars of the imperial period were either directly defensive, or waged for the securing of more defensible boundaries or for bringing, in other ways, increased security to the empire.

In the discussion which followed, Professor Tenney Frank, of Bryn Mawr, laid emphasis upon the frequent difficulty of substantiating the surmise that a given war, in ancient history, was caused by economic pressure, but he developed an interesting instance of its indirect action, in the case of the Second Punic War, by showing how large a part in causing that war was played, not by any economic motives working directly on the Roman mind, but by the commercial rivalries of Carthage and Marseilles in Spain. Dr. A. E. R. Boak, of the University of Michigan, discussed mainly the evidences to be derived from Isocrates, explaining the reasons for laying especial value on his statements, and concluding that, in the wars of his period, even against Persia, economic motives could never have been foremost. Similar conclusions were sustained by Dr. R. V. D. Magoffin, of the Johns Hopkins University.

The session devoted to medieval history had as its especial subject Medieval Colonization. It was opened by a paper by Professor James Westfall Thompson, of Chicago, elaborating a theme to which he had devoted a few pages of his paper at the Boston meeting,³ that of East German Colonization. On the one hand he endeavored to explain the economic and social motives which, in settled western Germany, led small landowners and the dispossessed to retire before the extension of large proprietorship and the feudal system, and to take refuge and seek free land and carve out new fortunes in the thinly populated lands lying to the eastward. On the other hand he traced, from Charlemagne's time to the thirteenth century, the development of successive frontiers and the progressive acquisition of one Slavic area after another. In the time of Charlemagne the frontier of settlement barely reached beyond the Rhine. Under the Saxon emperors it was extended to the Aller and the Saale, to Bamberg and the mountains of Styria. During the Francorian period, Wendish revolts in Nordaltingia and Slavic resistance elsewhere prevented farther advance, but under the first Hohenstaufens the forward pressure of the Germans carried them quickly to the occupation of Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Pomerania. The

³ *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 424-497.

machinery for the encouragement of settlement, the system of rectangular survey, the methods of economic exploitation, were effectively described, and the analogies between the eastward movement of the Germans and the westward movement characteristic of American history were shown to be much more than superficial.

The Problems of Anglo-Saxon Settlement were treated by Professor Howard L. Gray, of Bryn Mawr, with an eye mainly to the social aspects of the early village. Using place-names as a chief source of knowledge, and taking five typical shires for comparison, he showed that villages having names in *-ing-* and *-ham* represent a first or eastern stratum of colonization, those in *-ton* a second or midland stratum, and those in *-ley* a third or western. Entering particularly into the consideration of names in *-ing-*, like Billingham or Harlington, he showed that the attribution of a patronymic meaning to that syllable had an insecure foundation, that it sometimes signified "hill" and perhaps as often meant "belonging to" as "descendants of". Evidence, from such sources, for a democratic organization of early Anglo-Saxon society, such as historians of the last generation had confidently imagined, was weak; quasi-manorial or aristocratic organization was more likely.

In a paper on the Genoese as Colonizers, Dr. Eugene H. Byrne, of Wisconsin, made it plain that their experiments in colonization must be studied in close connection with the commercial and political conditions in the commune of Genoa itself. In the twelfth century the city was governed by a small group of families who also monopolized the foreign trade, especially that with Syria; they placed various members of a single family, the Embriaci, in control of the colonies in Syria. This family acquired almost complete independence of the commune except in Acre; the branch of the family holding Acre, however, continued to reside in Genoa, employing salaried administrators for this colony. About 1190 this group of families lost their political grasp in Genoa; with it, their commercial monopoly disappeared. The trade with Syria was thrown open to the people; with the establishment of a more centralized government at home, based on greater democracy, the colonies in Syria, newly re-established after the successes of the third crusade, were for the first time placed under the direct control of the commune through two *consules et vicecomites* appointed for a limited term by the city government, now under a *podestà*. The colonial experiments of the Genoese in Syria in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries enabled them to erect a great colonial power in Pera and the Black Sea region after the restoration of the Greek Empire.

Lastly, in a paper on Monastic Colonization in Spain, Dr. Constantine E. McGuire, of Washington, set forth the process by which the Spanish monastic orders had provided for the industrial occupation of lands won back from the Mohammedans in Central Spain. A very substantial body of material, it was pointed out, is to be found already in print. Spanish investigators have traditionally been interested in all the evidence obtainable bearing upon the legal position and public activities of the Church, the crown, and various classes and corporations. Innumerable instances could be cited from these printed data of the manner in which the religious orders, contemplative, military, or mendicant, resolutely went at the task of developing deserted valleys into communities capable of serving as barriers against the infidel and the desert. The process was greatly helped by the effectiveness of the right of asylum, an immunity from jurisdiction long since firmly buttressed by the sanction of ancient theological and legal traditions.

The monotony which sometimes besets congresses for paper-reading was broken up in the case of the session devoted primarily to modern European history by the happy expedient of having but one paper, by Professor James H. Robinson, of Columbia University, to which more amplitude than the usual twenty minutes was allowed, and to which the other papers or addresses of the morning should bear the relation of comment or criticism. Professor Robinson's topic was the Historical Aspects of Nationalism. The aspects considered by those who discussed his paper were not always historical but all were interesting and suggestive. He pointed out, first, that nationalism is one of those "mystical entities" or corporate emotions with which the historical student is familiar. These are spontaneously generated because of man's pronounced social instincts, and are reflections of his anxiety to be part of a larger body in whose achievements and aspirations he can share. The next question is, what is there novel in national spirit as we know it to-day? This suggested a review of social entities familiar in history—the family, tribe, city, guild, and the like—and of the corporate loyalties and responsibilities they imply. The attitude of Cicero toward patriotism, of contemporaries toward the Roman Empire, the emergence of the "national state" from feudal conditions, were passed in review. The latter phenomenon did not produce necessarily any national feeling in our modern sense, for the central idea was rather that of the fidelity of subjects to their king than that of citizens toward their state. Modern national feeling is a by-product of another mystical entity, democracy, and was power-

fully furthered by the work of the French Revolution and of Napoleon. Fichte's *Reden* gave the first startling example of the old sentiment in its new form. The way was indicated by which the student could trace, in the German and other nations, the development and cultivation of such emotions in the nineteenth century.

The more vital problem, however, is the emergence of modern internationalism. This runs counter to the primitive and uncritical sentiments which underlie nationalism. Internationalism demands clear thinking and conscious adjustment, while nationalism is after all the primitive tribal sentiment, and is now associated with various gross misapprehensions about inherent racial differences which anthropologists, psychologists, and historians are busy dissipating.⁴

In opening the discussion of this paper, Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, of Stanford University, confined himself to the problem of economic self-interest as the foundation of the nation. At their first formation nations were groups plainly isolated from other national groups and having obviously separate economic interests, which the monarch easily represented; but what is the rôle of economic self-interest in this present world, in which nations are so interpenetrated and interwoven? Extra-national commercialism has called into existence many undertakings which operate outside the nation when prosperous, but claim its protection and aid in stress or competition. National competition, however, will be sustained by democracies only so long as the profits from it are believed to exceed its costs. When that is no longer believed, nationalism will have lost what basis it still has in the material world and will be altogether an ideal. The modern tendency is certainly toward ever-enlarging co-operative units (*e. g.*, the Zollverein).

Adverting first to the standing difficulty of defining "nationality" and "nationalism", Professor William T. Laprade, of Trinity College, North Carolina, dissented from Mr. Robinson as to nationalism being a product of democracy, for in England and France certainly nationalism preceded democracy. The sentiment, and the institutions accompanying it, appeared to the speaker to have been born of the practical struggles made by each generation to solve its peculiar problems, to have been the product of natural evolution rather than of conscious adjustment; and the next stage, internationalism, would, he imagined, come about in a similar manner, because by means of it problems could be solved, needs be met, which were found to baffle solution under nationalism. Meanwhile, a thousand points in the history of nationalism called for closer historical investigation.

⁴ The paper may be expected to appear soon in the *Century Magazine*.

Professor Thomas F. Moran, of Purdue University, also regarded nationalism as the product of so many various forces, acting through so many various conflicts, that the transition into a broader nationalism, equivalent to internationalism, was fairly to be expected. Major John Bigelow interposed a caution against regarding internationalism as a substitute for nationality; to his mind it was but a transition from nationality to a larger nationality (*e. g.*, the Zollverein), and carried no evidence of progress toward any higher synthesis. Upon the basis of observation of the Balkan nationalities, Miss Hester D. Jenkins urged that, in so far as education and propaganda had been the leading factors in creating nationalism, they might well be relied upon to bring internationalism forward, ultimately, into equal or even prevailing power.

An allied theme, the Growth of Nationalism in the British Empire, was the subject of another session, which was held in conjunction with the American Political Science Association. The paper on this topic which was read by Professor George M. Wrong, of Toronto, we hope to be able to present before long in the pages of this journal. He was followed by Mr. A. Maurice Low, Washington correspondent of the *Morning Post*, who first outlined the historic development of British opinion respecting colonies, from that which produced the American war of independence, the notion that colonies existed solely for the benefit of the mother-country, down to that which underlies the present British Empire; and then described, with eloquence and force, the impressive proofs afforded by the present war, that an empire composed of practically independent nations may through the force of national feeling acquire unexampled solidity, local freedom and self-government only strengthening the bonds of imperial unity.

Professor George B. Adams, of Yale, began the discussion of the two papers with remarks which laid their main emphasis on three great landmarks in the simultaneous growth of local independence and imperial unity: first, the turn of feeling and policy which ensued upon the definitions, effected in Gladstone's first ministry, of the relations between the colonies and the home government; secondly, the South African War; and thirdly, the present war, with the striking response of the oversea dominions to the empire's need. Professor Charles M. Andrews, of Yale, contrasted the inflexible attitude of English statesmen of the eighteenth century, in relation to the colonial régime, with the policy of frank concessions which had produced the affectionate loyalty pervading the present empire. Major Bigelow questioned whether the solidarity

and strength of that empire had not been exaggerated. Professor Morse Stephens, in closing the discussion, dwelt upon the part played by poetry and sentiment as foundations of its strength.

Another paper of publicistic character, read in a joint session with one of the sections of the Pan-American Scientific Congress, was that of Hon. Henry White, formerly American ambassador in Rome and in Paris, on Diplomacy and Politics; it was a plea, based partly on instances in recent history, for a better system of appointment of our diplomatic representatives in foreign countries, and for the elimination of party politics from our relations with the other nations of the world.

Of the papers relating distinctively to American history, the earliest in date of theme was that of Mr. William H. Babcock, of Washington, on Indications of Visits of White Men to America before Columbus, a paper read before a session held jointly with the Congress of Americanists. After reviewing the familiar stories of early Irish and Norse visits to American shores and the evidences as to the island called Brazil, Mr. Babcock, with the aid of many lantern-slides from fourteenth-century and fifteenth-century maps, set forth his opinion that a Breton expedition at least approached our coast before 1367, that some navigator from the Iberian peninsula almost certainly coasted along Cuba and a few of its neighbors not later than 1435, and that some other navigator perhaps made the crossing from Cape Verde to South America as early as 1448.

Dr. Frances G. Davenport, of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, upon the basis of long-continued study of the early treaties of European powers relative to America, read a paper on America and European Diplomacy, to 1648. The main purpose of the paper was to describe the chief diplomatic arrangements which, in the period named, France, England, and the United Provinces respectively concluded with Portugal and Spain with regard to American trade and territory, of both of which Spain and Portugal claimed a monopoly. In the first period, extending to the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis in 1559, France was the most formidable opponent of that monopoly. After prolonged negotiations in the years preceding, in which the French claimed access to the Spanish Indies, the treaty named was concluded without mention of the Indies, but with oral agreement, apparently, that Spaniards and Frenchmen encountering one another west of the prime meridian should be free to treat one another as enemies. During the wars of religion in France, and until the Spanish-English treaty of 1604, the lead in efforts to break the monopoly fell to England. In that treaty the

provision respecting navigation to the Indies was finally so worded as to be differently interpreted by the two parties, but England could proceed to colonize Virginia. From 1604 to 1648 the chief rôle in the contest was sustained by the Dutch. In the twelve years' truce of 1609 the States General secured a concession of the India trade, veiled by circumlocutions. The treaty of 1648 conceded in explicit terms the right to trade and acquire territory in America. The assailants of the Spanish-Portuguese monopoly in these three successive periods—Jean Ango and his pilots, Hawkins and Drake, the Dutch West India Company—each played a similar part, each represented a syndicate of capitalists and had governmental support, and each derived its profits partly from trade and partly from booty.

An interesting paper by Professor Bernard Moses, of the University of California, on the Social Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in South America, endeavored to depict the transition which, from the settled social order established by Spain in the seventeenth century, engendered the new and revolutionary society of the early nineteenth century and through it produced independence and the new republics. Stirrings of a new spirit were discernible in the early years of the eighteenth century. The creole class, of colonial birth, had greatly increased in numbers and intelligence. Spain's rigid system of colonial government, taking no account of the great differences of character among the inhabitants of the several political divisions, caused her government to become gradually more ineffective, and permitted the growth of a creole-mestizo party of opposition, and the development in it of community self-consciousness and a certain sense of independence. The French régime under Louis XIV. introduced elements of liberality; their suppression after his death, and the restoration of the old rigid and exclusive Spanish system, fortified discontent. The official class, bound by ties of privilege to a reactionary position, became more and more separate from the new society, the latter more and more conscious of the separation. The social revolution, on its spiritual side, became complete; at the turn of the century it proceeded to establish itself in outward fact.

Another historical paper in the Americanist session, valuable in a different sort, but defying brief summary, was that of the Right Reverend Dr. Charles W. Currier, formerly bishop of Matanzas, now bishop of Hetalonia *in partibus*, on the Sources of Cuban Ecclesiastical History.⁵

The account of the Indians and their Culture as described in

⁵ But the papers read before the Nineteenth Congress of Americanists are soon to be all printed in an official volume.

Swedish and Dutch Records from 1614 to 1644, presented to the Americanists by Dr. Amandus Johnson, of the University of Pennsylvania, was historical in character as well as ethnological, dealing chiefly with the White and Black Minquas (Susquehannas and Eries) of Iroquoian stock.

In the field of Revolutionary history, there were three papers, one by Dr. David J. Hill, formerly ambassador to Germany, entitled a Missing Chapter of Franco-American History, one by Rear-Admiral French E. Chadwick on the Operations of Admiral Count de Grasse, and a report by Captain Hollis C. Clark, U. S. A., of his work under the act for collecting military and naval records of the Revolutionary War with a view to their publication. Admiral Chadwick was absent on account of illness, and only a part of his paper was read. This and Captain Clark's report, and those of Captain Rees and Professor Fish mentioned below, were presented in the joint session held with the Naval History Society.

Dr. Hill's paper dealt with the relations of Franklin to the French constitutionalists. In the flood of French eulogies published at the time of his death in 1790, by far the leading place belongs to those written by the constitutionalists, such as those of Mirabeau and Condorcet. The royalists and democrats surveyed his character and career coolly and critically. To the constitutionalists he was the chief political thinker of the age, the discoverer, we may almost say, of the foundations of society. Franklin had in fact been a member, and had been designated as the "Venerable", of the society of the Nine Sisters, an esoteric school of political thought in France, the first school of constitutionalism on the continent of Europe. This society had a great influence on the constitutionalist movement in France, and on the French Revolution in its first period. Its members played an important part in giving both shape and substance to that earlier phase of the Revolution; and much influence upon it, by means of his association with them in this society, and their regard for him, must be attributed to Franklin. The paper will appear later in this journal.

Admiral Chadwick's narrative, based in part upon the papers of Count de Grasse, which he is editing for the Naval History Society, traced the history of the consultations between Washington and Rochambeau in New England and Grasse in the West Indies, the voyages of Grasse and Barras to the Chesapeake, the ill-adjusted movements of Hood and Graves toward a junction, the battle of September 5, 1781, and its happy effects upon the Yorktown campaign. The presence and work of this French fleet gave America

her independence. Yet Admiral Chadwick showed easily, from the letters, signals, and movements of both naval commanders, how imperfectly they had grasped their true objective, to give support and bring decisive victory to their respective parties in the land campaign. Graves in particular, who might have been victorious if he had promptly attacked the van of the French fleet while the remainder was emerging from the Capes, was hidebound in adherence to the old Fighting Instructions; and though Hood criticized his conduct with severity, it is impossible to avoid the conviction that he himself did not do his full duty as a loyal subordinate.

The undertaking of which Captain Clark had had charge, under the War Department, and whose results he described, was provided for in an act of Congress of March 2, 1913, passed mainly through the endeavors of the Society of the Cincinnati. The appropriation made, \$32,000, was a small one, for the magnitude of the object. The War Department, the Navy Department, the Library of Congress, and some other governmental institutions in Washington, have large masses of military and naval records and correspondence of the period from 1775 to 1783, and the War Department had some twenty years before transcribed the principal Revolutionary records of Delaware, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, and Vermont. Therefore work under the new appropriation was naturally turned toward the archives of other states. With the money in hand, it was deemed wise to confine operations to three states, Massachusetts, Virginia, and North Carolina. At the request of the two departments, the American Historical Association appointed an advisory committee, with Major Bigelow as chairman, and this committee recommended searchers and drafted instructions. The copying was done by photography, experiment being made of various methods, which the director described in his paper. He also described the experimental campaign of publicity carried on in Virginia, but concluded that the best results in respect to papers in private hands were to be obtained rather by the quiet and patient efforts of well-informed and tactful searchers. The two departments co-operated in the work, the Navy Department appointing its librarian, Mr. Charles W. Stewart, to act on its part, in conjunction with Captain Clark. In all, 30,522 prints were collected under the appropriation—substantially twenty thousand in Massachusetts, six thousand in Virginia, four thousand in North Carolina. In no one of the three were these results exhaustive, but Congress has for the present declined to make any further appropriation.

Other papers of a military character were those of Captain

Robert I. Rees, U. S. A., on Bladensburg, of Professor Carl R. Fish, on the Organization of the Wisconsin Volunteers in 1861, and of Mr. Oswald G. Villard, on the Submarine and Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy.⁶ Captain Rees described the British expeditionary force and its invasion, the efforts of the American government to meet it, the difficulties which these efforts encountered because of the loose control which the federal government had over state militia, the course of the fighting, the devastation of Washington, and the other results of the battle. He also discussed briefly the causes for the failure of the defense.

Professor Fish's contribution was a detailed study of the way in which the first Wisconsin troops of the Civil War were actually brought together, equipped, taken care of, drilled, and finally turned over to the national government. The results were good in the number of men provided, in their quality, and, relatively speaking, in their preparation. This was due to no special excellence of organization, but to the skill and attention of the governor and the spontaneous activity of the localities. The villages provided the companies, the state organized the regiments, the national government then took them over.

Mr. Villard showed how the credit for the first effective use of torpedoes and submarines in naval warfare belongs to the Confederates, blockaded by sea as is the German Empire to-day. By July 22, 1861, floating mines had been found in the Potomac and at Hampton Roads. The feeling against the use of such devices was at first very bitter. A naval torpedo service had been created as early as June 10, and placed in charge of Commander Matthew F. Maury, C. S. N., the distinguished scientist, who in the next June mined the James River, after the battle of Seven Pines, then sailed to Europe, to return, too late, with abundant torpedo supplies. It was at best a hastily improvised service, lacking much necessary material and supplying its place by ingenious contrivances of remarkable variety; yet, from first to last, four monitors, three iron-clads, nine gunboats, seven transports, and six colliers and tugs fell victims to torpedoes or mines, with loss of many lives, while the deterrent effect of such weapons was of course also extensive. Mr. Villard likewise gave an account of the Confederate use of submarines in the defense of Charleston harbor.

Of the papers which related to the civil history of the United States, two bore upon themes in economic history, that of Professor Louis B. Schmidt, of the Iowa State College of Agriculture, on the

⁶ Those of Captain Rees and Professor Fish are, it is understood, to appear in the *Military Historian and Economist*.

Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, and that of Dr. Victor S. Clark, of the economic department of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, on the Influence of Manufactures upon Political Sentiment in the United States from 1820 to 1860.⁷ Dr. Schmidt rightly declared that the economic history of American agriculture had not received its due share of attention, and that it was essential to any well-balanced view of national progress in a country which from the beginning had consisted mainly of rural communities. Broadly conceived, it should include not only the evolution of agriculture in the different sections, and the problems engaging the attention of the rural population in the different periods, but the relation of agriculture to other industries, and in short the whole life of the rural population and the influence of our agricultural development on our national existence. After describing more fully the reasons for the study of this portion of American history, Dr. Schmidt stated some of the problems which await the labors of the historian: the history of the public lands; the history of specific leading agricultural industries; the economic history of agriculture by states or given regions; the history of farmers' organizations, of agricultural labor, of farm machinery; the influence of immigration on the development of agriculture; the transportation of agricultural products; markets and prices; the relation of agriculture to financial legislation, and the like.

Dr. Clark began with the organization of the new manufacturing interest as a political force a few years after 1815, and with the efforts it made to strengthen the national government, because the federal power alone could protect domestic industries. It soon aroused an opposition based ostensibly upon constitutional theories, but in fact upon the discordant economic interests of the different parts of the country. These would have been sufficient, without the presence of slavery, to explain the different attitudes of the sections toward public policies, and consequently their different theories of government. For a time manufacturing, in increasing the economic diversity of the country, added to its sectional discord; but, as the most highly co-operative form of production and the form most dependent upon an efficient government for its prosperity, it ultimately tended to produce closer and firmer political relations within the state. Even before the Civil War the economic purpose of the state was again attaining recognition. The unity and strength of the government were seen to affect directly the welfare of industrial workers and employers. The growing interdependence of society was manifested in production through the new organization

⁷ To appear later in this journal.

and expansion of manufactures. Political institutions responded to the change by extending their authority and functions.

In an address which could be regarded as a by-product of the thoroughgoing studies he has been making toward his biography of Chief Justice Marshall, Senator Beveridge described the sources he had unearthed for such a life, and especially its earlier portion, and, with extracts and comments, showed how they illuminated his character as a young lawyer, as a statesman, as a lover, and as a friend.

Miss Ida M. Tarbell's paper on the Education of the American Woman in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century first described those private schools and academies for girls with which the century opened, and adverted to the important influence of Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*; she then proceeded to the endeavors of Emma Willard to obtain state support for female education in New York, of Mary Lyon to maintain at Mount Holyoke a privately endowed school of high grade, and of Catherine Beecher in the West, narrated the beginnings of coeducational collegiate instruction at Oberlin and Antioch colleges, and traced the movement till the time when the high schools of Boston and New York were thrown open to girls.

Finally, a paper by Professor William I. Hull, of Swarthmore College, on the Monroe Doctrine as applied to Mexico, took up in turn the three fields in which the doctrine had been applied, those of territory, trade, and government, and showed how it had operated in each to exclude European domination, then to assert the paramount interests of the United States, and finally to subordinate those interests to a wider Pan-Americanism. He urged that this last movement should not be allowed to hinder the new internationalism of our time from developing and strengthening of institutions.

Not a few of the papers, it will have been seen, had a more or less close relation to the international affairs of the present day, but nowhere was there manifested in the discussion any other than that pacific and considerate spirit which is appropriate to the historical profession. A similar temper prevailed, in general, in the business meeting. Interest in that meeting, and expectancy in regard to the report of the Committee of Nine appointed a year before "to consider the constitution, organization, and procedure of the Association, and the relationship between the Association and the *American Historical Review*", had the chief part in bringing about the exceptionally large attendance at this Washington meeting; but interest and expectancy were shown to be compatible with patience and good temper.

Before the report of that committee could be reached, however, the usual series of annual reports had to be presented. The secretary stated the total membership to be 2956, a net gain during the year of 43 members. The treasurer reported net receipts of \$10,723 during the year, net disbursements of \$12,457, and assets of \$27,062, a gain of \$264. At his request a finance committee of three, distinct from the financial committee of the Executive Council, was appointed by the Association to examine the finances and report at the next annual meeting. The secretary of the Council reported the election of Professors Ephraim Emerton and Claude H. Van Tyne as members of the Board of Editors of this journal, in the place of Professors Burr and Turner. He also reported the list of committee assignments and the budget drawn up by the Council. These are printed as appendixes to this article, as likewise a summary of the treasurer's report, and all important votes of the Association and of the Council.

Reports were made as follows: for the Pacific Coast Branch by Professor Ephraim D. Adams, delegate of the branch; for the Public Archives Commission by its chairman, Mr. Victor H. Paltsits; for the Committee on Publications by Professor Max Farrand; for the Committee on History in Schools by Professor William S. Ferguson; for the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* by Professor Edward P. Cheyney; and for the Advisory Board of Editors of the *History Teacher's Magazine* by Professor Henry Johnson. Besides these reports by chairmen, statements less formal were made for committees whose chairmen were absent—the Historical Manuscripts Commission and the General Committee. On report and recommendation from the Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams prize, that prize was awarded to Dr. Theodore C. Pease for an essay entitled "The Leveller Movement"; the committee made honorable mention of an essay on Napoleon's System of Licensed Navigation, 1806-1814, by Dr. Frank E. Melvin. The Committee on the Military History Prize deemed it inexpedient to award the prize to any of the present contestants.

The chairman of the Committee of Nine, Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin, being absent on account of illness, its report was presented by Professor William A. Dunning as vice-chairman. It was somewhat late when this report was reached, but it had been circulated in print on the preceding day. The recommendations made by the committee are presented in an appendix to this article. That the Association had so happy an issue from a meeting to which not a few members had looked forward with anxiety is, in the judg-

ment of the present writer, mainly due to the painstaking labors of this committee and its judicious recommendations, which seemed on the whole to produce general contentment. The committee proposed three amendments to the constitution (chiefly relating to the composition of the Council), four by-laws (chiefly relating to elections), four recommendations as to procedure, and two resolutions regarding the *American Historical Review*. There was unfortunately too little time for immediate discussion. The constitutional amendments, in accordance with existing constitutional provision, were referred to the next annual meeting. The same course was taken with the by-laws. The recommendations as to procedure were adopted at once. With respect to this journal, the Association voted in principle that full ownership and control should be vested in the Association, but left it to a committee to outline the needful arrangements and report them to the next annual meeting.

The election of officers was conducted in accordance with the plan proposed by Professor Hull's committee a year before, and the same plan was continued for use in 1916. Professor Charles H. McIlwain, chairman of the Committee on Nominations, reported for that committee the following nominations: for president, Professor George L. Burr; for first vice-president, Mr. Worthington C. Ford; for second vice-president, Mr. William R. Thayer; for secretary, Mr. Waldo G. Leland; for treasurer, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen; for curator, Mr. A. Howard Clark; for secretary of the council, Professor Evarts B. Greene; for additional members of the council, Dr. Frederic Bancroft and Professors Eugene C. Barker, Guy S. Ford, Charles H. Haskins, Ulrich B. Phillips, and Lucy M. Salmon. He further presented the name of Professor Samuel B. Harding, nominated by petition. Dr. Frederic Bancroft's name was, at his request, withdrawn. The others who have been named were unanimously elected. The following were chosen by the association as the Committee on Nominations for 1916: Professor Frank M. Anderson, chairman, Dr. Lois K. Mathews, Professor Edmond S. Meany, President Charles H. Rammelkamp, and Mr. Alfred H. Stone. The Association then adjourned, to meet in Cincinnati at the end of next December.

Such were in bare outline the proceedings of the business meeting. Many details can be filled in from the votes and proposals textually quoted in appendixes to this article. But more memorable, and more important to the future of the Association than any specific measures, was the spirit which pervaded the meeting, and the impressive demonstration of the society's abiding unity and harmony. The presence of more than four hundred keenly in-

interested members in a business meeting was in itself a gratifying sight, well worth some gropings in procedure, and contrasting strongly with the small and lifeless though mechanically correct meetings which have been frequent. More valuable still, it was clearly shown that there are and have been no parties in the Association, though there have been all gradations of opinion, from the ultra-conservative to the ultra-radical. It was amply shown, on the one hand, that even those who most earnestly desired the introduction of a democratic order were disposed, with exceptions so few in number as to be negligible, to seek that end without imputing misconduct or self-seeking to those who have held office or conducted affairs under the old régime. On the other hand, it was made clear that those who saw little occasion for reorganization, and still less for calling it by the censorious name of reform, were able to defer with composure to the wishes of others, and to take their part loyally and serenely in the reshaping of institutions and practice. In short, it was demonstrated that a great society of historical scholars was able, as it ought to be able if historical training has anything of the value attributed to it, to pass through these "growing pains" from adolescence to maturity without loss of moderation, just feeling, or urbanity.

What interpretation should be placed upon this whole episode of transition will be clearer ten years from now than it can be to-day. Yet it seems likely that the man of 1926, or the observer from Mars, would declare it to be little other than a natural stage in the evolution of large scientific societies. Parallel instances in the history of other such societies, they would affirm, have not been lacking. It is natural for such societies to be for considerable periods managed by a small number of those most interested. The American Historical Association, they might say, was managed by a much smaller number of persons before 1896 than at any time thereafter. That even in the subsequent years its affairs were mainly conducted by a moderate number of members was, they might maintain, a régime justified by the acquiescence or indifference of the majority, so long as elections were unconstrained and business was managed with efficiency and in no other interest than that of the whole membership; but whenever that acquiescence should become impaired, on the part of even a considerable minority, or whenever indifference should be brought to an end by any causes that should arouse a wider interest among the members, no effort should be made to maintain the old régime, lest it become an unrepresentative oligarchy. The way should be left wide open, they would declare, for a thorough democratization of rules and practice, in accordance with new

states of mind on the part of the membership. And such indeed, they might well affirm, had been the constant attitude of the existing Executive Council. That attitude was justly described in these pages a year ago (XX. 523) as "the obvious desire of the Council to place itself at the disposal of the Association". "No other attitude"; it was added, "is proper, and no other was suggested in the [then recent] meeting of the Council".

Similarly, with respect to the relations of the Association to this journal, there is no occasion to modify the expressions used a year ago (XX. 525) as to the willingness of the Board of Editors to fall in with any plan of organization which might seem to serve better the interests of its readers and of the historical profession, in so far as these are represented in the Association. The transfer of ownership to the Association was readily and unanimously agreed to by the Board, and it will co-operate loyally in working out the details. If no very solid reasons for making the transfer have been advanced, excepting that the Association plainly desires it, that desire itself is, to any considerate mind, a very solid reason.

J. F. J.

VOTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, DECEMBER 27 AND 28, 1915

The following estimate of expenditures for 1916 was approved.

Expenses of Administration:		\$2,025.00
Secretary and treasurer	\$1,500.00	
Secretary of the Council	50.00	
Executive Council	300.00	
Committee on Nominations.....	25.00	
Miscellaneous	150.00	
Annual Meetings:		125.00
Committee on Programme, 1915.....	50.00	
Committee on Programme, 1916.....	50.00	
Conference of Historical Societies.....	25.00	
Publications:		1,597.73
Committee on Publications	797.73	
Editorial work	200.00	
Cumulative index to <i>Papers and Reports</i>	600.00	
<i>American Historical Review</i>		4,560.00
Standing Committees:		240.00
Public Archives Commission	100.00	
General Committee	75.00	
Committee on Bibliography	25.00	
Committee on History in Schools	40.00	
Prizes and Subventions:		750.00
Justin Winsor Prize (1914)	150.00	
<i>Writings on American History</i>	200.00	
<i>History Teacher's Magazine</i>	400.00	
Expenses of Committee of Nine		225.00
		<u>\$0,522.73</u>

Mr. Ephraim Emerton was elected a member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review* for two years from January 1, 1916, to fill the unexpired term of Mr. George L. Burr, resigned.

Mr. Claude H. Van Tyne was elected a member of the Board of Editors of the *Review* to serve six years from January 1, 1916.

It was voted to create a standing Committee of the Council on Finance, to consist of the secretaries, the treasurer, and two other members of the Council.

It was voted to rescind the vote of the Council of December 30, 1901, assigning to the secretary of the Association the duty of editing the annual reports and that hereafter the work of editing the annual reports and the prize essays be performed under the direction of the Publication Committee.

It was voted that the treasurer be instructed to rule that payments to members of the Association for travelling expenses incurred in attending meetings of committees shall, unless otherwise ordered by the Council, cover transportation and Pullman fares only.

It was voted that the treasurer is authorized to pay no travelling expenses of any member, board, or committee on account of meetings of such boards and committees held at the time and place of the annual meeting of the Association.

VOTES OF THE ASSOCIATION IN BUSINESS MEETING

Voted, That a Finance Committee of three, not members of the Executive Council, be selected by the Association to examine and report on the finances of the Association at the next annual meeting.

Voted, That the January and subsequent issues of the *Review* will not be sent to members until their current dues are paid. Members whose dues remain unpaid after June 1 will not be carried upon the roll of the Association, but they may be reinstated at any time thereafter upon payment of the dues then current.

Voted, That in view of the present financial condition of the Association, payments for travelling expenses, authorized by vote of the Association on December 29, 1902,¹ are limited for the present to transportation and Pullman fares.

Resolved, That the attacks made during the last year upon the character and motives of certain prominent and honored members of this Association meet with our entire disapproval, and that we hereby express our full confidence in the men whose motives and conduct have been thus impugned.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Association that full ownership and control of the *American Historical Review* should be vested in the Association, but that the present connection of the said *Review* with the Carnegie Institution of Washington and with the Macmillan Company, publishers, be continued.

Resolved, That the president, the first vice-president, the secretary of the Council, the secretary of the Association, and the treasurer be instructed to ascertain what arrangements can be made to effect that end, and report at the next annual meeting of the Association.

Voted, That the procedure as to nominations which was adopted for

¹ A vote providing for the payment of travelling expenses of members of the Council attending the November meeting.

the year 1915 at the last annual meeting of the Association be followed for the year 1916.²

SUMMARY OF TREASURER'S REPORT

December 21, 1915

RECEIPTS

Balance on hand December 23, 1914	\$ 2,382.96
Annual dues	8,234.13
Dividend on bank stock	200.00
Interest on bond and mortgage	900.00
Loan, C. W. Bowen	625.00
Publications	872.38
From Board of Editors of <i>American Historical Review</i>	400.00
Miscellaneous	122.05
	<u>\$13,736.52</u>

DISBURSEMENTS

Expense of Administration:	
Offices of secretary and treasurer	\$2,080.91
Secretary of the Council	68.52
Executive Council	352.51
Miscellaneous	165.90
Payment of loan	625.00
London headquarters	100.00
Pacific Coast Branch	<u>72.24</u>
	3,465.08
Annual Meetings:	
Thirtieth	46.40
Thirty-first	<u>309.73</u>
	356.13
Publications:	
Committee on Publications	852.13
Editorial services	300.00
General Index to <i>Papers and Reports</i>	<u>500.00</u>
	1,652.13
<i>American Historical Review</i> :	
	4,403.20
Standing Committees:	
Historical Manuscripts Commission	57.65
Public Archives Commission	150.00
General Committee	15.64
Committee on Bibliography	56.26
Committee on History in Schools	<u>112.63</u>
	392.18
Prizes and Subventions:	
Justin Winsor Prize Committee	13.72
Herbert Baxter Adams Prize Committee	200.00
<i>Writings on American History</i>	200.00
<i>History Teacher's Magazine</i>	<u>400.00</u>
	813.72
	<u>\$11,082.44</u>
Balance on hand December 21, 1915	<u>2,654.08</u>
	<u>\$13,736.52</u>

² The procedure was described in this journal a year ago (XX. 523-524).

ASSETS

Bond and mortgage on real estate	\$20,000.00
Accrued interest on above	208.07
Twenty shares American Exchange National Bank stock	4,200.00
Cash on hand	2,654.08
	<hr/>
	\$27,062.15

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE OF NINE

[*Respecting the constitution.*] That the following article be substituted for article IV. of the present constitution:

(IV.)

The officers shall be a president, two vice-presidents, a secretary, a secretary of the council, a curator, and a treasurer. These officers shall be elected by ballot at each regular annual meeting in the manner provided in the by-laws.

That the following article be substituted for article V. of the present constitution:

(V.)

There shall be an Executive Council constituted as follows:

- (1) The officers named in article IV.;
- (2) Elected members, eight in number, to be chosen annually in the same manner as the officers of the Association;
- (3) The former presidents, but a former president shall be entitled to vote for the three years succeeding the expiration of his term as president, and no longer.

That a new article be adopted, numbered VI., as follows:

(VI.)

The Executive Council shall conduct the business, manage the property, and care for the general interests of the Association. In the exercise of its proper functions, the Council may appoint such committees, commissions, and boards as it may deem necessary. The Council shall make a full report of its activities to the annual meeting of the Association. The Association may by vote at any annual meeting instruct the Executive Council to discontinue or enter upon any activity, and may take such other action in directing the affairs of the Association as it may deem necessary and proper.

That article VI. of the existing constitution be re-numbered VII.

(*All the above, in accordance with article VI. of the existing constitution, were referred to the next annual meeting.*)

[*Respecting by-laws.*] Your committee recommends the adoption of the following by-laws:

- (1) The officers provided for by the constitution shall have the duties and perform the functions customarily attaching to their respective offices with such others as may from time to time be prescribed.
- (2) A nomination committee of five members shall be chosen at each annual meeting in the manner hereafter provided for the election of

officers of the Association. At such convenient time prior to the first of October as it may determine it shall invite every member to express to it his preference regarding every office to be filled by election at the ensuing annual meeting and regarding the composition of the new nominating committee then to be chosen. It shall publish and mail to each member at least twenty days prior to the annual meeting such nominations as it may determine upon for each elective office and for the next nominating committee. It shall prepare for use at the annual meeting an official ballot containing, as candidates for each office or committee membership to be filled thereat, the names of its nominees and also the names of any other nominees which may be proposed to the chairman of the committee in writing by twenty or more members of the Association at least five days before the annual meeting. The official ballot shall also provide, under each office, a blank space for voting for such further nominees as any member may present from the floor at the time of the election.

(3) The annual election of officers and the choice of a nominating committee for the ensuing year shall be conducted by the use of an official ballot prepared as described in by-law two.

(4) The Association authorizes the payment of travelling expenses incurred by the voting members of the Council attending one meeting of that body a year, this meeting to be other than that held in connection with the annual meeting of the Association.

(All the above were referred to the next annual meeting.)

[*Respecting procedure.*] Your committee suggests:

First, that to the business meeting, including the election, there should be given a full half-day, as in this year's programme;

Secondly, that, as was done at Chicago, the minutes of the Council should be printed and distributed at or before the business meeting;

Thirdly, that written reports from standing committees and commissions, showing in full the work accomplished, and in detail the expense incurred, should be made in writing to the Council at least two weeks before the annual meeting, should be held by the secretary of the Association at his office, and at the place of the annual meeting, during its continuance, subject to inspection by any member, and should be read in the business meeting by title only unless the reading of the full report be called for by ten members present, or directed by the Council;

Fourthly, that, on the other hand, new activities and all matters in which there is reason to suppose that the Association takes a special interest, should be somewhat fully presented by the Council at the business meeting.

The purpose of these recommendations is, on the one hand, to give members an opportunity of keeping acquainted with the work of the Association, its Council and committees, and, on the other, to free the business meetings of unnecessary detail.

Since only a minority of the members of the Association ever attend the business meetings, we also suggest that it would be well if the abstracts of proceedings prepared by the secretary and the secretary of the Council for printing in the *Annual Report* could contain more extended information than hitherto concerning the Association's activities aside from the historical papers read at the meetings.

(The above were adopted forthwith by the Association.)

[*Respecting the American Historical Review.*] Your committee recommends that the Association adopt the following resolutions:

(1) *Resolved*, That it is the opinion of the Association that full ownership and control of the *American Historical Review* should be vested in the Association.

(2) *Resolved*, That the president, the first vice-president, the secretary of the Council, the secretary of the Association, and the treasurer be instructed to make such arrangements as may be necessary to that end, and be authorized to enter into such arrangements and agreements as may be requisite for the publication and management of the *Review*, until final action is taken by the Council.

(*Modified forms of the above were adopted by the Association; see the fifth and sixth paragraphs of its votes quoted above, p. 462.*)

OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

President, George L. Burr, Ithaca, N. Y.

First Vice-President, Worthington C. Ford, Boston.

Second Vice-President, William Roscoe Thayer, Cambridge.

Secretary, Waldo G. Leland, Carnegie Institution, 1140 Woodward Building, Washington.

Treasurer, Clarence W. Bowen of New York (address 1140 Woodward Building, Washington).

Secretary to the Council, Evarts B. Greene, Urbana, Ill.

Curator, A. Howard Clark, Smithsonian Institution.

Executive Council (in addition to the above-named officers):

Andrew D. White,¹

James B. Angell,¹

Henry Adams,¹

James Schouler,¹

James Ford Rhodes,¹

John B. McMaster,¹

Simeon E. Baldwin,¹

J. Franklin Jameson,¹

George B. Adams,¹

Albert Bushnell Hart,¹

Frederick J. Turner,¹

William M. Sloane,¹

Theodore Roosevelt,¹

William A. Dunning,¹

Andrew C. McLaughlin,¹

H. Morse Stephens,¹

Eugene C. Barker,

Guy S. Ford,

Samuel B. Harding,

Charles H. Haskins,

Ulrich B. Phillips,

Lucy M. Salmon.

Committees:

Committee on Programme for the Thirty-second Annual Meeting:

Henry E. Bourne, chairman; Frank M. Anderson, Wilbur H. Siebert, Edward R. Turner, Merrick Whitcomb, James A. Woodburn.

Committee on Local Arrangements: Charles P. Taft, chairman; Charles T. Greve, vice-chairman; Isaac J. Cox, secretary; Charles W. Dabney, Judson Harmon, H. C. Hollister, H. B. Mackoy, Philip V. N. Myers, T. C. Powell, W. P. Rogers, John L. Shearer, with power to add to their membership.

Committee on Nominations: Frank M. Anderson, Dartmouth College; Mrs. Lois K. Mathews, University of Wisconsin; Edmund S. Meany, University of Washington; Charles H. Rammelkamp, Illinois College; Alfred H. Stone, Dunleith, Miss.

¹ Ex-presidents.

Editors of the American Historical Review: Edward P. Cheyney, chairman; Carl Becker, Ephraim Emerton, J. Franklin Jameson, James H. Robinson, Claude H. Van Tyne.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Gaillard Hunt, Library of Congress, chairman; Charles H. Ambler, Herbert E. Bolton, Milo M. Quaife, William O. Scroggs, Justin H. Smith.

Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize: Carl R. Fish, University of Wisconsin, chairman; George L. Beer, Allen Johnson, Everett Kimball, Orin G. Libby.

Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize: Laurence M. Larson, University of Illinois, chairman; Sidney B. Fay, Louis J. Paetow, Ruth Putnam, William R. Shepherd.

Public Archives Commission: Victor H. Paltsits, chairman; Clarence W. Alvord, Solon J. Buck, John C. Fitzpatrick, George S. Godard, Charles Moore, Thomas M. Owen.

Committee on Bibliography: George M. Dutcher, chairman; William T. Laprade, Albert H. Lybyer, Wallace Notestein, William W. Rockwell, Augustus H. Shearer, William A. Slade, Bernard T. Steiner.

Committee on Publications: Henry B. Learned, Washington, chairman; and (*ex officio*) George M. Dutcher, Carl R. Fish, Evarts B. Greene, Gaillard Hunt, J. Franklin Jameson, Laurence M. Larson, Waldo G. Leland, Victor H. Paltsits.

General Committee: William E. Lingelbach, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Arthur I. Andrews, William K. Boyd, James M. Callahan, Clarence E. Carter, Isaac J. Cox, Eloise Ellery, Evarts B. Greene, Waldo G. Leland, Robert M. McElroy, William A. Morris, Irene T. Myers, Edmund S. Noyes, Paul F. Peck, Morgan P. Robinson, Royal B. Way.

Committee on a Bibliography of Modern English History: Edward P. Cheyney, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Wilbur C. Abbott, Arthur L. Cross, Roger B. Merriman, Conyers Read.

Committee on History in Schools: William S. Ferguson, Harvard University, chairman; Victoria A. Adams, Henry E. Bourne, Henry L. Cannon, Edgar Dawson, Oliver M. Dickerson, Herbert D. Foster, Samuel B. Harding, Margaret McGill, Robert A. Maurer, Nathaniel W. Stephenson.

Conference of Historical Societies: Chairman to be selected by the programme committee; Augustus H. Shearer, secretary.

Advisory Board of the History Teacher's Magazine: Henry Johnson, Teachers College, chairman; Fred M. Fling, James Sullivan, Anna B. Thompson (these four hold over); Frederic Dunclaf, O. H. Williams (these two elected for three years).

Committee on the Military History Prize: Captain Arthur L. Conger, U. S. A., Army Service Schools, Fort Leavenworth, chairman; Milledge L. Bonham, jr., Allen R. Boyd, Fred M. Fling, Albert Bushnell Hart.

Committee on Finance: Cheesman A. Herrick, Girard College, Philadelphia, chairman; Howard L. Gray, Arthur C. Howland.

THE TRUE ROGER BACON, II

WE turn from Bacon's criticism to ask what constructive contributions he made in the direction of modern thought, and, on the other hand, what ideas, now obsolete, still persisted in his philosophy. We cannot regard his mere interest in natural science as especially noteworthy, since many men of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries wrote on nature and even showed signs of an independent scientific spirit. The question therefore becomes whether his method of studying nature was superior to theirs, whether he was unique in such things as his advocacy of mathematics and of experimental science. But let us first consider a side of his thought that has seldom been emphasized, namely, his historical attitude.

In one sense history was a weak point with Bacon as with most of his contemporaries. He not only accepted the faulty accounts of the past current in his day, but was apt to pounce upon the most sensational and incredible details and use these to support his case. He had no notion of historical criticism. Unfortunately he thought that he knew a good deal about the history of philosophy, and his attitude to science is colored by his false ideas of the history of intellectual development. He of course knew nothing of evolution or of prehistoric man. For him intellectual history commenced with a complete divine revelation of philosophy to the patriarchs. Science then declined owing to the sinfulness of mankind, the invention of magic by Zoroaster, and further corruption of wisdom at the hands of Nimrod, Atlas, Prometheus, Hermes Trismegistus, Aesculapius, and Apollo. Complete knowledge and understanding were granted again by God to Solomon, after whom succeeded another period of sinful decline, until with Thales began the gradual upbuilding of Greek philosophy culminating in Aristotle. Then night set in again, until Avicenna revived philosophy among the Arabs. To him and Aristotle, however, as infidels, less complete knowledge was vouchsafed than to the representatives of God's chosen people.¹ Of the composition and development of Roman law Bacon had so little notion that he thought it borrowed chiefly from Aristotle and Theophrastus, except that the Twelve Tables were derived from the laws of Solon.² Though he saw the value of linguistics and textual criticism, and sought with true humanistic ardor for a lost work like the

¹ *Opus Majus*, Bridges, I. 20, 45-56, and 65; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 24-25, 32.

² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 50.

Morals of Seneca, he accepted as genuine works of antiquity spurious treatises like the *De Vetula* ascribed to Ovid.³ He believed that Paul had corresponded with Seneca and that Alexander's conquests were due to Aristotle's experimental science. We shall soon see how he used the astrological interpretation of history, which was the medieval counterpart of our geographical and economic interpretation. Yet Bacon deserves praise for so often opening his discussion of a problem by an inquiry into its historical background; he at least tried to adopt the historical point of view. And on the whole his historical method makes about as close an approach to modern research as do his mathematics and experimental science to their modern parallels.

Yet the introduction of mathematical method into natural science has often been attributed to Roger Bacon, in which respect he has been favorably contrasted with Francis Bacon. Therefore it will be well to note exactly what Roger says on this point, and whether his observations were notably in advance of the thought of his times. The discussion in the *Opus Maius* opens with strong assertions of the necessity for a knowledge of mathematics in the study of natural science and of theology as well; and we are told that neglect of mathematics for the past thirty or forty years has been the ruin of Latin learning. This position is supported by citation of various authorities and by some vague general arguments in typical scholastic style. Grammar and logic must employ music, a branch of mathematics, in prosody and persuasive periods. The categories of time, place, and quantity require mathematical knowledge for their comprehension. Mathematics must underlie other subjects because it is by nature the most elementary and the easiest to learn and the first discovered. Moreover, all our sense knowledge is received in space, in time, and quantitatively. Also the certitude of mathematics makes it desirable that other studies avail themselves of its aid.

But now we come to the application of these glittering generalities and we see what Bacon's "mathematical method" really amounts to. Briefly, it consists in expounding his physical and astronomical theories by means of simple geometrical diagrams. The atomical doctrine of Democritus cannot be true, since it involves the error that the hypotenuse is of the same length as the side of a square. Geometry satisfies Roger that there can be but one universe; otherwise we should have a vacuum left. Plato's assertion that the heavens and four elements are made up each of one group of regu-

³ Pierre d'Ailly in 1410 in *De Legibus et Sectis*, cap. 4, pointed out that Bacon was relying upon a spurious work.

lar solids is also subjected to geometrical scrutiny. Mathematics is further of service in Biblical geography, in sacred chronology, and in allegorical interpretation of the dimensions of the ark, temple, and tabernacle, and of various numbers which occur in Scripture. But mathematics, according to Bacon, plays its greatest rôle in astronomy or astrology and in physics, and in his favorite theory of multiplication of species or virtues, or, as modern writers have flatteringly termed it, the propagation of force.⁴

Astronomy and astrology had together long made up the world's supreme science; there was no originality in urging their importance. In physics Bacon borrowed his discussion of weights and falling bodies from Jordanus, an earlier writer in the thirteenth century, and his optic from Alhazen and Grosseteste and from treatises which passed then under the names of Ptolemy and Euclid but were perhaps of more recent origin.⁵ Bacon's graphic expression of the multiplication of species by lines and figures we find earlier in Grosseteste's *De Lineis, Angulis, et Figuris*.⁶ It does not seem, therefore, that Bacon made any new suggestions of great importance concerning the application of mathematical method in the sciences, and historians of mathematics have recognized that "he contributed nothing to the pure science",⁷ of whose very meaning his notion was inadequate.

In considering Bacon's "mathematics" we must never forget that for him the term included astrology, which in truth seemed to him by far the most important and practical part of mathematics. By its aid he believed that the future could be foretold and also that marvellous operations and great alterations could be effected throughout the whole world, especially by choosing favorable hours and by employing astronomical amulets and characters. If a doctor does not know astronomy, his medical treatment will be dependent on "chance and fortune".⁸ Recent bloody wars might have been avoided had men hearkened to warnings written in the sky.⁹ Bacon was very desirous that the Church should avail itself of the guidance of astrology; and he feared the harm that Antichrist, or the

⁴ Little, *Essays*, p. 16, quoting Adamson, *Roger Bacon: the Philosophy of Science in the Middle Ages* (1876), which is now out of print.

⁵ Ptolemy's *Optics* is known only in Latin form, supposedly translated from the Arabic, edited by Govi (Turin, 1885); see Bridges, I. lxx. The *Optica* ascribed to Euclid is contained in Heiberg's edition (Leipzig, 1895).

⁶ Baur, in Little, *Essays*, pp. 46-47.

⁷ D. E. Smith, in Little, *Essays*, p. 171, citing Heilbronner and other historians of mathematics. Professor Smith has very kindly permitted me to see in manuscript form his forthcoming edition of the *Communia Mathematicae* of Roger Bacon.

⁸ Gasquet, "An Unpublished Fragment of a Work by Roger Bacon", *English Historical Review*, XII. 516.

⁹ Bridges, I. 386.

Tatars with their astrologers, would do Christendom, if the Church neglected this art.¹⁰

Bacon thought the stars ungenerated, incorruptible, voluntary in their movements, which were due to angelic intelligences.¹¹ He asserted that "it is manifest to everyone that the celestial bodies are the causes of generation and corruption in all inferior things".¹² This was, indeed, for all men of his time with any scientific pretensions, a fundamental law of nature. In explaining the operation of this celestial influence Bacon accepted the usual technique of the astrological art.¹³ He further believed that the "complexions" or physical constitutions of human beings were determined by the constellations at the time of conception and birth, and that with each passing hour the rule of the body passed from one planet to another. He even held that the stars by their influence upon the human body incline men to bad acts and evil arts or to good conduct and useful sciences. Such natural inclinations might, however, be resisted by effort of will, modified by divine grace, or strengthened by diabolic tempting. Bacon, indeed, was always careful to exempt the human will from the rule of the stars; he explains that what the canon law condemns in its penalties against the *mathematici* is the false and superstitious variety of *mathematica* which accepts the doctrine of fatal necessity. But Bacon contends that true astrologers like Haly, Ptolemy, Avicenna, and Messahala have never held this doctrine, though common report ignorantly attributes it to them. While the individual by an effort of will may resist the force of the stars, in masses of men the power of the constellations usually prevails; and the differences in peoples inhabiting different parts of the earth are due to their being under different aspects of the sky. The personality of the king, too, has such great influence upon his kingdom that it is worth while to examine his horoscope carefully. Even Jesus Christ, in so far as his nature was human and his birth natural, was, like the rest of humanity, under the influence of the constellations; and the virgin birth was, as Albumasar states, fore-shown by the stars.

Bacon was especially attracted by the doctrine of Albumasar concerning conjunctions of the planets, and derived comforting evidence of the superiority of the Christian faith to other religions

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 399-403.

¹¹ Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi*, fasc. I., p. 12; fasc. III., pp. 228-239; Bridges, II. 450.

¹² *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 107, and several other passages.

¹³ Astrology is discussed by Bacon in Bridges, I. 138-143, 238-269, and 376-404; Gasquet, pp. 512-516; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, pp. 105-106, 271-272; *Opus Minus*, Brewer, pp. 320-321; *Compendium Studii*, Brewer, pp. 421-422; Little, *Part of the Opus Tertium*, pp. 1-19; and in many scattered passages.

from the astrological explanation of the origin of religious sects according to the successive conjunctions of the other planets with Jupiter.¹⁴ He was pleased by the association of Christianity with Mercury, which he calls the lord of wisdom and eloquence, of oracles and prophecies; it is dominant only in the sign Virgo, which at once suggests the Virgin Mary; and its orbit, difficult to trace because of epicycle and eccentric, typifies well the Christian creed with its mysteries that defy reason. Similarly the malign force of the moon, productive of necromancy and magic, fits Antichrist exactly; and Venus corresponds to the sensuality of Mohammedanism. Further astrological evidences of Christianity are the coincidence six years before the birth of Christ of an important conjunction of Saturn and Jupiter with a tenth revolution of Saturn, which last occurs only at intervals of 320 years and always marks some great historical change like the advent of Alexander or Manes or Mohammed. Astrology further assures us that Islam can endure only 693 years, a prediction in close agreement with the number of the beast in the Apocalypse, 663 (*sic*)^{14a}; the small discrepancy of thirty years is readily accounted for by the dictum of the venerable Bede that "Scripture in many places subtracts something from the complete number, for that's the way with Scripture."

We have perhaps sufficiently illustrated the loose logic that could satisfy a man whom some have thought the first to suggest the mathematical method of modern science. But it must be added that Bacon believed that art as well as nature was governed by the constellations; that "every new-made thing received the virtue of the sky" just as the babe was supposed to receive it at birth; that images could acquire great virtues by being carved upon gems under certain aspects of the heavens. As he held that saints and patriarchs of old had been great astrologers, so he declares that Moses and Solomon were adepts in this art of images, and that by it "all injuries can be repelled and useful undertakings promoted".

In these mistaken notions Roger was quite as representative of his age as in his interest in natural science. We find Christian astrologers in the declining Roman empire;¹⁵ dream-books and moon-

¹⁴ Both this doctrine and Albumasar's reference to the birth of Jesus are given in Steele, *Opera hactenus inedita*, fasc. I., pp. 42-50, and 8-9, as well as in the passages listed in note 13.

^{14a} Bridges, I, 266: "Et huic sententiae concordat apocalypsis xiii capitulo. Nam dicit quod numerus bestiae est 663, qui numerus est minor praedicto per xxx annos. Sed scriptura in multis locis subtrahit aliquid de numero completo, nam hic est mos scripturae ut dicit Beda."

¹⁵ Hephaestion of Thebes apparently was a Christian astrologer at the close of the fourth century of our era, Engelbrecht, *Hephaestion von Theben und sein Astrologisches Compendium* (Vienna, 1887). So perhaps was Julius Firmicus Maternus, whose Latin *Mathesis* was known in the West in the eleventh and

books, and tracts on divination from thunder and the kalends of the month, and the "Sphere of Apuleius" with its Egyptian days are found through the Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon periods.¹⁶ In the twelfth century Bernard Sylvestris¹⁷ wrote poems and treatises of an uncompromising astrological character, and Daniel Morlay brought back to England from Spain the astrology of his Arabian teachers. The work of translating the Arabian astrologers went on apace, and in the writings of such Latins of the thirteenth century as Michael Scot, Alexander Neckam, Bartholomew of England, Robert Grosseteste, and the author of the *Summa* ascribed to him, Vincent of Beauvais, Ramon Lul, Guido Bonati, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas, Peter of Abano, and Arnald of Villanova, we find Bacon's opinions again in part or *in toto*.¹⁸ With his views on astrological images and his attribution of religious sects to conjunctions of the planets theologians like Aquinas and William of Auvergne would refuse to agree, but Arabian astrology supported such doctrines, and the views of an approved Christian thinker like Albertus Magnus concerning astrology are almost identical with those of Bacon.

There is therefore almost no ground for attributing the reported condemnation of Roger in 1278 to his astrology, nor for assigning the authorship of the *Speculum Astronomiae* to him rather than to Albertus.¹⁹ Such attribution has arisen from misapprehensions as to the views of Bacon's contemporaries and from misstatements such as the passage in Charles's life of Bacon,²⁰ where he declares that Cardinal Pierre d'Ailly in his treatise on laws and sects condemns the doctrine of an English doctor concerning religions and the conjunctions of planets, and approves the contrary doctrine of William of Auvergne, but "does not dare" to name Bacon, to whom he alludes with the bated breath of terror and repugnance. All this is sheer fancy on Charles's part. Had he consulted a complete fifteenth-century edition of d'Ailly's writings instead of merely such of his

twelfth centuries, Thorndike, "A Roman Astrologer as a Historical Source", *Classical Philology*, October, 1913. For other Christian astrologers, especially Byzantine ones, see *Catalogus Codicum Graecorum Astrologorum* (Brussels, 1898-).

¹⁶ Frankish astrology is discussed in the *Histoire Littéraire de la France*; a number of tenth- and eleventh-century MSS. in the British Museum show the prevalence of astrology in England before the Norman conquest.

¹⁷ His *Mathematicus* and *De Mundi Universitate* have been printed in Migne, *Patrologie*, CLXXI., and by Barach and Wrobel (Innsbruck, 1876), respectively, but his *Experimentarius*, a geomancy, is still in manuscript only.

¹⁸ My assertion is based upon first-hand study of the writers named. The *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIX, 309, gives the impression that one of Lully's treatises is an attack upon astrology, but he accepts most of the essentials of the art.

¹⁹ As has been done by Father Mandonnet, "Roger Bacon et le *Speculum Astronomiae*", *Revue Néo-Scholastique*, 1910.

²⁰ P. 49.

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treatises as were included in an eighteenth-century edition of the works of Gerson, he would have known that elsewhere the cardinal cites Bacon on astrology by name with respect and admiration,²¹ and that the learned reformer even goes so far as to agree boldly and explicitly with Bacon's doctrine that Christ as a son of man was under the stars.²² That Bacon's astrology had not been condemned in 1278 is also indicated soon after his death by Pierre Dubois's approving mention of his discussion of the utility of "mathematics".²³

Jebb's edition of the *Opus Maius* in 1733 ended with the sixth part on "Experimental Science", which thus seemed the climax of the work and helped to give the impression that Bacon put natural science first, and experimental method first in the study of nature. Bridges's edition added the seventh part, on "Moral Philosophy", "a science better than all the preceding", and the text as now extant, after listing various arguments for the superiority of Christianity to other religions, concludes abruptly with an eight-page devout justification and glorification of the mystery of the Eucharist.

It is, however, significant that "experimental science" is the last of the natural sciences discussed by Bacon. As we read his praises of it, we see that he is not so much thinking of an inductive method through regulated and purposive experience and observation to the discovery of truth—although his discussion of the rainbow is an example of this—as he is thinking of applied science which puts to the test of practical utility the results of the "speculative" natural sciences, and is thus not like modern experimentation the source but "the goal of all speculation". "Other sciences know how to discover their first principles through experience, but reach their conclusions by arguments made from the principles so discovered. But if they require a specific and final test of their conclusions, then they ought to avail themselves of the aid of this noble science."²⁴ "Natural philosophy narrates and argues but does not experiment. The student of perspective and the astronomer put many things to the test of experience, but not all nor sufficiently. Hence complete experience is reserved for this science."²⁵ It uses the other sciences to achieve definite practical results; as a navigator orders a car-

²¹ In his *Apologetica Defensio Astronomice Veritatis* he cites "Bacon magnus doctor anglicus in epistola ad Clementem papam"; in his *Alia Secunda Apologetica Defensio eiusdem*, arguing that the superstition of certain astrologers does not invalidate the art, he says, "Et hoc pulcre et diffuse probat Bacon in epistola ad papam clementem"; and in his *Euclidarius* he definitely says that it was Bacon whose theory of conjunctions and sects he discussed in the *De Legibus et Sectis*.

²² In the *Apologetica Defensio* and again in the *Vigintiloquium*.

²³ *De Recuperatione Terre Sancte* (ed. Langlois), p. 65.

²⁴ Bridges, II. 172-173; *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 43.

²⁵ Little, *Part of Opus Tertium*, p. 44.

penter to build him a ship or a knight tells a smith to make him a suit of armor, so the *experimentator* uses his knowledge of geometry to construct a burning-glass or outdoes alchemy at its own specialty of gold-making.²⁶ In working out these practical inventions, however, the "experimenter" often happens on new facts and truths of which the speculative sciences have not dreamed, and in this way experimental science "by its own power investigates the secrets of nature".

Moreover, we may fairly credit Bacon with all the signs of experimental method that we can find in his optic, alchemy, astronomy, and astrology, as well as in his separate section on "experimental science". Even so his ideas seem little further developed than were his notions of the mathematical method. He emphasizes experience as a criterion of truth and believes further in purposive experimentation, but makes no definite suggestions of value as to how one is to proceed, and has no conception of the scientific methods of a modern laboratory. Rather is his mind credulously fixed upon the marvels which he expects experimental science to achieve by methods that seem to us fantastic and occult.²⁷

Nor in this is Bacon striking off a new though crude conception of his own; he is presenting a position found in writers before him, and is revealing the merits and defects of an important movement of his time. When, for example, we read in the works of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln, not only many such phrases as "experiences and reasons" or "authorities and experimenters", but also a discussion of opinions concerning comets based on "experiments in natural objects", in which Grosseteste mentions experimenters who "fall into various false opinions about the nature of comets according to their diversified experiments with rays and generated fires" and lenses—when we read this, we realize that Bacon's discussion of the rainbow in this section on "experimental science" is nothing extraordinary. Grosseteste also mentions "experts" who have discovered the magnifying properties of lenses.²⁸ When we read the *De Universo* of William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris, with its numerous citations from books of experiments and books of magic and necromancy and witchcraft,²⁹ or the twelve experiments with a snake's skin translated into Latin by the celebrated John of

²⁶ *Opus Tertium*, Brewer, p. 44-45.

²⁷ For a fuller discussion of Bacon's experimental method and a comparison with his contemporaries, see my "Roger Bacon and Experimental Method in the Middle Ages", in the *Philosophical Review*, May, 1914, pp. 271-298.

²⁸ Baur, *Die Philosophischen Werke des Robert Grosseteste* (Münster, 1912), pp. 13, 25, 33, 34, 36, 40, 41, 68, etc.

²⁹ *Gulielmi Alverni Episcopi Parisiensis . . . Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1591), pp. 599, 606, 608, 860, 968, 988, 998-999, 1003, 1010.

Spain,³⁰ or the similar experiments with pulverized snake's skin of Nicholas of Poland,³¹ or the natural experiments that Solomon was supposed to have performed out of love for a certain queen,³² or the *Experimenta Alberti* with their assertion that the science of magic is not necessarily evil³³—when we have read books of this sort, we understand better the marvellous and occult character of Bacon's "experimental science" with its tales of the experiment with a snake performed by a sage at Paris and of the beneficial effect of eating the flesh of good flying dragons.

As Bacon's discussion of mathematics led us to a consideration of his belief in astrology, so his discussion of experimental science leads us to examine his attitude toward magic, since he admits that many persons confuse the two.³⁴ He, however, declares that experimental science detects and avoids the follies and deceits of magic. His pages are full of condemnatory or contemptuous allusions to magic. He will not admit that magicians employ natural forces nor that their methods of operating are valid. Their apparent feats he either explains away, as we do the stage and parlor magic of to-day, by sleight-of-hand, ventriloquism, mechanical devices, confederates, and other deceptions; or he accounts for them as the work of evil spirits. Thus magicians are either impostors or instruments of the devil. Bacon contends that demons are not coerced by the properties of natural objects, and he does not sanction such an expression as "natural magic". Yet he waxes enthusiastic over "the secret works of art and nature", and he complains that these are often confused with magic, and that contemporary theologians, canonists, and holy men "have condemned many useful and splendid sciences along with magic". Besides astrology and its corollary science of images, he would justify to a certain extent as "philosophical" the employment of occult virtues in natural objects, and of characters, incantations, the human voice, and the rational soul, in order to produce marvellous changes in things and persons. He asserts that experimenters and philosophers can by these methods work far greater wonders than the magicians ever perform.

Thus Bacon fails in his attempt to draw the line between science and magic. His science still includes many occult and magical ele-

³⁰ At the British Museum, Arundel MSS., 251, fol. 35v; Sloane MSS., 1754, fol. 30. At Erfurt, Amplon. Folio 276, fol. 69: "Tractatus Alani de xii experimentis corio factis ex Arabico in Latinum a Iohanne Paulino translatus."

³¹ Sloane MSS., 1754, fol. 28r; Amplon. Folio 276, fol. 66.

³² Sloane MSS., 121, fol. 90v.

³³ Sloane MSS., 342, fol. 130r; *ibid.*, 351, fol. 25r; Arundel MSS., 251, fol. 25r; Royal 12 B xxv, fol. 248r; and in many other manuscripts.

³⁴ I have already treated of Bacon's attitude toward magic in pages 134-138 of "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic" in the *Monist*, XXV, 107-139 (January, 1915), where citations will be found for the passages used.

ments of whose true character he is not aware, while he admits that the magicians often try to or pretend to use scientific books and methods, and that it is no easy matter to tell which books and characters and images are which. The experimental scientist not only exposes the frauds of magic but discovers secrets of nature hidden beneath the husk of magical ceremony and pretense. Also some men employ the marvels of philosophy for wicked ends and so pervert it into a sort of magic. Finally in one passage he forgets himself and speaks of "those magnificent sciences" which properly employ "images, characters, charms, prayers, and deprecations" as "magical sciences".³⁵

Bacon's doctrine of the multiplication of species is a good illustration of the combination of magic and science which we encounter in his works. This theory has been praised by his admirers as the propagation of force subject to mathematical law; and he has been commended for describing the species which every agent causes in all directions not, like the idols of Lucretius, as material films which peel off from the agent and impress themselves on surrounding matter, but as successive effects produced in that matter. Bacon usually illustrates his theory by the radiation of light from the sun, and by a discussion of the geometrical laws of reflection and refraction; thus his theory seems at first sight a physical one. He believed, however, that the occult influences of the planets upon nature and man were exercised in the same way, and also such mysterious powers as those of the evil eye and of fascination. Indeed, he asserts that this multiplication of virtues is universal, and that spiritual beings as well as corporeal objects affect in this manner everything about them and may themselves be so affected by other objects and beings.³⁶ Viewed from this angle, his theory seems a magical one of occult influence, though given a scientific guise by its assumption that such forces proceed along mathematical lines after the analogy of rays of light. This suggests that it is not fair merely to call Bacon's science superstitious; we must also note that he tries to make his magic scientific.

It seems somewhat strange that Bacon should fight so shy of

³⁵ Little, *Part of the Opus Tertium*, pp. 17-18: "Et ideo si ecclesia de studio ordinaret, possent homines boni et sancti laborare in hujusmodi scientiis magicis auctoritate summi pontificis speciali."

³⁶ Bridges, I. 111: "Omne enim efficiens agit per suam virtutem quam facit in materiam subjectam, ut lux solis facit suam virtutem in aere, quae est lumen diffusum per totum mundum a luce solari. Et haec virtus vocatur similitudo, et imago, et species, et multis nominibus, et hanc facit tam substantia quam accidens, et tam spiritualis quam corporalis. Et substantia plus quam accidens, et spiritualis plus quam corporalis. Et haec species facit omnem operationem hujus mundi; nam operatur in sensum, in intellectum, et in totam mundi materiam pro rerum generatione."

the word "magic", when his predecessor, William of Auvergne, and his contemporary, Albertus Magnus, both allude to magic as sometimes bordering upon science, in which case they do not regard it unfavorably. Yet William, as we have noted, was less favorable to astrology than Roger. The good Bishop of Paris, who certainly shows himself well versed both in magical literature, black and white, and in popular superstitious practices, condemns much of such lore and custom as tantamount to idolatry or worship of demons; he refuses to believe in some of the marvels which magic claims to work, and denies the powers ascribed to incantations, characters, and images, though he is less sure as to words or the occult influence of the soul. But he asserts that one of the eleven subdivisions of science is "natural magic", by which marvels are performed naturally which the ignorant crowd takes for the work of demons, but which usually are inoffensive.³⁷ He also frequently refers to "sense of nature", a sort of occult power such as the ability to sense a threatening but hidden danger; this is "one of the roots of natural magic".³⁸ William indeed displays a more detailed knowledge of magic than Bacon does. In his theological works Albert sometimes condemns magic, yet even there attributes its marvels in large measure to natural forces and to the influences of the stars. In his scientific writings he occasionally alludes to "magic" without censure, speaking of "alchemy and magic", of "astronomy and magic and the necromantic sciences", and of "magical sciences". He classifies as magic several of Bacon's "secret works of art and nature", though, like Bacon, he appears to regard them with approval.³⁹ For these reasons I can as little believe that Bacon was condemned in 1278 for magic as that he was condemned for astrology, especially since he apparently did not dabble in the invocation of demons.

On the other hand, it is apparent that in his inclusion of magical factors in natural science he is an exponent of what we may call the school of natural magic and experiment. If we turn from writers whose works have been printed, like Albert and William, to old collections of manuscripts like that of Amplonius at Erfurt and of Sir Hans Sloane in the British Museum, we become the more convinced that occult and natural science, magic and experiment were closely associated in Bacon's time. "Experimental books"

³⁷ *De Legibus*, caps. 14 and 24; *De Universo*, I. i. 43, 46, and II. iii. 21, 22, 23; in *Opera Omnia* (Venice, 1591), pp. 44, 67, 612, 627, 997, 999, 1003.

³⁸ *De Legibus*, cap. 27 (*Opera*, p. 88). See Bridges, II. 421, where Bacon possibly copies William in speaking of the mysterious sense by which the sheep apprehends and shuns the species of the wolf.

³⁹ For Albert's attitude to magic in more detail see "Some Medieval Conceptions of Magic", the *Monist*, XXV. 115-120.

are full of magic and magicians repeatedly perform experiments. Down through the seventeenth century the word "experiment" continues to be associated with feats of magic, and earlier it is applied freely to books of divination and astrology. In medieval collections of recipes and experiments we find bizarre magic mixed in with directions for blowing soap-bubbles, true chemical processes, and new discoveries such as alcohol. Alchemy was becoming more practical and scientific, less given to mystic language and fantastic rigmarole than among the Greeks and Arabs. Albertus Magnus and Thomas Aquinas are said to have reconciled Aristotle with Christian theology; Roger Bacon desired that the Church should similarly adopt the alchemy and "experimental science", the "natural magic" and inventions of the age.

Most medieval books impress one as literary mosaics where the method of arrangement may be new but most of the fragments are familiar. One soon recognizes, however, that striking similarity in two passages is no sure sign that one is copied from the other. The authors may have used the same Arabian sources or simply be repeating some commonplace thought of the times. Men began with the same assumptions and general notions, read the same limited library, reasoned by common methods, and naturally often reached the same conclusions, especially since the field of knowledge was not yet so extensive but that one man might try to cover it all, and since all used the same medium of thought, the Latin language. New discoveries were being made occasionally but slowly, perhaps also sporadically and empirically. A collection of industrial and chemical recipes in the thirteenth century may in the main be derived from a set of the seventh century or Hellenistic age, but a few new ones have somehow got added to the list in the interim. Thomas of Cantimpré's encyclopaedia professes to be no more than a compilation, but it seems to contain the first allusion we have to modern plumbing.⁴⁰

Bacon's chief book was a mosaic like the rest, but bears a strong impress of his personality. Sometimes there is too much personality, but if we allow for this, we find it a valuable, though not a complete nor perfect, picture of medieval learning. Its ideas were not brand-new; it was not centuries in advance of its age; but while its contents may be found scattered in many other places, they will scarcely be found altogether anywhere else, for it combines the

⁴⁰ British Museum, Egerton MSS., 1984, fol. 141v: "Stagnum . . . in aqua diu jacens de facili conputrescit. Unde fistule aqueductus que subterranea fieri solebant ex plumbo et consolidari ex stagno, *modernis temporibus* ex calido fusili plumbo consolidare ars hominum excogitavit, eo quod soliditate stagno durare non poterant in longinquum, plumbum enim sub terra semper durat."

most diverse features. In the first place it is a "pious" production, if I may employ that adjective in a somewhat objectionable colloquial sense to indicate roughly a combination of religious, theological, and moral points of view. In other words, Bacon continues the Christian attitude of patristic literature to a certain extent; and his book is written by a clergyman for clergymen, and in order to promote the welfare of the Church and Christianity. There is no denying that, hail him as one may as a herald of modern science. Secondly, he is frequently scholastic and metaphysical; yet thirdly, is critical in numerous respects; and fourthly, insists on practical utility as a standard by which science and philosophy must be judged. Finally, he is an exponent of the aims and methods of what we have called "the natural magic and experimental school", and as such he sometimes comes near to being scientific. So there is no other book like the *Opus Majus* in the Middle Ages, nor has there been one like it since; yet it is true to its age⁴¹ and is still readable to-day. It will therefore always remain one of the most remarkable books of the remarkable thirteenth century.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

⁴¹ That is to say, in a large sense.

THE POLITICAL THEORIES OF CALVINISTS BEFORE THE PURITAN EXODUS TO AMERICA

"IN our account of these sons of Geneva, we will begin with the father of the faithful; faithful, I mean, to their old antimonarchical doctrines and assertions; and that is, the great mufti of Geneva, who in the fourth book of his *Institutions*, chapter 20, section 31, has the face to own such doctrine to the world as this."¹ In such wise, a royalist sermon of 1663 introduced the famous section from Calvin's *Institutes* containing the germ of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance to tyranny through the people's representatives. In the Elizabethan English of Norton's translation, familiar to English, Scottish, and American readers from the Reformation to the American Revolution, Calvin's pregnant sentences ran thus:

Though the correcting of unbridled government be the revengement of the Lord, let us not by and by think that it is committed to us, to whome there is given no other commaundment but to obey and suffer. I speake alway of private men. For if there be at this time any magistrates for the behalfe of the people, (such as in olde time were the Ephori, that were set against the Kinges of Lacedemonia, or the Tribunes of the people, against the Romane Consuls: or the Demarchy, against the Senate of Athenes: and the same power also which peradventure as things are nowe the three estates have in everie realme when they hold their principall assemblies) I doe so not forbid them according to their office to withstande the outraging licentiousness of kinges: that I affirme that if they winke at kinges wilfully raging over and treading downe the poor communaltie, their dissembling is not without wicked breache of faith, because they deceitfully betray the libertie of the people, whereof they know themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God.²

Calvin's *Institutes*, containing this theory of constitutional resistance through representative magistrates, remained for centuries a standard book among Protestants. Probably no other theological work was so widely read and so influential from the Reformation to the American Revolution. At least seventy-four editions in nine languages, besides fourteen abridgments, appeared before the Puritan exodus to America, an average of one edition annually for three generations.³ Huguenots, Scots, Dutchmen, Walloons, Palatines,

¹ Robert South, *Sermons* (1856 ed.), I. 470 ff., quoting or misquoting Calvin, Beza, Knox, Buchanan, Pareus.

² *Calvini Opera* (ed. Baum, Cunitz, Reuss), I. 247-248; *Institutes*, IV, xx, 31.

³ *Calvini Opera*, LIX. 461-512; *British Museum Catalogue*; *Stationers' Registers*.

and other Germans, and an overwhelming majority of the American colonists of the seventeenth century were bred on its strong political theories as well as on the strong meat of its theology. In England the *Institutes* was considered "the best and perfectest system of divinity" by both Anglican and Puritan, until Laud's supremacy.⁴ In 1578 (with Calvin's Catechism) it was required of Oxford undergraduates. Curious witness to its grip upon men was borne by Laud in 1636. Admitting that the *Institutes* "may profitably be read as one of their first books of divinity", Laud secretly endeavored to dissuade New College students from reading it "so soon". "I am afraid it . . . doth too much possess their judgments . . . and makes many of them humcrous in, if not against the church."⁵

In Scotland the passage quoted from Calvin's *Institutes* was cited in defense of Mary's deposition, by Knox and the commissioners to Elizabeth. In England not only Cartwright and the other authors of the *Admonition to Parliament* but also their opponent Whitgift and even the Anglican Elborow as late as 1636 utilized the authority of the *Institutes*. Quoted by widely read New England Puritans, like Governor Bradford, Cotton, Hooker, Roger Williams, Jonathan Edwards, and by Puritan preachers before Parliament during the Civil War, and controverted by Royalists later in the century, it continued to be spread in the eighteenth century through numerous citations in the popular Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, which went through fifty-nine editions in seven languages by 1759. Men of a somewhat different sort were probably influenced, directly or indirectly, through the citations by a remarkable list of men widely read and quoted in Europe and America—"the judicious Hooker", Milton, Harrington, Sidney, Locke, and Rousseau. The demand for the *Institutes* in English translation is suggested by the nine editions before the Civil War (and apparently about ten between 1763 and 1863, six of these being American editions); and further by its appearance in the London *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books*, 1655, 1657, and the *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books in England*, 1657, 1658.⁶

⁴ Bishop Sanderson (Charles I.'s chaplain), *Works*, I, 297.

⁵ Wood, *Annals*, I, 193; Laud, *Remains*, II, 82.

⁶ In days when books were few and usually read if bought, familiarity with the *Institutes* is suggested by its presence in scores of libraries including those of Mirabeau, the archbishops of Canterbury, English universities and colleges, three Anglican colonial foundations, five Lancashire churches, the most influential Puritan divines English and American, three colonial colleges and three college presidents, governors, men of affairs, signers of the Declaration of Independence, members of national and state constitutional conventions, physicians, college students, farmers, and dozens of kinds of artisans and tradesmen, including innkeepers, excisemen, and tobacconists. See printed book-lists (sometimes incomplete) of the following colonial owners of *Institutes*: Reverend John Goodborne (Virginia); Brewster, Winthrop, Harvard, Samuel Lee, Rowland Cotton, Prince,

Of some work of Calvin at least 435 editions appeared before the founding of New England, an average of one every ten weeks. Most colonial libraries seem to contain some work by Calvin and scarcely a colonial list of books from New Hampshire to South Carolina appears to lack books written by Calvinists.⁷

Calvin's teaching of constitutional resistance to tyranny logically followed his fundamental premises of the absolute sovereignty of God and the "Word of God"; for that absolute authority limited all "earthly princes" and made both king and representative magistrate "responsible to God and men". Calvin moreover pictured that "singular and truly sovereign power of God" not as "idly beholding from Heaven", "but as holding the helm of the universe".⁸

Calvin's teaching of the "breach of faith" by the representative magistrates, if they "betray the libertie of the people, whereof they knowe themselves to bee appointed protectors by the ordinance of God", was within a year followed by the enforcement in Geneva of another fundamental tenet of Calvinists—a covenant. The Genevan Confession of 1537, submitted by Calvin and Farel, was a religious rather than a political covenant. But a civil ordinance commanded under pain of exile "all burghers, inhabitants and subjects to swear to guard and observe" this creed-covenant, which included the ten commandments, and emphasized morals more than theology. This creed-covenant was moreover defended by Calvin on the basis of the covenants made by the Israelites under Moses, Josiah, Aśa, and "the admirable defenders of liberty, Ezra and Nehemiah", examples constantly cited by Calvinists in their political covenants for a century to come.⁹

After seven years' experience in Switzerland and Germany Calvin advocated as the best form of government "either aristocracy or a mixture of aristocracy and democracy" such as "the Lord

King's Chapel (Massachusetts); President Langdon of Harvard, Nathaniel Rogers (both Portsmouth, N. H.); Rensselaerswyck, Widow Bronck (New Netherland); Harvard, Yale, Princeton; Redwood (Newport); Logan (Philadelphia); Edenton (North Carolina). Manuscript lists: Dr. James Walker (Baltimore); Presidents Wheelock (Dartmouth), Witherspoon (Princeton). Identified by autograph: John Fiske, John Sewall, Samuel Sewall, Thomas Ward, Thomas Wallcutt, Jonathan Heskins, Benjamin Gillam, Ezra Thompson (Harvard, 1755). John Ledyard (Dartmouth) quoted Calvin against Wheelock. There is a significant list of 73 occupations of subscribers to the Glasgow edition of *Institutes* (1762). The section quoted is frequently underlined or annotated, the copy in the Archbishop of Canterbury's library having five significant annotations.

⁷ Of 52 lists examined, covering all colonies save Delaware and Georgia and including Anglican collections, only one lacks books by Calvinists—Sir Kenelm Digby's gift to Harvard, and Digby was not a colonist.

⁸ *Institutes*, IV. xx. 32; I. xvi. 4, 7; xviii. 1; III. x. 6; I. xvii. 4; *Comm. Romans*, xiii. 4.

⁹ *Opera*, V. 319 ff.; XXI. 206 ff.

established among the people of Israel".¹⁰ Sixteen more years' observation of the "imperfections of men" led the ripened statesman to advocate constitutional government (*politia*) "in the hands of many . . . so that if any one arrogate to himself more than is right, the many may act as censors and masters to restrain his ambition".¹¹ This "mixture of aristocracy and democracy" was the form of government in most Calvinistic industrial communities and self-governing commonwealths. Such representative government was regularly exemplified in their churches and logically advocated for the state. A striking example illustrates this chain of religious-political Calvinistic influence. Thomas Cartwright during his exile taught theology in Geneva and before leaving obtained permission to attend the consistory in order to report to England upon the Genevan representative church government. Immediately on his return to England he advocated in his *Admonition to Parliament* a like system of representative government in the Church, and then maintained that the State should follow the Church's model. Cartwright's reasoning, often quoted approvingly by Hooker of Connecticut to Cotton of Massachusetts, was requoted by Cotton to Say and Sele in England.

Calvin himself, toward the end of his career, advocated in theory and practice representative government "by common consent" in both Church and State as the "best condition by far"; "and even when men become kings by hereditary right this does not seem consistent with liberty".¹²

Before his death Calvin had combined the theory of constitutional resistance through divinely ordained representatives with two other Calvinistic theories, that of a compact and that of a fundamental written law.

Inasmuch as kings and princes pledge their faith to the people by an oath, it is fair to ask, if they break faith, whether the people may not themselves consult together and apply a fit remedy. The question is certainly difficult and it would not be convenient or expedient to discuss it now; for we see many seeking opportunity for innovations and allowing too great changes. Subjects themselves may not rebel against even tyrannical rulers. . . . Nevertheless, certain remedies against tyranny are allowable, for example when magistrates and estates have been constituted, to whom has been committed the care of the commonwealth:

¹⁰ *Institutes* (1543), xx. 7; *Opera*, I. 1105.

¹¹ *Institutes* (definitive edition, 1559), IV. xx. 8; *Opera*, II. 1098; IV. 1134. Henry VIII., Mary, and the German princes exemplify tyranny necessitating restraint. *Comm. Hosea*, i; *Amos*, vii. 13, where Calvin is cited by Pareus, in turn followed by Knight.

¹² *Comm. Micah*, v. 5; *Opera*, XLIII. 374. Recommendations to Genevan Council, *Opera*, X. 120, note; Foster, "Calvin's Programme for a Puritan State in Geneva", *Harvard Theological Review*, I. 423-424 (1908).

they shall have power to keep the prince to his duty and even to coerce him if he attempt anything unlawful.¹³

Samuel's "reading to the people and recording in a book" "the law of the kingdom", in order to show "the mutual obligation of head and members", Calvin recommends as an example; "for every commonwealth rests upon laws and agreements . . . by which as by a bridle each is held to his calling". He advocates written statutes that "recourse may be had to the written law".¹⁴ The *lex scripta* he describes as "nothing but an attestation of the *lex naturae*, whereby God brings back to memory what has already been imprinted on our hearts".¹⁵

From Calvin's premises of the supreme authority of God and his Word, we find him then developing these permanent contributions to political theory and practice. The absolute supremacy of God and of his Word ("obey God rather than man") demands not passive but active resistance. This resistance is not the privilege of private individuals but the obligation of divinely ordained representatives "responsible to God and the people", such as councillors, estates, or parliaments. Such resistance is constitutional, rational, and orderly because based on and tested by three things greatly emphasized by Calvin and his disciples: (1) a written religious document, "the open Word of God", to be interpreted with "equity and reason"; (2) a political covenant or compact, preferably written, for example a coronation oath; (3) some form of fundamental law, *lex naturae*, *principes d'équité*, or *quelque semence de droiture*.

Calvin's followers, usually accustomed to some form of representative government—local or national—and to written charters, and trained still further by their representative system of church discipline and government, exhibited the Calvinistic spirit of "going forward [*cheminer*] each according to his station and employing faithfully for the maintenance of the republic whatever God has given them".¹⁶ They therefore developed his theories, further combined them on the basis of growing experience, incorporated them into public law, and proved them practicable. In the Biblical commonwealth of Geneva, citizen and refugee were profoundly convinced of the righteousness of the Calvinistic theories. When a domineering military officer, opponent of Calvin's policy, attempted to wrest from a Genevan syndic his staff of office, the magistrate

¹³ *Homilia I Sam.*, viii; *Opera*, XXIX. 552, 557.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, ch. x., pp. 636-637; Sidney, *Government*, ch. iii., sect. I, discusses the same passage. Cf. *Institutes*, IV. xx. 29.

¹⁵ *Comm. Psalms*, cxix. 52; *Opera*, XXXII. 236. Cf. *Opera*, XXVII. 568; XXVI. 674; XXXIV. 504; XXVIII. 63.

¹⁶ Calvin's farewell to Genevan magistrates, *Opera*, IX. 889-890.

replied: "This staff has been given me not by you but by God and the people, to whom I shall return it and not to you."¹⁷ The little republic of Geneva, bred upon Calvin's *Institutes*, catechism, and consistory, itself was a striking and influential exemplification of the successful embodiment of Calvin's political theories into what we may venture to call the first Puritan state. "Let not Geneva be forgotten or despised. Religious liberty owes it much respect, Servetus notwithstanding", wrote the second President of the United States.¹⁸

In 1556 Ponet, exiled bishop of Winchester, a Calvinist, and apparently a member of the English congregation at Geneva, published his *Politike Power*, which John Adams declared contained "all the essential principles of liberty which were afterwards dilated on by Sidney and Locke".¹⁹ "God is the power of powers. All other powers are but his ministers." "Men ought not to obeie their superiours that shall comaunde them to doo anything against Goddes Word, or the lawes of nature", "Goddes lawes, by which name also the lawes of nature be comprehended". "Kings may not make laws without consent of people", nor "dispense with them". "As among the Lacedemonians certain men called Ephori were ordayned to see that the kinges should not oppresse the people, and among the Romaines the Tribunes were ordayned to defende and mayntene the libertie of the people . . . so in all Christian realmes and dominiones God ordayned meanes, that the heads . . . should not oppresse the poore people . . . and make their willes their lawes . . . in Fraunce and Englande parlamentes"; the paragraph closely follows Calvin's *Institutes*. "Kings, though they be the chief membres, yet they are but membres, nother are the people ordained for them, but they are ordained for the people", phrases which passed as coin of the realm among Calvinists of two continents and three centuries. Ponet goes further than Calvin. He maintains that "princes abusing their office may be deposed by the body of the whole congregacion or commonwealthe". He even permits tyrannicide, "wher just punishment is either by the hole state utterly neglected, or the prince with the nobilitie and counsall conspire its subversion", provided "any private man have some surely proved mocion of God".²⁰

¹⁷ Bonivard, *Advis* (ed. 1865), p. 139.

¹⁸ John Adams, marginal note in his "Discourses on Davila", *Works*, VI. 313. *The Lawes and Statutes of Geneva*, translated from original documents, went through three editions at significant epochs, 1562, 1643, 1659. The number of famous men who studied in Geneva, the important books published there, and the friendly and hostile citations of Geneva's example are almost innumerable.

¹⁹ Adams, *Works*, VI. 4.

²⁰ *Shorte Treatise of Politike Power* (eds. of 1556 and 1642 in the Library of Congress), chs. iv., ii., i., vi.

In 1558 three pastors and one elder of "the Englishe Church and Congregation at Geneva" (three at least being translators of the Genevan version of the Bible) printed there eight political addresses to England and Scotland. Christopher Goodman's *How Superior Powers ought to be obeyed and wherein they may lawfully by God's Worde be disobeyed and resisted*, (which Calvin pronounced "somewhat harsh" and to "be handled with caution", yet "admitted to be true")²¹ advocates resistance on the basis of the supremacy of God's laws, responsibility of representatives, and a mutual covenant. "You promised obedience to your Superiours, that they might helpe you", "to defend God's Lawes". "If they will do so, and keep promise with you accordinge to their office, then do you owe unto them all humble obedience: If not, you are discharged, and no obedience belongeth to them: because they are not obedient to God."²² This passage Milton quotes in his *Tenure of Kings*. Goodman, like Ponet and Melville, asserts that the people were not "created of God to serve their kinges", but "their kinges appoynted of God to preserve his people, whereof they are but a portion and a member".²³ Like Ponet, Goodman takes a step beyond Calvin in maintaining that "it apperteyneth not onely to the Magistrates and al other inferior officers to see that their Princes be subject to Gods Lawes, but to the common people also".²⁴

John Knox's letter of 1558 "To the Commonalty of Scotland" likewise desired not only the "Estates and Nobilitie" but also "the Communalitie, my Brethren", to "compell your Byshoppes and Clergie to cease their tyrannie and answer by the scriptures of God".²⁵ From Calvinistic premises, including Asa's covenant, Knox draws two Calvinistic conclusions: "the first, That no idolatour can be exempted from punishment by Goddes Law. The seconde is, That the punishment of such crimes, as are idolatrie, blasphemie, and others, that tuche the Majestie of God, dothe not appertaine to kinges and chefe rulers only, but also to the whole bodie of that people, and to every membre of the same, according to the vocation of everie man, and according to that possibilitie and occasion which God doth minister to revenge the injury done his glorie."²⁶ "Moste justely may the same men depose and punishe him that unadvysedly before they did electe."²⁷

²¹ Goodman to Martyr, *Original Letters, 1537-1558* (Parker Soc.), II, 771.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 189.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 146.

²⁵ *Works* (ed. Laing), IV, 524.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 501, *Appellation*, italics added.

²⁷ P. 540, *Second Blast*. Milton's *Tenure of Kings* cites Knox's *Appellation*, *Second Blast*, and three other pamphlets published in the same year by Calvin's and Knox's colleagues, Goodman, Gilby, and Whittingham.

Within a year, armed with the "judgementis of Mr. Calvin and the leirnit in uther Kirkis", Kncx headed a successful application of his Calvinistic "Blasts" from Geneva. In urging the deposition of the Queen Regent, "The Bretherin of the Christiane Congregation" of Scotland affirm, that "to brydill the fury and raige of Princeis in free kingdomes and realmeis . . . appertenis to the Nobilitie, sworne and borne Counsallouris of the same, and allsua to the Barronis and Pepill, quhais voteis . . . ar to be requyreit in all greit and wechty materis of the communwelth".²⁸

The Regent's deposition is the earliest and most striking example of an application of the Calvinistic theory of constitutional resistance. The responsible representatives justified themselves by God's "moist sacrat worde", the "judgement of the Preachearis" (Knox and Willok), the "lawis of the realme", their own "oath", the covenant involved in the "contentis of the Appointment of Marriage", and the Regent's attempts "to suppress the liberties of our commoun-weall".²⁹

In a "reassonyng betwix the Quiene and Johne Knox", four years later, he declared Her Majesty and her subjects bound "by *mutuall contract*. Thei are bound to obey you, and that not but in God. Ye ar bound to keape lawis unto thame."³⁰ In the famous debate before the General Assembly the following year, Knox, basing his argument upon the scriptural examples utilized by Calvinists, "maintained" (as Milton quotes him in his *Tenure of Kings*) "that subjects might and ought to execute God's judgment upon their king". The "vote and consience" of Craig, Knox's fellow-minister, was "that Princes ar nocht onlie bound to keip lawis and promeisses to thair subjectis, but also, that in caise thai faill, thay justlie may be deposite; *for the band betwix the Prince and the Peopill is reciproce*".³¹ The phrases italicized are combined in the General Assembly's resolution three years later, requiring kings to promise to defend "the true religioun . . . as they are obliged . . . in the law of God . . . in the ellevint cheptoure of the seccund buke of the Kinges, and as thei craif obedience of thair subjectis sua the *band and contract to be mutuall and reciproque* in all tymes cuming betuix the prince and God and his faithful people accorcing to the word of God".

Parliament in 1567 enacted as law the religious assembly's resolution; justified the enforced "demişsion" of Queen Mary; "author-

²⁸ Knox, *History of the Reformation in Scotland, Works*, I, 411.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 424, 432, 442-443, 448, 450.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 372.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 434-451, especially 458. Craig's views are quoted in Milton, *Tenure of Kings*, sect. 35.

isit" the Confession of Faith "as a doctrine groundit upon the infallible word of God"; and "annullit al actis not agreeing with Godis word, and now contrare to the Confession of faith according to the said worde". Within nine years Knox's application of the Calvinistic theories of the sovereignty of God and his word, the duty of constitutional resistance through a representative body, justified by mutual contract and fundamental law, had been incorporated into public law in Scotland.³²

Evidence of Calvinistic and Genevan influence upon Scotland is found in the *Acts of Parliament and Assembly*, the Confession of Faith, the Genevan order of worship, and the "Buke of Discipline"'s system of church government by representative laymen. It is also testified to directly. The assembly desired the judgment of Calvin upon resistance to rulers. Knox affirmed that he had "heard the judgementis" and "come nocht to this Realme without".³³ "A written defence of the Scotch presented to Queen Elizabeth", quoted by von Raumer, mentions the approval of Calvin and Melanchthon.³⁴

Through the marginal notes of four Calvinistic versions of the Bible, teachings of covenant obligation to constitutional resistance passed into the political thought of two continents. The Genevan version, "the common Bible of the people and even of scholars" for three-quarters of a century, went through over one hundred editions before 1617. On this "Breeches Bible" were bred Shakespeare and the founders of the American colonies and the English Commonwealth.³⁵ Scores of marginal notes on covenant, vocation, rights of the "congregation", deposition of kings, the supremacy of God's Word, and the duty of orderly resistance to tyranny, appear in the Genevan version, Junius and Tremellius's *Biblia Sacra*, Beza's Latin text of the New Testament (in its eighty-eight editions before 1640, common property in Continental, English, and colonial libraries), and in the *Annotations* by the Westminster Assembly of Divines. Such widespread sanction for Calvinistic political theories through the Bibles in the homes of scholar and common man enormously enhanced the appeal of Calvinistic writers and preachers in France, Holland, the Palatinate, Scotland, England, and America.

The Calvinistic theory and practice of constitutional resistance

³² *Acts of the General Assembly* (Bannatyne Club ed.), I. 109; *Acts of the Parliament of Scotland*, III. 11-12, 14, 23-24, 39.

³³ *Works*, II. 459-461.

³⁴ *Contributions to Modern History, from British Museum and State Paper Office, Elizabeth and Mary*, p. 152. Throckmorton to Elizabeth (*Cal. State Papers, Scotland*, 1547-1603, II. 355) mentioned the influence of Knox, Craig, Scripture, the laws of the realm, and the coronation oath.

³⁵ Westcott, *History of the English Bible*, p. 140; Cotton, *Editions of the Bible*; Carter, *Shakespeare and Holy Scripture*, whose conclusions Lee accepts.

to tyranny, especially as exemplified in Scotland, was formulated in the *History of Scotland*, and in the *De Jure Regni apud Scotos* (1579) by Buchanan, a Calvinistic scholar in politics, who was moderator of the General Assembly which demanded Mary's "demission" and a "mutual and reciprocal contract" between prince and people, and who also aided in the indictment of Mary before Elizabeth.

Buchanan, like Ponet, considers the moral law of Scripture "an explanation" of the "law of nature", and the Golden Rule "a kind of abridgment of this law". People have a right of choosing whom they will as kings and are paramount to them. "Law paramount to the kings" "should be made by representatives". In a passage like Calvin's, arguing from the power of "the tribunes of the people at Rome or the Ephori at Sparta", Buchanan asks, "why should any man think it iniquitous, in a free people, to adopt in a similar, or even a different manner, prospective remedies for checking the enormities of tyranny"? He "upholds the social compact".³⁶ "A mutual compact subsists between a king and his subjects"; and he who "acts in opposition to compacts dissolves them" and "forfeits whatever rights belonged by agreement to him".³⁷

Within a year after the "Bretherin of the Christiane Congregation", on the advice of the preachers, had urged the councillors and estates of Scotland to "brydill" the queen mother, a Calvinistic Huguenot national synod of 1560 presented a similar memorial to the Estates of France. On the ground that "there will otherwise be no Security for the performance of any Contracts and Ordinances that may pass between the King and his subjects", the Estates were asked to declare that under a queen mother and a minor king "none other but the States of the Kingdom can nominate . . . Counsellors of State", and that, until so constituted, the Estates would "not propose or answer anything", but would "appeal unto the next Assembly of the States".³⁸

The Huguenot churches, organized in 1559, rapidly developed a local and national representative system through local consistory, district colloquy, provincial assembly, and national synod. The synods especially developed marvellous efficiency, and eventually assumed nearly all the distinctive functions of a state—financial, mili-

³⁶ *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, pp. 94; 99, 177, 113; 158, 184; 176; 188.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 196. Cf. *Rerum Scot. Hist.*, xx. 37. In America, Knox's *History* appears in at least seven colonial libraries, being listed as "frequentiorem in usum" in a Harvard catalogue of 1773. Buchanan's books have been found in fifteen: Harvard (1723, 1790), Prince, John Adams, Yale, Redwood, Providence, New York Society Library, Logan, Library Company of Philadelphia, Princeton, Witherspoon, Dr. Walker, Nathaniel Taylor, Byrd, and Charleston.

³⁸ Quick, *Synodicon . . . or Acts of Reformed Churches of France*, I. 12-13.

tary, administrative, legislative—and were sometimes called États Généraux”. In 1594 the Huguenots closely followed their ecclesiastical model in the organization of their political national assembly based upon provincial assemblies and colloquies.³⁹

They have begun to spread among the populace the idea that the King has his authority from the people, and that the subject is not obliged to obey the Prince when he commands anything which is not to be found in the New Testament. And they are on the highroad to reduce that province to the condition of a democratic state like Switzerland,

wrote the Venetian Suriano.⁴⁰

In 1573 two Huguenot exiles in Geneva, Hotman and Beza, talked over the situation after St. Bartholomew, and produced two books advocating more radical theories than Calvin's. The *Franco-Gallia* of Hotman, for eleven years teacher or professor of law in Geneva, “distinctly proves” (asserted Sidney), on historical and legal grounds, that in France “the people (that is the assembly of the estates) had entire power both of electing and deposing their kings”.⁴¹

“This great liberty of holding general assemblies for counsel is a part of the law of nations [*droit des gens*].” Kings who “suppress this holy and sacred liberty should no longer be considered kings but tyrants”.⁴² As precedents for controlling kings, Hotman repeatedly cites the ephors, and, like Calvin, Knox, Buchanan, and Beza, combines the ideas of representative responsibility and mutual covenant.⁴³ As a striking instance of the latter he cites, as did Beza and Mornay, the oath of the kings of Aragon.⁴⁴ “The king and his kingdom are necessarily bound up with each other, by a mutual respect and reciprocal obligation.” “As the tutor is ordained for the pupil”, “so the people is not created and made subject for the sake of the king, but rather the king is established for the sake of the people.” “For the people can well exist without a king; but one could not find or even imagine a king who could subsist without people.” Beza and Sidney, an admirer of Hotman,

³⁹ Records of synods in Quick. Assembly 1594, in Anquez, *Hist. Ass. Polit. Réf. de France*, pp. 62–66 (cf. pp. ix, x, 445); Corbière, *De l'Organisation Politique du Parti Protestant*; and Doumergue, *L'Origine de la Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme*, pp. 26–27.

⁴⁰ Whitehead, *Coligny*, p. 302.

⁴¹ *France-Gaule*, ch. x., p. 422ro, in [Goulart], *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles Neufiesme* (1578), II. 375–482. Molesworth's translation (1711) abbreviates and omits. Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii., sect. xxx.

⁴² Hotman, pp. 428vo–429.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 455vo, 427vo, 468vo.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 428vo; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats sur leurs Sujets* (in *Mémoires de France sous Charles IX.*, II. 483vo–522ro), p. 504; Stephen, *State Trials*, I. 108 ff.; Ezra Stiles, *Election Sermon* (ed. 1785), p. 90.

both draw like conclusions. The term *Maiesté* (which Gierke asserts that Althusius was the first to apply to the people) Hotman, a generation earlier, said "had its proper seat in the solemn assembly of the Estates", which he identified with the people.⁴⁵

The *Franco-Gallia* follows Calvin's *Institutes* in picturing the "easy lapse" from royalty to tyranny and the necessity of constitutional restraint through representatives of the people. Reference to Calvin was dangerous in France, therefore Plato is given as author of the sentiment. Plato however taught that tyranny springs from democracy.⁴⁶ Finally, to his other Calvinistic remedies against tyranny, the Huguenot lawyer adds the supreme visible authority of "la parole de Dieu".⁴⁷

The *Franco-Gallia* was widely read and Hotman's influence is directly traceable among Huguenots, Puritans, and liberals.⁴⁸

Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*, shown to Hotman and written simultaneously with the *Franco-Gallia* in 1573, thus develops Calvinistic premises and conclusions.⁴⁹

"There is no other will but God's alone which is perpetual and immutable, the principle of all justice." Princes are to be obeyed if they do not violate "the first table of the law of God", or "what one owes to his neighbor according to his vocation public or private". "Peoples . . . are more ancient than their magistrates, and consequently the people are not created for their magistrates, but on the contrary the magistrates for the people; as the tutor for the pupil."⁵⁰ Tyrants "are not legitimate kings", and therefore "should be opposed by all". Beza cannot "condemn all tyrannicides without exception". Though private individuals should seek remedy "through their lawful magistrates", "if the magistrate fails to do his duty, then each private individual should with all his power maintain the lawful status of his country, to which, after God, everyone owes his allegiance, against him who is not his magistrate since he wishes to usurp or has usurped domination in violation of law."⁵¹

Though he here goes beyond Calvin, Beza's characteristic appeal

⁴⁵ Hotman, pp. 451vo, 422ro, 424ro, 454; Gierke, *Althusius* (1902), p. 144.

⁴⁶ *Institutes*, IV. xx. 8, 31; Hotman, p. 384ro; Plato, *Republic*, VIII. 562 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht und Mornay's Vindiciae*, p. 38.

⁴⁷ Hotman, p. 482vo.

⁴⁸ Direct evidence in Beza's *Droit des Magistrats*; Milton's *Defensio Prima* (1651), p. 212; *Defensio Secunda*; Sidney, *Government*, ch. ii., sect. xxx; Thomas Hollis, *Memoirs*, II., appendix. Selden quotes Hotman 25 times in notes on Drayton, *Polyolbion*. Mirabeau owned the *Memoirs*, containing *France-Gaule*.

⁴⁹ Beza, *Du Droit des Magistrats*. Cartier, in *Bull. Soc. d'Hist. de Genève* (1900), II². 187-206, established from the archives Beza's authorship. Twelve editions in French or Latin (*De Jure Magistratum*) appeared by 1608.

⁵⁰ Beza, pp. 483-484, 487ro; cf. above, Hotman, p. 454ro.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 488vo-490ro.

is to the responsible authorities. He urges the duty of everyone to co-operate in securing "the common lawful assembly" and the enforcement ("by those whose function it is, *when God gives them power*") of "the compacts and edicts already lawfully granted". Beza here advocates precisely what the Huguenots to his knowledge (not improbably with his advice) had been attempting through both civil and church officers, namely, functional responsibility, and insistence on rights guaranteed to Huguenots by royal edicts.⁵²

"There exists a *mutuelle obligation* between king and magistrate": each is bound by oath to see that the other does not violate "certain conditions". If the king "manifestly violates the conditions on which he has been accepted", the magistrates are "freed from their oath, at least so far as to be justified in opposing the manifest oppression of the kingdom they have sworn to defend, according to their calling and particular function". "The nations, so far as justice and equity have prevailed, have neither created nor accepted their kings save on certain conditions; if these are manifestly violated, it follows that those who had the power to grant kings such authority have no less power to deprive them of it."⁵³ This power lies especially with the "Estates or others ordained to serve, as bridle to sovereigns"; "and those whose duty it is can and should take it in hand, if they do not wish to violate the oath they have taken to God and their country."⁵⁴

Beza significantly joins together "God and the Estates" as charged with the deposing of kings; maintains that "the Estates are above kings"; and denies that subjects "break faith when each within the limits of his vocation hinders the course of tyranny". He appeals to *droit de nature, generale et universelle equite*, and *droit de gens* as fundamental law.⁵⁵ Proceeding then from the sovereignty of God and the law of God, Beza, Calvin's colleague and successor, develops these theories: (1) the sovereignty of the people represented by their estates and elective magistrates; (2) the responsibility of these representatives to God and the people; (3) the mutual compact of king and representatives; (4) the subjection of both to fundamental law; (5) the consequent obligation of constitutional resistance to tyranny.

The influence of Beza was enormous. His writings were quoted or his counsel directly asked by Huguenots, Dutch, Germans, Scots,

⁵² Cf. Beza, pp. 491ro-493vo, 496, 513ro, 520vo-521ro, with *Hist. Ecclés.*, III. 298-311, 202 ff., and *Mémoires Charles IX.*, II. 139-140, 360-369.

⁵³ Beza, pp. 493vo, 496vo.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 496vo, 511ro.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 511ro-515vo.

English Puritans, and American colonists. The bitter criticisms of him and his "Genevian ideas" witness his authority. Whitgift complained to Beza of his attempts in England and Scotland, through seven different publications, to "obtrude the Geneva discipline upon all churches and . . . bring back . . . a Democracy".⁵⁶ On an average, one edition of his Latin Testament, teaching political Calvinism through its annotations, appeared annually, and some one of his works in English dress semi-annually, for a half-century. A fresh edition of Beza and Marot's Psalms, made more inspiring by their militant music, appeared every three weeks for four years.⁵⁷

Le Politique, Dialogue . . . de l'Autorité des Princes et de la Liberté des Peuples illustrates the familiar Calvinistic theories in many anonymous Huguenot pamphlets appearing after St. Bartholomew. "Every power is of God"; the "people's deputies", or "ephors", "established by God and nature" (who have received the oath of kings to obey the laws, and who have made and may unmake kings), are in duty bound to fulfill their function and prevent tyranny if the king violates his oath, the laws he has covenanted to keep, the edicts he has granted, or the "sovereign law of God and nature".⁵⁸

In 1579 another Huguenot, Mornay, author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*, starts with the Calvinistic reasoning: "Since the will of God alone is always just and that of man may very often be unjust, who doubts that it is necessary to obey God always, without exception . . . and kings, subject to exception, *i e.*, provided they do not command anything against the law of God."⁵⁹ The king may be punished by "the whole people to whom the king swears and obligates himself no less than the people does to the king". In proof of this he cites the example of Josiah (quoted by Calvin, Knox, and the Scots), and agrees with Calvin, Beza, the Genevan version's marginal note on II Kings, xi. 17, and the like interpretation adopted by the Scottish Assembly and Parliament as to the two alliances and two oaths—"the first with God . . . the second with the king".⁶⁰

⁵⁶ Strype, *Whitgift*, p. 405.

⁵⁷ *Brit. Mus. Cat.*; *Stat. Reg.*; Doucet, *Psautier Huguenot*, I. 561-563. In the colonies Beza's works appear in the libraries of at least four colleges, of three college presidents who exercised marked political influence, and of eleven other individuals or institutions. Stiles quotes Beza on Aragon oath. Cf. note 44.

⁵⁸ In *Mémoires Charles IX.*, III, especially pp. 810-950.

⁵⁹ *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*; French edition (1581), *De la Puissance Légitime du Prince, etc., par Estienne Junius Brutus*, p. 15. Mornay's authorship, shown by Lossen and Waddington, substantiated by Elkan (1905), is accepted by Lee, *French Renaissance in England* (1910), and Hauser, *Sources de l'Histoire de France* (1912). Grotius's positive assertion in 1645 of Mornay's authorship appears overlooked by recent writers (*Opera Theol.*, IV. 702a).

⁶⁰ Mornay, pp. 54, 73-75.

Like Beza and Hotman, Mornay ties up popular sovereignty with representation government.⁶¹ "When we speak of the whole people, we understand those who have in hand the authority in behalf of the people, that is the magistrates" . . . "if they do not restrict within his limits the king who breaks the law of God or who prevents the re-establishment thereof, they offend grievously the Lord with whom they have contracted alliance". Private citizens are not to obey commands against God; "further than this, they have no right, and cannot of their own private authority take arms if it does not appear very manifest that they have extraordinary vocation".⁶²

Like other Calvinists Mornay maintains that "there is a mutual obligation between the king and the people which, whether civil, simply natural, unexpressed, or declared in express terms, cannot be abolished in any way whatever nor infringed". "Brabant and other provinces of the Netherlands furnish examples of express agreements".⁶³ Mornay in his correspondence with William of Orange, the Estates, and others, repeatedly urged and justified the Dutch revolt on the basis of Philip's violation of reciprocal obligations and charter rights.⁶⁴ Written when the Dutch needed foreign aid, and published through William the Silent's secretary, Villiers, the *Vindiciae* defended such constitutional revolution.⁶⁵

Mornay, the "Huguenot pope", adviser of Henry of Navarre, friend and correspondent of the councillors of Elizabeth and William, active as publicist and politician, exercised a wide influence. The *Vindiciae*, in addition to the Latin text of 1579 and the French of 1581, was reprinted together with Beza's *Droit des Magistrats* six times by 1608; twice appeared in English translation, during the Civil War and the Revolution; and was quoted by Parliament preachers. At least fifteen others of Mornay's books were published in English by 1617. He visited England several times and was in frequent correspondence with England, Holland, and Geneva.⁶⁶

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 241.

⁶² *Ibid.*, pp. 62, 93.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 194, 192.

⁶⁴ In 1571, 1576, 1582; Mornay, *Mémoires et Correspondance*, VI. 430; II. 133 ff.; Elkan, *Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht*, pp. 103, 108, 119-120.

⁶⁵ Pp. 232-233; Grotius, *Epistolae*, II. 949, 951; Elkan, p. 63; Hauser, *Sources*, III. 265.

⁶⁶ Copies of his works were in the colonial libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Prince, President Langdon and Jabez Fitch of Portsmouth, Reverend Robert Ward, Princeton, Dartmouth. He was quoted with approval in the 1593 Petition to Elizabeth, by Thomas Hooker in Connecticut, by Milton in his *Second Defence of the People of England*, and in Thomas Hollis's annotations on Milton's

In the Netherlands, revolt was justified upon Calvinistic theories by William the Silent and his Genevan-bred advisers. William maintained that he was "one of the chief members of the Estates", and "the Estates have been instituted to put a check upon the tyranny of the prince". "The king is only inaugurated after having sworn to observe the law." "He violated the law . . . the prince of Orange is therefore freed of his oaths." "Lawfully called as the vindicator of liberty and the savior of an oppressed people by a divine and human call, he is bound thereto by the function which he exercises. Let all therefore who do not oppose themselves to the will of God comprehend that each according to the measure of his duty in virtue of the obedience due to God, country, laws, and magistrates must second the efforts of the Prince of Orange."⁶⁷

Marnix St. Aldegonde, the Genevan-bred theologian and diplomat, and right-hand man of William, answered his request for advice thus: "Men have taken arms by the advice and authority of the Estates General of the country, which have a lawful vocation from God against an oppressor of the country and a sworn and irreconcilable enemy of all servants of God." "If they reject a prince who is offered them for their defense against tyranny, they are ungrateful toward God, rebellious against His will and merit coming under the yoke."⁶⁸

Nine months after the receipt of this reply William, in his justification of the revolt addressed to the Estates General, strikingly illustrated the Calvinistic teachings of covenant, ephors, and representative responsibility. The ruler "by his oath purposes that in case of contravention we should not be longer bound to him". "Between all lords and vassals there is a mutual obligation. . . . Among other rights we have this privilege of serving our dukes as the ephors served their kings in Sparta, that is, to keep the royalty firm in the hand of a good prince and to bring to reason him who contravenes his oath." "The assembly of the estates, a bridle and bar to tyranny, hated by tyrants, and loved by true princes, is the

Eikonoklastes. John Adams, in his *Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States* (*Works*, VI. 4), names the *Vindicie*, with the writings of Ponet, Harrington, Milton, Sidney, and Locke, as "valuable productions", "perhaps more frequently read abroad than at home", of which "Americans should make collections". Peter Gartz classed him and Althusius as the most dangerous advocates of the sovereignty of the people. Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 7, quoting Peter Gartz, *Puritanischer Glaubens- und Regiments Spiegel* (Leipzig, 1650), for trace of which the writer would be grateful.

⁶⁷ William to Elizabeth, 1572. British Museum, Cottonian Manuscripts, Galba, C. II. and III., in Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Les Huguenots et les Gueux*, III. 177-182.

⁶⁸ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives . . . d'Orange-Nassau*, VII. 277-285.

sole foundation of a state."⁶⁹ Failure to constrain the ruler is perjury.

Seven months later the Estates General of the Netherlands, like the Parliament of Scotland, put Calvinistic theory into practice, embodying its teaching of constitutional resistance in a document having the force of public law in the Netherlands, the Dutch Declaration of Independence, 1581. "A prince is constituted by God to be ruler of a people, to defend them from oppression." "God did not create the people slaves to their prince, to obey his commands, whether right or wrong, but rather the prince for the sake of the subjects." "And when he . . . on the contrary, oppresses them, seeking opportunities to infringe their ancient customs and privileges . . . then he is no longer a prince, but a tyrant." "When this is done deliberately, unauthorized by the states, they may not only disallow his authority, but legally proceed to the choice of another prince for their defence. . . . This is what the law of nature dictates for the defense of liberty . . . more justifiable in our land . . . for most of the Provinces receive their prince upon certain conditions, which he swears to maintain; which, if the prince violates, he is no longer sovereign."⁷⁰

The Declaration was justified the following year by Mornay, who maintained that the reciprocal obligation between prince and subject rested on divine as well as on natural right, since nature is only God's handiwork. The Estates of the Netherlands therefore, in accordance with their natural and civil rights, deposed the King of Spain rightly, for nothing is more natural or lawful than the annulling of a contract which one of the two parties has broken. Mornay also, like William, maintains the Calvinistic teaching of obedience to God rather than man.⁷¹

In Germany, five representative Calvinists, three of whom had come into personal relations with Geneva, maintained the obligation of the representative magistrate to resist the tyrant. Zanchius, exile from Italy, and professor at Strassburg and Heidelberg; maintained, on the basis of the frequently quoted Scriptural and classical passages and examples, that "resistance to the superior magistrate commanding evil is not resistance to a power ordained by God". "We ought to obey God rather than man." "If for the sake of religion you oppose yourself to the King, you oppose yourself not

⁶⁹ *Apologie de Guillaume de Nassau* (ed. Lacroix), pp. 85, 101, 102 ff., 118; English translation, *Phoenix*, I. 449-538.

⁷⁰ Dutch Declaration of Independence, translation in *Somers Tracts*, I. 323 ff.

⁷¹ Mornay, *Mém. et Corr.*, II. 133 ff.; summarized in Elkan, p. 120.

to power but to tyranny, and unless you so oppose yourself you act contrary to divine and human law."⁷²

Zanchius had lived in Geneva, worked vigorously for the introduction of Calvinistic church discipline into the Palatinate, served as an elder at Heidelberg, and was asked by Calvin to come to Geneva. His books were widely owned and read.⁷³

Another cosmopolitan, the Italian exile, Peter Martyr, twice invited to Geneva by Calvin, spread the latter's political theories through twenty years' residence in Strassburg, Oxford, and Zürich, and through his widely read *Loci Communes* and commentaries. Martyr taught that the private man may not revolt; but that "the lesser powers" like the "ephors and Roman tribunes" or "Imperial Electors" who "elect the superior powers and govern the Republic with fixed laws", may use force to compel a prince "to fulfill conditions and compacts (*pacta*) to which he has taken oath". Unlike Melancthon and like a true Calvinist, he teaches active and not passive resistance.⁷⁴

The famous German publicist, Althusius, professor of law at Herborn, and a courageous magistrate at Emden for thirty-six years, maintained in his *Politica Methodice Digesta* (1603) the Calvinistic teaching of the duties of the ephors and estates ordained by God. Althusius had apparently lived at Geneva; he certainly acknowledged his indebtedness to Gothofredus, a Genevan professor of law; exercised the function of a Calvinistic elder in the church at Emden; and "in all his works betrays a strong Calvinistic spirit". He taught that if the sovereign breaks the contract between him and the people he loses his divine authority and the people exercise the divine will in deposing him. Gierke notes in Althusius, in common with other Calvinists, these characteristic traits of political thought: use of the Scripture for determining the outward form of Church and State; predominance of Old Testament examples; emphasis of the decalogue in politics; admiration for Jewish law and form of state; rejection of canon law; presbyterian and synodal church organization; and co-operation of Church and State. "Finally, in

⁷² *Opera Theologica*, IV. 799-801.

⁷³ In the Bodleian, given by Evelyn; library of William Ames; colonial libraries of at least seven New England ministers and four colleges; quoted in the Petition to Elizabeth, 1593, Richard Hooker, Henry Jacobs, Bayly's *Practice of Piety*, Puritan and Anglican preachers, Thomas Hooker of Connecticut.

⁷⁴ "Nec tantum parendum non est sed reclamandum et adversandum pro viribus". *Loci Communes* (ed. 1576), 4th Div., Locus XX., sects. 11-13, pp. 1086-1087. Cf. "P. Melancthon upon the xiii chapter of . . . Romanes"; see also below, note 81. Martyr's works were in libraries of Brewster, Harvard, Goddard, Harvard College, Rowland Cotton, Nathaniel Rogers, Joseph Sewall, and Thomas Prince. Quoted by Pareus on this passage, Thomas Hooker, and John Allin.

the formation of the constitution of the state in all of these Calvinistic political writers, there are certain common positive traits which hark back to the propositions of Calvin, and particularly to his teaching of the ephors and their rights and duties to act against unrighteous rulers." Gierke then cites the famous section from the last chapter of Calvin's *Institutes* quoted at the beginning of this article.⁷⁵

This conception of a power conferred indirectly by God and directly by the people was expressed ten years later by a Heidelberg professor, "Pareus, a German divine, but fully cast into the Genevan mould".⁷⁶

"The proper and first cause of the magistrate is God himself; but men are the proximate causes."⁷⁷ "Subjects not private citizens, but appointed as inferior magistrates, may justly, even by arms, defend the commonwealth and church or religion against a superior magistrate", under certain conditions, "because even the higher magistrate is subject to divine laws and his commonwealth". "The law of God not only prohibits tyranny, but also commands that it be legitimately checked." Pareus's teaching of the right of deposition of kings is thus translated by Milton in his *Tenure of Kings*: "They whose part is to set up magistrates, may restrain them also from outrageous deeds, or pull them down; but all magistrates are set up either by parliament or by electors, or by other magistrates; they therefore, who exalted them may lawfully degrade and punish them."⁷⁸

The almost forgotten Pareus is typical of scores of Calvinistic writers, either Genevan-bred or directly influenced by men who had been in Geneva, whose books—listed by hundreds in American colonial libraries, and quoted by publicists of two continents and three centuries—through their combined and continued influence permanently affected the political thought and action of England and America. Pupil and colleague of four famous Heidelberg Calvinists who had been in Geneva, Pareus published a defense of Calvin, and quotes him eight times in his comments on the thirteenth chapter of Romans, from which the above citations are taken.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Gierke, *Johannes Althusius, und die Entwicklung der Naturrechtlichen Staatstheorien* (1902), pp. 56-58, 29-30, 31, 34, 69, quotations from Althusius, *Politica*.

⁷⁶ South, *Sermons*, I. 471.

⁷⁷ Pareus, *Comm. Rom.* (1617), p. 1059. Cf. Milton, *Tenure*, and Mornay, p. 96.

⁷⁸ Pp. 1063-1066; Milton, sect. 60. Oxford in 1622, in the case of Knight, of Pembroke College, condemned the whole doctrine of Pareus respecting the authority of popular officers, and King James ordered the book burnt. Heylin, *Stumbling-Block*, preface; South, *Sermons*, I. 471.

⁷⁹ His works (some published in Geneva) were in the Bodleian (1605), the

A fourth German widely read, Alstedius of Nassau, member of the Synod of Dort, maintained the characteristic theories of Calvinists: the subjection of all to the *lex naturae* and to the Bible; obedience to laws rather than to kings; the right of the entire body of subjects to resist tyrants upon violation of oath; the function of "ephors" or estates of the realm to appoint, judge, and depose the king and exercise *summa auctoritas* especially in extraordinary taxes.⁸⁰

Resistance to tyrants did not originate with Calvinists, nor did the idea remain peculiar to them. It had been proclaimed by scriptural, classical, and medieval writers; it was advocated by Lutheran and Catholic. The Calvinist provided a method of resistance that was at once definite, legal, and practicable; combined it with other theories and the sound experiences of self-governing churches and civil communities; and finally worked it out into something of world significance—responsible, representative, constitutional government. Where Aquinas taught passive resistance, Zanchius, quoting Aquinas, "took the next step" and urged active resistance.⁸¹ In case of "irreligious and iniquitous commands", said Beza, "it is not enough not to do evil, but we must acquit ourselves of that which we owe God and our neighbor".⁸² Lutherans who proclaimed and practised active resistance at Magdeburg met criticism at Wittenberg; they found sympathy at Geneva, where Calvin sided with them against Melancthon, and Beza ascribed his anonymous revolutionary treatise to "those of Magdeburg".⁸³

That the Jesuits and the Catholic "Monarchomachi" of the sixteenth century took a leaf from the Calvinistic book of political theory is itself a witness to the ever-widening political influence of Calvinists. These Catholic writers however retained the canon law;

libraries of William Ames and Cartmel Church, Lancashire (1629), Rothwell's *Catalogue of Approved Divinity Books* (1657), London's *Catalogue of Most Vendible Books* (1658); were quoted by Knight at Oxford, Hill and Gibson in Civil War sermons before Parliament, Milton, and Thomas Hall in *Pulpit Guarded* (1651), and controverted by the Royalists Heylin and South. In America his books were in at least seventeen colonial libraries—those of Brewster, Harvard, Lee, Prince, Samuel Phillips, Rowland Cotton, John Adams, President Langdon of Harvard and Nathaniel Rogers, Harvard College (repurchased 1764 after fire), Yale, Princeton, Dartmouth, Kirtland, founder of Hamilton, Logan, Byrd, Edenton, and John Rose. Thomas Hooker quoted him in his *Survey*, and John Wise in his widely read and frequently reprinted *Churches' Quarrel*.

⁸⁰ *Encyclopaedia*, lib. XXIII. viii, 9, 1419, 1420, 1474, 1493. Alstedius appears in at least nine colonial libraries.

⁸¹ Quoting Aquinas, "a part. quest. 96. art. 4 *nullo modo observare*"; Zanchius teaches "*sed contra potius resistere*", *Opera*, I. 196-197. Cf. above, note 74, Peter Martyr.

⁸² *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 485.

⁸³ Bonnet, *Calvin's Letters*, II. 270 ff.; Beza, title-page of *Droit des Magistrats*.

minimized the dignity and power of the State; and in neither Church nor State developed government and discipline by representative bodies of laymen, as did the Calvinists. The Calvinist rejected the canon law; insisted that civil magistrates were "ordained by the divine law of God" and were "not a human ordinance"; laid less emphasis upon tyrannicide and more upon representative government and nationality.⁸⁴ More significant still, he definitely established constitutional government. His ideas of "vocation", representative responsibility, compact, and fundamental written law were embodied in a series of documents which formed the working basis of successful constitutional governments in a series of Puritan states—usually with a significant federal element—Geneva, the United Netherlands, the English Commonwealth, Scotland under the Solemn League and Covenant, the New England Confederation and its constituent Puritan commonwealths, and, in practice if not in legal theory, certain New England self-governing communities.⁸⁵

The Calvinistic system of elementary and university education—its belief that "conscience requires knowledge"; its pregnant emphasis upon reason, completer sources, original languages, and serviceableness to the commonwealth; its tendency to a scientific spirit and more fearless investigation and drawing of conclusions—gave essential intellectual and moral training in more than a score of European Calvinistic universities and seven American colleges founded by Calvinists, 1636-1783. "The habit of my thinking", said the Genevan-born and educated Albert Gallatin, "has been to push discoveries to their utmost consequences without fear".⁸⁶

The Church through its lay government and severe discipline showed magistrate and common man what it was to exercise representative responsibility in making and enforcing law regardless of rank, and in accordance with a written fundamental law, "the open Word of God", and some form of written church constitution. Then Beza, the Huguenot *États Généraux*, Scottish Covenanters, William of Orange, Cartwright, Hooker, Cotton, and Winthrop

⁸⁴ Grotius, *Opera Theologica*, IV. 487a, 702a; Pierre Moulin, *Buckler of the Faith* (second ed., Eng. trans., 1623), pp. 536-556; and his *Anti-Coton* (Eng. trans., 1611), pp. 1-5, 15, 57, 59; Gierke, *Althusius*, p. 58; Labitte, *Prédicateurs de la Ligue*, pp. 17, 96, 292.

⁸⁵ See Genevan *Ordonnances Ecclésiastiques* and civil code; Dutch Declaration of Independence; Union of Utrecht; Solemn League and Covenant; Instrument of Government; Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; Massachusetts Body of Liberties; Articles of New England Confederation; and at least a dozen New England church, town, or colony covenants, 1636-1641.

⁸⁶ "Calvinists and Education", by writer, in Monroe, *Cyclopaedia of Education*, I.; Adams, *Gallatin*, p. 678.

logically advocated a similar form of government in the State, and wherever possible established it.

Their sound principles of six days' labor weekly of every man at his "calling", the right to take interest, the obligation to produce, "lay something by", and give away, enabled Calvinists to found economically self-sufficient states, successful enough to attract desirable population, productive and progressive enough to maintain liberal expenditures for education, religion, social betterment, and constitutional government.

Their political theories could never have found such effective utterance and fulfilment had there not been behind all theory the dynamics of Calvinism—the trained conscience, brain, and will of sturdy, clear-minded, businesslike men of affairs, rulers of cities and founders of states, devoted each to his "vocation" to which every man had been called by the ceaseless will of "The Eternal" who "held the helm of the universe". "They had to the highest degree the force that made them strong: character. They knew whither they were going, what they wished and what they could do."⁸⁷ They possessed what for lack of a simpler term might be called the co-operative social energy of clear-eyed individualists. The dynamics of Calvinism are revealed in Calvin's "unterrified we shall go on in our calling" . . . "ad ultimum usque spiritum"; in the pride in being "ane watchman" and "a profitable member within the Commonwealth" of Knox, "who never feared the face of man"; in Andrew Melville's "we dar and will"; Beza's exhortation to "succor our brethren according to our power and vocation"; Mornay's dictum, "it is stupid to feel in one's self the power to do something well and not seek out the means of doing it"; and Aldegonde's motto "repos d'ailleurs".

With real political insight, the Calvinist grasped the possibilities involved in the combination of the theories of: (1) "vocation", (2) representative "responsibility to God and the people", (3) fundamental and written law of God and man, to which (4) king, representatives, and people were bound by mutual compact. With characteristic temper he "went forward", not resting until he had demonstrated the practicability of these ideas and established both constitutional resistance and constitutional government. Once embodied in edict, statute, or charter, in Geneva, France, Holland, Scotland, England, and America, these theories were appealed to with relentless Calvinistic logic as public and fundamental law. The ad-

⁸⁷ Hauser, "De l'Humanisme et de la Réforme en France, 1512-1552", *Revue Historique*, LXIV. 258-297 (1897).

ditional facts that such laws "aggrie with the law of God" and that they were rewarded with the prosperity promised by God were logically pointed out, by believers in universal providence and the reign of law, as evidence of the soundness of their principles and as "public proof of the Agency of God". The Calvinist based his political theories upon his faith in an almighty providence and found his actual institutions confirming his faith.⁸⁸

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⁸⁸ Knox, *Works*, II. 449; Beza, *Droit des Magistrats*, p. 586 ff.; *Vindiciae*, p. 239; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, VII. 282-285; Jurieu, "Plaintes Protestantes" (1685), in *Bull. Soc. Hist. Prot. Française*, September, 1913; *Catalogue of Books*, College of New Jersey (1760), IV.

SLAVERY AND CONVERSION IN THE AMERICAN COLONIES¹

FROM the time of Christian Rome to a period within the memory of many now living, slavery has flourished in Christian lands and nowhere, in modern times, to such an extent as in our own country. Even before the Revolution probably a million negroes had lived as slaves within the boundaries of the American colonies. But, in spite of the fact that religious motives were so prominent in the settlement of these colonies, and religion was a subject which occupied the thought and effort of private individuals, denominations, missionary societies, and even legislative bodies to an extraordinary degree, most of the slaves lived and died strangers to Christianity, and with religious and moral ideals but little better than those developed under the pagan and superstitious beliefs prevalent in their native land. With comparatively few exceptions the conversion of negro slaves was not seriously undertaken by their masters. On the contrary, many of them strenuously and persistently opposed the Church of England and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the agencies most active in promoting conversion. The conflict between these forces forms an interesting chapter in the history of slavery and Christianity in the American colonies. The following study considers for the most part one aspect only of this struggle, *viz.*, the more direct agencies and forces which promoted or hindered the conversion of the negro slave, and the progress made up to the opening of the American Revolution.

One of the arguments offered in defense of the modern slave-trade, was that which justified the enslavement of the negro on the ground that he was an infidel. In the ancient world all men were considered equally capable of becoming slaves; but with the conversion of the people of northern Europe to Christianity the custom of enslaving prisoners of war gradually ceased as between Christian nations, though between Christians and Mohammedans the practice continued.² Thus at the time when America was first colonized, the opinion was widely held that the inhabitants of an infidel nation could be rightfully made slaves by those of a Christian nation.

¹ This study is an elaboration of certain portions of a paper read by the author at the meeting of the American Historical Association at Charleston, S. C., December, 1913.

² Hurd, *Law of Freedom and Bondage*, I. 16c-161.

Some believed that heathens and barbarians were placed by the circumstance of their infidelity without the pale of spiritual and civil rights and that their souls were doomed to eternal perdition.³ Others, more charitable, brought forward another argument, perhaps to quiet their consciences and enable them to share in the profits of the slave-trade. They declared that the enslavement of the negro was an act of mercy, because only through slavery could large numbers be brought to Christ. Some of the papal bulls of the fifteenth century granted to Catholic princes the privilege of making war on the Saracens and other infidels, for this reason;⁴ and European monarchs sometimes allowed companies of discoverers, commercial adventurers, etc., the right to trade in slaves, partly because conversion might thereby be promoted.⁵

This religious sanction for slavery raised many troublesome questions. It appears that some believed that the conversion of a negro to Christianity entitled him to freedom, on the ground that one Christian should not hold another as a slave; others asserted that after conversion he should at least have certain religious privileges that were conferred on other persons because they were Christians or members of a Christian state.⁶ The question giving most trouble was that which concerned the effect of conversion or baptism. If proof of heathenism legalized the enslavement of a negro, would his subsequent conversion to Christianity be a reason for enfranchisement? The practice of certain European nations favored enslavement even after conversion. Thus Mohammedan slaves in Spain and Portugal were not often freed when Christianized.⁷ The French *Code Noir* of 1685 obliged every planter to have his negroes baptized and properly instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity.⁸ In Mohammedan states conversion of a slave from a different faith to Islam was not usually a legal cause for enfranchisement.⁹ But in England and her colonies many believed that such conversion or baptism should be a cause for manumission. The lawfulness of the enslavement of negroes in England came be-

³ 7 Coke 17, Calvin's case (*Reports*, ed. 1826, IV. 29); Prescott, *Ferdinand and Isabella* (ed. Kirk, 1872), II. 468.

⁴ Cf. bull of Nicholas V., January 8, 1455, referring to conquests in Guinea, and "Guineans and other negroes". The bull is printed in Jordão, *Bullarium Patronatus Portugalliae Regum in Ecclesiis Africae, Asiae atque Oceaniae*, etc., I. 31-34.

⁵ Hurd, I. 163; Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of South Carolina and Georgia* (London, 1779), in Carroll, *Historical Collections of South Carolina*, I. 353.

⁶ Chamberline v. Harvey (1697), in 5 *Modern Reports* 190; Prescott, p. 468.

⁷ Hurd, I. 166-167, note 3, and authorities cited.

⁸ Isambert, Decrusy, and Taillandier, *Recueil Général des Anciennes Lois Françaises* (Paris, 1829), XIX. 495 (1672-1686).

⁹ Hurd, I. 167. But see Chamberline v. Harvey for contrary opinion.

fore the courts on several occasions but the cases are in conflict. A few decisions seem to have been based on the principle that infidel negroes could be held as slaves, but when baptized and domiciled as inhabitants they should be enfranchised.¹⁰ At any rate there arose in the minds of many American colonists the notion that under English law a baptized slave might claim freedom. Conscientious masters thus found themselves in a dilemma: to deny conversion and baptism would retard Christianization; to favor it might cause them the loss of their property. To avoid this dilemma, some of the colonial assemblies altered the religious sanction for slavery and based its validity frankly upon race. While positively denying that conversion or baptism was a sufficient reason for enfranchisement and insisting that all slaves must serve for life, they at the same time called upon masters to use their efforts to convert slaves to the Christian religion.

Thus between 1664 and 1705 at least six of the colonies passed acts affirming this principle. Maryland (1664) declared that all slaves must serve for life in order to prevent damage which masters might sustain if their slaves pretended to be Christians and so pleaded the law of England.¹¹ Again in 1671, because some had feared to import, purchase, convert, or baptize negroes or slaves, owing to a belief based on an "ungrounded apprehension that by becoming Christians they and the Issues of their bodies are actually manumitted and made free and discharged from their Servitude and bondage", it was declared that the conversion or baptism of negroes or other slaves before or after their importation should not be a cause for manumission.¹² A Virginia act of 1667 declared that slaves by birth were not freed when baptized. The preamble states that it was passed because doubt had arisen in the minds of owners of slaves on this point, and "that diverse masters, freed from this doubt, may more carefully endeavour the propagation of christianity by permitting children, though slaves, or those of greater growth if capable to be admitted to that sacrament".¹³ Virginia now proceeded with the notion that a negro Christianized before importation could not be enslaved for life. By the act of 1670 only those imported by shipping and not already Christians were to

¹⁰ *Butts v. Penny* (1677), 2 Levinz 201, in *English Reports*, LXXXIII, 513; *Gelly v. Cleve* (1694), 1 Lord Raymond 147, *ibid.*, XCI, 994; *Chamberline v. Harvey*, p. 191. Judgment was for defendant in this case, but counsel for plaintiff argued that negroes baptized "in a christian nation, as this is, should be an immediate enfranchisement to them", etc.

¹¹ *Archives of Maryland*, I, 526, 533.

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 272. This act was still in force in 1765. Bacon, *Laws of Maryland*, chs. XXIII.-XXIV. of the act of 1715.

¹³ Hening, *Statutes of Virginia* (New York ed.), II, 260.

be slaves for life.¹⁴ This act was repealed in 1682 because it allowed a Christian slave to be sold "for noe longer time then the English or other christians are to serve", and was thus a great discouragement to bringing in slaves.¹⁵ This act with that of 1705¹⁶ made all imported servants slaves, excepting those who were Christians in their native country or free in some Christian country before their importation, thus practically confining slavery to the negro races. North Carolina, South Carolina, New York, and New Jersey all affirmed the principle by denying that freedom resulted from baptism.¹⁷ Those colonies which do not appear to have taken action were Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, and all the New England colonies.¹⁸ It is clear, however, that the assemblies in colonies where slaves were most numerous were anxious to remove the doubt respecting the effect of baptism, and at the same time encourage the conversion of slaves.

The forces thus far mentioned promoted to a greater or less degree the conversion of imported negroes, even though they were compelled to live in a state of bondage. For the removal of large numbers from an environment in which paganism and superstition were the ruling forces, even though accomplished through slave-traders, to one in which Christianity prevailed, made probable the conversion of a greater number of negroes than would otherwise have been possible. The removal by legislative action of doubt as to the effect of baptism, and the favorable attitude shown towards conversion by the assemblies, doubtless encouraged some masters to withdraw opposition to conversion. However, as the matter was still uncertain, even after 1704, the opinion of Yorke and Talbot, attorney and solicitor general respectively, was asked. They replied (1729) that baptism did not alter the status of the slave.¹⁹

We may now consider other influential agencies and forces

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 491.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, III. 447. Excepting "Turks and Moors in Amity with her majesty".
¹⁷ Fundamental Constitutions, 1669-1670, in *North Carolina Colonial Records*, I. 204; and revision of 1698, *ibid.*, II. 857; McCord, *Statutes of South Carolina*, VII. 343 (act of 1690), and pp. 364-365 (act of 1712); *Colonial Laws of New York*, I. 597-598 (1706). The New Jersey act was passed in 1704, but was disallowed. Trott, *Laws of the British Plantations in America*, p. 237; *Acts of Privy Council, Colonial Series*, 1680-1720, p. 848.

¹⁸ Such an act was requested in Massachusetts in a memorial to the general court from "Many Ministers of the Gospel", May 30, 1694. *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*, VII. 537. See note 67.

¹⁹ The opinion is printed in Hurd, I. 185-186, note 3. It referred, however, to slaves brought into Great Britain from the colonies. On the tendency to accept English laws as applicable to the colonies, see Hildreth, *History of the United States* (New York, 1863), II. 426. Dean Berkeley, in his sermon before the S. P. G., 1731, said that this opinion was printed in Rhode Island, "and dispersed throughout the plantations". See Updike, *History of the Episcopal Church in Narragansett, Rhode Island* (1847), p. 177.

which promoted the conversion of slaves, first, with respect to English official bodies. As early as December 1, 1660, instructions were given by the king to the Council for Foreign Plantations, one of which was,

And you are to consider how such of the Natives or such as are purchased by you from other parts to be servants or slaves may be best invited to the Christian Faith, and be made capable of being baptized thereunto, it being to the honor of our Crowne and of the Protestant Religion that all persons in any of our Dominions should be taught the knowledge of God, and be made acquainted with the misteries of Salvation.²⁰

Instructions to governors of the colonies frequently contained a clause urging them to use their efforts to have slaves Christianized. For example, Governor Dongan of New York was instructed on this point (1686): "You are alsoe with the assistance of Our Council to find out the best means to facilitate and encourage the Conversion of Negros and Indians to the Christian Religion." Similar instructions were given to later governors of New York and other colonies. Culpeper, governor of Virginia, was enjoined in his instructions (1682) to inquire what would be the best means of facilitating the conversion of slaves, but was warned not to throw in jeopardy individual property in the negro or to render less stable the safety of the colony.²¹ Some of the governors urged the assemblies to pass bills for this purpose,²² and used their efforts to promote conversion in other ways. Thus a communication by the governor to the council of Maryland, March 18, 1698/9, called attention to his instructions relating to the conversion of negroes and Indians, and because of information that several hindered and obstructed their negroes from attending church, though baptized, advised that a law should be recommended to the assembly to remedy the evil.²³ The replies of the governors to queries of the Lords of Trade show that some of them reported progress in this work.²⁴ Through such efforts the assemblies were influenced to pass bills

²⁰ *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, III. 36. See also *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1574-1660, pp. 492-493.

²¹ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, III. 374, also p. 547 (1688); for Virginia, Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, II. 97; for Maryland, *Archives of Maryland*, 1698-1731, XXV. 57; for North Carolina (1754), *N. C. Col. Rec.*, V. 1138.

²² *E. g.*, Governor Bellomont (1699), *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, IV. 510-511.

²³ *Arch. of Md.*, XXV. 57. See also *Abstract of the Proceedings of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, 1712-1713, letter of Elias Neau, catechist to the S. P. G.; 1712, reporting that Governor Hunter of New York urged masters to give religious instruction to their slaves.

²⁴ *Colonial Records of Connecticut*, 1672-1689, pp. 293, 298; *Cal. St. P., Cal.*, 1681-1685, p. 497 (Va., 1683); and *Arch. of Md.*, V. 267 (1678).

furthering the conversion of negroes, as already pointed out. Some of them also passed acts to prevent masters from working their slaves on Sunday²⁵ and to prevent them from hindering their slaves attending church on Sunday.²⁶

More important than these agencies of the state, were the religious denominations and forces which promoted conversion. The Church of England stands first in importance, working through unofficial and official agencies. Morgan Godwyn, at one time a rector in Virginia, published a book in 1680 called *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*. It is a severe criticism of the masters of slaves in the plantations; and in the dedication to the Archbishop of Canterbury the author implores relief "for those Myriads of hungry and distressed Souls abroad . . . our Peoples Slaves and Vassals, but from whom also the Bread of Life is most sacrilegiously detained".²⁷ From 1679 the Bishop of London exercised considerable jurisdiction over the Church of England in the colonies, and from this date was active in its interest.²⁸ He appointed, in 1689, Rev. James Blair as commissary for Virginia, and, in 1696, Rev. Thomas Bray for Maryland.²⁹ The former urged upon a committee of the House of Burgesses, who had in hand a revision of the laws, a proposition "for the encouragement of the Christian Education of our Negro and Indian Children".³⁰ The latter, on his return to England in 1700, succeeded in procuring a charter for the S. P. G. (1701) destined to be the most important single agency in furthering the conversion of the negro.³¹ He had previously prepared a plan of a society for carrying on work "Amongst that Poorer sort of people, as also amongst the Blacks and Native Indians".³² The Bishop of London stimulated interest in the conversion of negroes in 1724 through his queries to the clergy of several colonies,³³ and again in 1727 through three published letters:³⁴ one

²⁵ *E. g.*, South Carolina, 1712 and 1740; Trott, *Laws*, p. 71; and McCord, *Stat. of S. C.*, VII. 404; *St. Rec. of N. C.*, XXIII. 3-4 (1715). See note 86.

²⁶ Henning, *Stat. of Va.* (Richmond ed.), IV. 129; same act, 1748, *ibid.*, VI. 108. Compare also the New Jersey act, 1751, Allinson, *Acts of the General Assembly of New Jersey, 1702-1776*, pp. 191-192. See note 111.

²⁷ *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*, etc. (London, 1680).

²⁸ *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, VII. 362-363.

²⁹ Perry, *History of the American Episcopal Church*, I. 138.

³⁰ Perry, *Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church* (Va.), p. 112.

³¹ *Classified Digest of Records of the S. P. G.* (fifth ed.), p. 5.

³² Kemp, *The Support of Schools in Colonial New York by the S. P. G.*, pp. 14-15.

³³ The queries, with answers, for Virginia and Maryland, are printed by Perry, in *Hist. Coll. rel. to the Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), pp. 261-318; (Md.), pp. 190-232. See also for Maryland, 1731, pp. 303-307. See note 119.

³⁴ These are printed by Humphreys, *An Historical Account of the S. P. G.*, etc. (London, 1730), pp. 250-275; the first two are in Dalcho, *An Historical Account of the Protestant Episcopal Church in South Carolina*, pp. 104-114.

to masters and mistresses of slaves; another to the missionaries commanding them to distribute copies of this letter and use their efforts to promote conversion; and a third to "Serious Christians", asking for money to promote the work of conversion among the slaves.

An agency of still greater importance was the missionary society of the Church of England founded in 1701, "The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts".³⁵ From 1702 to 1785 it sent to the American colonies numerous missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters with instructions to promote the conversion of negro slaves.³⁶ Indeed the catechists were appointed for this express purpose.³⁷ Besides, the society distributed sermons, catechisms, and other literature, to aid the work,³⁸ and established several schools especially for religious instruction of negroes.³⁹ Appeals were made by the society for funds to be used for Christianizing the negro, and by 1741 they amounted to about £2500.⁴⁰ The society also prepared a bill, to be offered to Parliament, to oblige masters to cause children of slaves to be baptized.⁴¹ The annual sermons preached before the S. P. G. by noted clergymen of the Church of England were printed, together with abstracts of the proceedings of the society; and both were effective agencies in furthering interest in the conversion of negro slaves.⁴²

Other agencies include a society closely allied to the S. P. G., founded in 1723 by Dr. Bray, and called "Associates of Dr. Bray", whose authority was ratified by a decree in Chancery, June 24, 1730.⁴³ One of its objects was to give religious instruction to negroes and supply missionaries with books to this end. A school for negroes was opened in Philadelphia in 1758, and in 1760 similar schools were established in New York, Newport, Rhode Island, and Williamsburg, Virginia, all of which were in operation up to 1775.⁴⁴ Two other societies aided to some extent the conversion

³⁵ *Classified Digest*, pp. 925-928, for charter.

³⁶ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1712-1713, p. 43. See also for text of instructions to missionaries and schoolmasters, with list of the former, *Classified Digest*, pp. 837-840, 844-845.

³⁷ Humphreys, p. 252.

³⁸ *Classified Digest*, p. 837.

³⁹ For the school at New York see note 134; for that in Charleston, S. C., see Dalcho, pp. 156-157, 164.

⁴⁰ Humphreys, pp. 250-251. "Letter of Bishop of London to Serious Christians", etc., *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1740-1741, p. 81.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 1713-1714, pp. 60-62.

⁴² A complete set of the sermons with abstracts, with one exception, is in the E. E. Ayer collection, Newberry Library, Chicago.

⁴³ For a short account of the work of this society, see Kemp, pp. 14-15, 254-261.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 255-256, 260, note. Benjamin Franklin was an active member of the Associates, and was chairman at their meeting in 1760. See *Writings of Franklin* (ed. Smyth), IV. 23.

of slaves. First, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It helped to maintain missionaries to the Salzburgers in Georgia (1738-1776), who made great efforts for the conversion of slaves.⁴⁵ The Society for Promoting Christian Learning sent books, catechisms, etc. (1755-1761) to Samuel Davies of Virginia, for distribution among negroes.⁴⁶

We may now consider more in detail the attitude and work of the principal religious denominations as organized bodies. It is obvious that many troublesome questions would arise if Christian slaves were to be granted the same religious privileges as Christian free persons. The religious denominations were confronted with such problems as the following: the right of a church member to hold a slave; the endowment of churches with slaves; active efforts towards their conversion; formal religious instruction; church attendance; attitude towards baptism; admission as communicants in full standing; conduct after admission; grants of other privileges incident to church membership; and the relative responsibility of clergy and masters with respect to many of these particulars. The attitude of the principal religious denominations shows a considerable variety of beliefs and practices on such questions.

The Church of England did not raise the question of the right of its members to hold slaves, denied that there was any inconsistency between Christianity and slavery, and made no effort to emancipate negroes because of religious scruples. Indeed the Bishop of London had declared, in 1727, that Christianity did not make "the least Alteration in Civil Property; that the Freedom which Christianity gives, is a Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and Satan, and from the Dominion of those Lusts and Passions and inordinate Desires; but as to their outward condition they remained as before even after baptism".⁴⁷ The clergy held slaves⁴⁸ themselves, and the churches accepted them as a form of endowment.⁴⁹ On the other hand, the Church of England made great efforts towards the conversion of slaves, favored formal religious instruction by both clergy and masters, urged the clergy to persuade masters to allow their slaves to attend church, and baptized and admitted them as communicants.⁵⁰

⁴⁵ Jacobs, *History of the Evangelical Lutheran Church*, p. 157; Allen and McClure, *History of the S. P. C. K.*, pp. 391-392.

⁴⁶ See note 125.

⁴⁷ Humphreys, p. 265.

⁴⁸ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1734-1735, p. 50; 1741-1742, p. 55; concerning slaves of rectors of St. Helen's Parish, S. C. Perry, *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), p. 280; Bolton, *History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Westchester County* (N. Y.), p. 250 (Rye, 1731); pp. 62-63 (Westchester, 1729).

⁴⁹ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, I. 734, letter of Mr. Adams, missionary of S. P. G., 1710; Beverley, *The History of Virginia* (London, 1722), p. 1227.

⁵⁰ See note 120.

Of the various dissenting sects, the Friends alone, before the Revolution, seriously questioned, because of religious scruples, the right of church members to hold slaves. The Society of Friends was the only denomination that gradually forced members who held slaves to dispose of them or suffer expulsion from the church.⁵¹ It also favored the conversion of slaves. As early as 1657 George Fox urged the right of slaves to religious instruction,⁵² and in 1693 George Keith advised members to give their slaves "a Christian Education".⁵³ A minute of the yearly meeting of Pennsylvania, 1696, urged those who had negroes to be "careful of them, bring them to meetings, or have meetings with them in their families, and restrain them from loose and lewd living, as much as in them lies."⁵⁴ The yearly meetings in the Southern colonies sometimes raised the question whether Friends instructed their slaves in the principles of the Christian religion, for example in Virginia in 1722.⁵⁵ In North Carolina, 1752, the yearly meeting urged masters to encourage negroes to attend church,⁵⁶ and in 1758 it was agreed that meetings should be held at specified times at four designated places for the benefit of slaves.⁵⁷ The New England yearly meeting, 1769, advised Friends to take them to places of religious worship, and give such as were young "as much learning that they may be capable of reading".⁵⁸ While the official pronouncements of the yearly meetings indicate a strong interest in the religious welfare of slaves, in practice many Quakers held slaves, and it was not until just before the Revolution that severe measures were adopted to disown such members. Many refused to follow the suggestion of the yearly meetings and even the elders and ministers were holders of slaves.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Thomas, "The Attitude of the Society of Friends toward Slavery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", etc., *Papers of the American Society of Church History*, VIII. 263-299, especially pp. 277, 283.

⁵² Fox, *A Collection of Many Select and Christian Epistles*, etc. (Philadelphia, 1831), I. 144, epistle 153, "To Friends beyond Sea, that have Blacks and Indian Slaves."

⁵³ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, XIII. 265-270.

⁵⁴ Thomas, p. 269. See also the letter of the yearly meeting of Friends of Pennsylvania, 1754, printed in Clarkson, *History of the Rise, Progress and Abolition of the African Slave-Trade* (London, 1808), I. 142.

⁵⁵ Thomas, p. 287. See also Weeks, *Southern Quakers and Slavery*, p. 200, for meeting of 1757.

⁵⁶ Thomas, p. 290.

⁵⁷ Bassett, *Slavery and Servitude in North Carolina* (Johns Hopkins Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Sci., series XIV.), pp. 219-220. Cf. Weeks, p. 205.

⁵⁸ Thomas, p. 279. Elihu Coleman, the Quaker preacher of Nantucket, declared (1753) that Friends told their slaves to be Christians and be baptized "and so they do" (*Friends Review*, V. 102). Friends in Newport, R. I., sometimes took their slaves to church with them. Peterson, *History of Rhode Island*, pp. 104-105.

⁵⁹ Kalm, *Travels into North America*, 1748. "The quakers alone scrupled to have slaves: but they are no longer so nice and they have as many negroes as other people." In Pinkerton, *Voyages*, etc. (London, 1812), XIII. 501. See also Sandiford, *Brief Examination*, etc. (1729), as quoted by Moore, *Notes on the*

George Ross reported in 1727 that the Quakers of his parish in Delaware left their slaves, in respect to instruction in the Christian religion, to "the natural light".⁶⁰ Mr. Wetmore declared, February 20, 1727/8, that at Rye, New York, the Quakers in his parish refused to allow slaves religious instruction.⁶¹ It appears, moreover, that slaves were not allowed to participate in the meetings, at least in Pennsylvania.⁶²

The attitude of Puritans and Congregationalists as a whole cannot be easily determined, because of the absence of any general representative body or head. Each church might determine for itself all the questions involved with respect to the relation of its members to slaves. There seems to have been little effort among the early Puritans to Christianize them. John Eliot protested against the treatment of negroes in Massachusetts, and (according to Cotton Mather's report) "had long lamented it with a Bleeding and Burning Passion, that the English used their Negro's but as their Horses or their *Oxen*, and that so little care was taken about their immortal Souls". Eliot declared that masters prevented and hindered their instruction, and proposed that those having negroes within two or three miles of him, should send them to him once a week for catechizing and instruction.⁶³ The Congregational clergy held slaves without scruple, and the town of Suffield, Connecticut, even voted (1726) their pastor, Rev. Mr. Devotion, "£20 towards the purchase of his negroes".⁶⁴ A few churches seem to have taken action against slavery; for example, that of Newport, Rhode Island (1769), under Dr. Samuel Hopkins.⁶⁵ Moreover, slaves were often baptized and admitted to the churches as communicants.⁶⁶ However,

History of Slavery in Massachusetts, pp. 80-81. An indirect endowment of a monthly meeting of Friends in Maryland, 1702, is cited by Thomas, pp. 283-284.

⁶⁰ Perry, *Historical Collections*, etc. (Del.), p. 46.

⁶¹ Bolton, p. 250. For negligence of Quakers in North Carolina see Journal of Benjamin Ferris, the Quaker missionary, in *Friend's Miscellany*, XII. 255-257, and John Woolman's *Journal* (1757, ed. Whittier, 1873), pp. 117-118.

⁶² Turner, *The Negro in Pennsylvania*, p. 44.

⁶³ Quoted by Moore, p. 37, note. Cotton Mather accuses masters of neglect, and says they "deride, neglect, and oppose all due means of bringing their poor negroes unto our Lord". *Magnalia*, etc., vol. I., book III. (Hartford, 1855), p. 581; first published in London, 1702. See note 138.

⁶⁴ Trumbull (ed.), *Memorial History of Hartford County*, II. 406. See also Caulkins, *History of Norwich* (1749), p. 328. Negro slaves were owned by such noted clergymen as Rev. John Davenport of New Haven; Rev. Jonathan Edwards of Northampton, Mass.; and Rev. Ezra Stiles of Newport, R. I.; and many others. See Fowler, "Historical Status of the Negro in Connecticut", *Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries*, third series, III. 13.

⁶⁵ Goodell, *Slavery and Anti-Slavery*, etc. (1852), pp. 41-43, about 1769.

⁶⁶ Gillespie, *A Century of Meriden* (Conn.), pt. I., p. 244. Cotton Mather was greatly interested in the conversion and baptism of negro slaves. Cf. his *Diary*, in *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, seventh series, VIII. 379, 442, 478, 532 (1716-1718). Ezra Stiles preached to a meeting of about 40 negroes in Rhode Island, February 19, 1770. See his *Diary*, I. 39, see also pp. 204, 247-248. See note 140.

the fear that freedom might result from baptism is shown by a petition of certain ministers of Massachusetts to the General Court in 1694, asking the passage of a bill expressly denying that baptism conferred freedom, because masters deprived their slaves of this privilege.⁶⁷ In Connecticut (1738) there was a meeting of the "General Association of the Colony", at which an inquiry was made whether infant slaves of Christian masters might be baptized in "their masters right: Provided they Suitably Promise and Engage to bring them up in the Ways of Religion". Another inquiry was whether it was the duty of masters to offer such children and promise as provided for in the first query. To both of these inquiries an affirmative reply was given.⁶⁸

The first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia was organized in 1698. A Presbytery was formed in 1705, and rival synods of New York and Philadelphia existed from 1741 to 1758, when they were united. The right of members to hold slaves was not questioned in any of these bodies, nor did they take official action towards the emancipation or conversion of slaves before 1774.⁶⁹ Individual clergymen, like Samuel Davies, made efforts to Christianize slaves and urged masters to send them to church and have them baptized. Davies himself baptized and admitted slaves as communicants.⁷⁰ The diary of Col. James Gordon, a Presbyterian of Lancaster County, Virginia, shows that slaves attended the church of Mr. Todd; and that some of them were admitted as communicants.⁷¹ In one case at least, a Presbyterian church was presented with a slave as an endowment.⁷²

The Methodists had an early advocate for slavery in the person of George Whitefield, who pleaded with the Georgia Trustees in 1751 to allow the introduction of slaves into Georgia. He had no doubt of the lawfulness of keeping slaves and declared that he would consider himself highly favored if he could "purchase a good number of them, to make their lives comfortable, and lay a founda-

⁶⁷ *Acts and Res. of the Prov. of Mass. Bay*, VII. 537. See note 18.

⁶⁸ *The Records of the General Association of the Colony of Connecticut*, 1738-1799 (Hartford, 1888), p. 6.

⁶⁹ John Robinson, *Testimony and Practice of the Presbyterian Church in Reference to American Slavery*, p. 10. In 1774 a committee was appointed to report on slavery but the synod agreed to defer the matter to their next meeting. It was not until 1787 that definite action opposing slavery was taken. Baird, *Collection of Acts, etc. of the Presbyterian Church* (Philadelphia, 1885), pp. 817-818.

⁷⁰ See his letter of October 2, 1750. Perry, *Hist. Coll. Am. Col. Ch.* (Va.), pp. 368-371; see also letter of 1756; note 125, *infra*.

⁷¹ *William and Mary College Quarterly*, XI. 109 (1759); XII. 4, 9 (1753). James Wetmore reports, 1727/8, that at Rye, New York, "Some Presbyterians will allow their servants [negroes] to be taught, but are unwilling they should be baptized." Bolton, p. 250.

⁷² *Wm. and Mary Col. Qr.*, XII. 10 (1763).

tion for breeding up their posterity in the nurture and admonition of the Lord".⁷³ Wesleyan Methodism was represented by societies formed in Maryland about 1766. The first conference was held at Philadelphia in 1773, attended by Francis Asbury and nine other English preachers acting under due authority from John Wesley, but no action was taken on slavery.⁷⁴ Individual clergymen, however, were against slavery, like Freeborn Garrettson, who manumitted his slaves;⁷⁵ and especially Francis Asbury, who writes in his *Journal*, June 23, 1776, "after preaching . . . I met the class, and then met the black people, some of whose unhappy masters forbid their coming for religious instruction".⁷⁶

There were comparatively few Baptists and Lutherans in the South before 1774, and fewer still held slaves. We have evidence that one Baptist church in Virginia, in 1758-1759, had admitted them as members.⁷⁷ In 1766 Mr. Barnett, a missionary of the S. P. G., wrote to the secretary from Brunswick, "New light baptists are very numerous in the southern parts of this parish—The most illiterate among them are their Teachers even Negroes speak in their Meetings."⁷⁸ The attitude of the Lutherans is best shown by the Salzburgers who settled in Georgia in 1738. They were at first opponents of slavery;⁷⁹ but owing to the want of suitable white laborers, their pastor Boltzius yielded, on the ground that the negro might be given moral and spiritual advantages.⁸⁰ He expressed joy when his first purchase proved to be "a Catholic Christian". The slaves were given freedom from labor on Sunday, and other church festivals, nor was labor required which would prevent them from attendance upon any week-day service. One of the plans of Boltzius

⁷³ Tyerman, *Life of Whitefield*, II. 272-273, letter dated March 22, 1751. See also his plea for the religious instruction of negroes, in the *New England Weekly Journal*, April 29, 1740.

⁷⁴ *Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, 1773-1813* (New York, 1813), I. 5-6. It was not until 1780 that action was taken disapproving slavery. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-26.

⁷⁵ McTyeire, *History of Methodism*, p. 310.

⁷⁶ Asbury, *Journal* (New York, 1852), I. 141. See also Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia*, p. 48.

⁷⁷ Thom, *Struggle for Religious Freedom in Virginia* (J. H. Univ. Stud. in Hist. and Polit. Sci., ser. XVIII.), pp. 505-507, 515-517; Semple, *History of Baptists* (ed. Beale), pp. 291-292.

⁷⁸ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII. 164. A resolve of a Baptist denomination in North Carolina in 1783 gives one of the earliest expressions of opinion of any considerable body of Baptists on the duties of the master of a slave. It is to the effect that he should give slaves liberty to attend "the worship of God in his family" and exhort slaves to this end. Burkitt and Read, *Concise History of the Kehukee Baptist Association* (Halifax, 1803), p. 70.

⁷⁹ Jacobs, *History of Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States*, pp. 150, 167-168; Strobel, *The Salzburgers*, pp. 30, 80, 102-103.

⁸⁰ Jacobs, pp. 167-168; Strobel, p. 104. This was also advised by Urlsperger. "If you take slaves in faith, and with the intent of conducting them to Christ, the action will not be a sin, but may prove a 'benediction'" (*ibid.*).

was to buy a large number of young children and place them in the hands of thoroughly trustworthy Salzburgers for religious instruction. He baptized a number of negro children.⁸¹ Heinrich Muhlenberg and his associates in Pennsylvania also endeavored to give negroes religious instruction.⁸²

It thus appears that the dissenting sects were interested to a greater or less extent in the conversion of slaves, and were generally willing to baptize and admit them into their churches. Only the Friends, however, could see any inconsistency in the holding of slaves by church members.⁸³ Though so many forces in State and Church were favorable to the conversion of slaves, progress was nevertheless exceedingly slow, and the results attained at the opening of the Revolution were comparatively meagre. Before tracing the actual progress it may be well to examine the reasons for continued opposition to the conversion of slaves, and consider other hindrances which interfered with the work.

With the introduction of slaves in large numbers, pressing problems of an economic, political, and social nature arose, which influenced masters to continue their opposition to conversion. Of great importance was the belief that religious instruction would impair their economic value. As early as 1680, Morgan Godwyn pointed out that the state of religion in the plantation was very low, and asserted that men knew "No other God but Money, nor Religion but Profit".⁸⁴ A writer in the *Athenian Oracle* says, "Talk to a Planter of the Soul of a Negro, and he'll be apt to tell ye (or at least his Actions speak it loudly) that the Body of one of them may be worth twenty Pounds; but the Souls of an hundred of them would not yield him one Farthing."⁸⁵ Among the principal arguments against conversion of slaves were, first, that it would increase the cost of maintenance. Time would be consumed in instructing them, and especially in their attending church. Sunday labor was common; some masters required their slaves to work on Sunday, as on other days, or compelled them to work for their own support on that day, in order to lessen the cost of maintenance.⁸⁶

⁸¹ Jacobs, p. 168. Compare letter of Boltzius to the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, in 1761; in Allen and McClure, *History of S. P. C. K.*, p. 392. In 1774-1775 the church of Ebenezer owned a negro boy and girl, Strobel, pp. 190-191.

⁸² Jacobs, p. 231. Heinrich Muhlenberg baptized 3 negro slaves at New Providence, Pa., in 1745. *Halle Reports* (Philadelphia, 1882, ed. W. J. Mann), p. 57. For the attitude of the Lutherans in New York see Jacobs, p. 119.

⁸³ The attitude of the Moravians, Catholics, and minor denominations is omitted for want of space.

⁸⁴ *The Negro's and Indians Advocate*, p. 39.

⁸⁵ Moore, p. 93, quoting from the *Athenian Oracle*, II. 460-463 (1705).

⁸⁶ *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, V. 26, reports of Mr. Thomas to S. P. G., 1705; Hewatt, I. 354; Bolton, pp. 62-63 (1729). See note 25.

Another and more serious effect of conversion was the alleged change in the attitude and character of slaves. It was asserted that conversion developed notions of religious equality, and made slaves haughty and dissatisfied, and increased the danger of insurrections. The notion was widespread that the converted negro became intractable and ungovernable, because of increased knowledge obtained through religious instruction.⁸⁷ A third objection was on social grounds. The belief was common that imported African negroes were hardly above beasts,⁸⁸ and the appearance of many negroes must have given ground for such a notion. Savages of the lowest types were quite different in appearance and character from the negro of the present generation, so much changed by infusion of white blood and contact with a Christian civilization. From a social standpoint, association with the imported negro was extremely objectionable. To mingle with him in church, or to receive him on terms of equality at the communion table, was not only undesirable but positively dangerous.⁸⁹ Kalm, the Swedish traveller, notes (1748) that masters feared to have their negroes converted because they would grow proud "on seeing themselves upon a level with their masters in religious matters".⁹⁰

Besides the specific reasons mentioned, one must consider those of a more general character. In the colonies where slaves were most numerous, a vital interest in religion was lacking. The form rather than the substance was most emphasized.⁹¹ There was also a lack of clergymen and missionaries to carry on the work, and very often those sent to the colonies were not particularly interested in the welfare of the negro slaves.⁹² In the character of many of the clergy in question one sees still other causes for low religious

⁸⁷ Hugh Jones, *Present State of Virginia* (ed. cf 1865), pp. 70-71 (1724); Brickell, *The Natural History of North Carolina* (reprint by J. B. Grimes), pp. 272-274 (1737); Hewatt, pp. 351-352, 355-356; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1712-1713, p. 43; Thomas Bacon, *Four Sermons, upon the Great and Indispensable Duty of all Christian Masters and Mistresses to bring up their Negro Slaves in the Knowledge and Fear of God* (London, 1750), pp. 81-82; Samuel Davies, *The Duty of Christians to propagate their Religion among Heathens, earnestly recommended to the Masters of Negroe Slaves in Virginia* (sermon 1757, London, 1758), p. 37. See note 145.

⁸⁸ Godwyn, *Advocate*, etc., pp. 3, 10-13, 40; Humphreys, p. 235; Hewatt, p. 355. See note 113.

⁸⁹ Godwyn, pp. 38, 139-140; *Classified Digest*, p. 15; Brickell, p. 48. The danger from contagious diseases is one of the less-known evils of the slavery system.

⁹⁰ Kalm, p. 503. See also McCrady, "Slavery in South Carolina", *Report*, Am. Hist. Assoc., 1895, p. 644.

⁹¹ Perry (Va.), pp. 323-344; especially 332-334 (letter of Forbes on the state of religion in Virginia in 1724); Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States* (Va.), pp. 86-87, 92 (1722).

⁹² Humphreys, pp. 250-251. The reports of missionaries of the S. P. G. show that comparatively few of them took active interest in the conversion of slaves. See also Bassett, *Slav. and Serv. in N. C.*, pp. 215-216.

life.⁹³ Missionaries and clergymen write of the indifference of masters to their own religious welfare.⁹⁴ If they were not interested in religion for themselves, it is certain that they would not be anxious for the religious welfare of their slaves. Indeed, this indifference on the part of the masters was the occasion for many of the complaints of missionaries. It appeared in several forms. Sometimes masters did not offer positive objection or opposition, but were so little interested that they would not take the time or trouble to give religious instruction themselves,⁹⁵ or encourage their slaves to attend church,⁹⁶ or aid the clergyman or missionary by showing interest in the religious life of the slave after his conversion.⁹⁷ When the masters were positively hostile,⁹⁸ of course nothing could be done by the missionaries. Under such circumstances clergymen who were willing to give part of their time and effort to religious instruction of slaves, were often afraid even to mention the subject, because of the fear of incurring the ill-will of the masters.⁹⁹

A not inconsiderable hindrance to the work was the divided responsibility for religious instruction of slaves. It is evident that this would fall in part on the clergy, in part on the masters. Owing to the large number of negroes, it was usually impossible for the clergyman of a parish to assume the whole burden himself. Bishop Fleetwood's sermon in 1711, and the address of the Bishop of London in 1727, held that masters were responsible for the religious instruction of their slaves.¹⁰⁰ The answers to the latter's queries on this subject (1724) show that the clergy were inclined to place the burden of instruction on their parishioners, while most of the latter who were not opposed, expected the clergy to do all the work.¹⁰¹

Another hindrance to religious instruction of many slaves was their inability to understand, or profit by, the Christian religion,

⁹³ Perry (Va.), Forbes letter, pp. 332-333. Devereux Jarratt wrote John Wesley that there was only one Church of England clergyman in Virginia who was not a reproach to his vocation. Moore, *Sketches of the Pioneers of Methodism in North Carolina and Virginia*, p. 50. See also Hawks (Va.), pp. 88-90; *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VII, 106, letter of Governor Tryon (1765), who wishes "not the sweepings of the Universities . . . but some clergy of character".

⁹⁴ *Classified Digest*, p. 15; Perry, pp. 254-255. Compare the sermon of Samuel Davies (1757), p. 41; Thomas Bacon, *Four Sermons*, 1750, pp. 101, 114-115.

⁹⁵ Perry (Va.), p. 278; (Md.), p. 305; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1760-1761 (N. C.), pp. 58-59; *ibid.*, 1739-1740 (S. C.), pp. 56-57.

⁹⁶ Perry (Md., 1731), pp. 306-307; (Va., 1724), p. 267.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.* (Va.), p. 289; *N. C. Col. Rec.*, VI, 265 (1750), letter of Mr. Read.

⁹⁸ Perry (Md.), pp. 304-305; Hewatt, p. 352; St. John de Crèvecoeur, *Letters from an American Farmer* (1770-1781, ed. Blake), pp. 165-166.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ See sermon, February 16, 1710/1 (London, 1711). Humphreys, pp. 257-271.

¹⁰¹ The replies to queries are printed for Virginia and Maryland in Perry, see note 33.

due to mental incapacity, lack of knowledge of the English language, or disinclination to accept a new religion in place of their heathen rites. The question of mental capacity was a matter of some dispute. Many planters, either because of real conviction or for other motives, declared that their negro slaves were only beasts, incapable of instruction, and besides, as some asserted, were without souls.¹⁰² It was quite generally agreed among missionaries that most of the adult imported negroes, "Guinea" negroes as they were often called, could not be converted successfully.¹⁰³ A sharp distinction was drawn, however, between this class and those born in the colonies. Not only were the former stupid, but many adult imported negroes failed to learn the English language well enough to appreciate or profit by religious instruction, a fact frequently commented on by the clergy.¹⁰⁴ On the other hand, those born in the country were considered more intelligent, and generally could learn English well enough for such purposes.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the statement of Mr. Williamson, rector of St. Paul's, Kent County, Maryland (1731), describes a condition on many plantations. He divides negroes into three classes: first, those so grossly ignorant that there was no possibility of successful religious instruction; second, those capable, that is, able to answer questions of the church catechism, but so egregiously wicked as to render baptism ineffectual; third, those duly qualified and of exemplary lives.¹⁰⁶

The character and environment of the average negro slave was an almost insuperable obstacle to his conversion. One should remember that the negro brought with him from Africa conceptions of morality, truthfulness, and rights of property, usually quite out of harmony with the teachings of Christianity. Then, too, conditions inherent in the slavery system hindered his moral and religious progress, even if he were well disposed towards conversion. Severe punishments, usually the result of his own conduct, excessively hard physical labor, and the practical reduction of the slave to a mere chattel, led to a life of deception, in order to avoid labor and punishment.¹⁰⁷ The environment of most slaves was hostile to a normal

¹⁰² See note 88.

¹⁰³ Perry (Va.), pp. 264-265; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1740-1741, p. 63; Brickell, p. 272; Hugh Jones, p. 71; *Journal of House of Burgesses* (Va.), May 23, 1694. This is disputed by Hugh Jones, *op. cit.*; by Thomas Bacon, pp. 90-91; and by Samuel Davies, pp. 33-34. See note 113.

¹⁰⁴ Perry (Va.), p. 283; (Md.), p. 227.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.* (Md.), p. 192; (Va.), p. 312; *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1723-1724 (S. C.), pp. 41-42; Brickell, p. 272.

¹⁰⁶ Perry (Md.), p. 305; see also Hugh Jones, pp. 70-71; Bacon, p. 93.

¹⁰⁷ For these points see a description of the religious condition of the negro slave in Maryland in Thomas Bacon, *Two Sermons preached to a Congregation of Black Slaves* (London, 1749), pp. 50-55, 64.

religious life. There was little direct religious instruction on the plantations, while the conversations which a slave heard and the scenes that were frequently enacted before his eyes, in his one-room shack called "home", were for the most part positively evil influences.¹⁰⁸ The almost universal immoral relations between the sexes, unchecked by laws to safeguard the institution of marriage; indeed the encouragement of polygamy and fornication, because of the law that the issue of a slave-mother remained a slave—all provided an environment almost as bad as could be imagined.

But even if the factors which have been mentioned had been favorable to the conversion of the slaves, the physical conditions in the Southern, and to a considerable extent in the Middle, colonies, would have been a great obstacle to the success of this work. The extent of territory often included in a Southern parish,¹⁰⁹ and the fact that plantations were ordinarily at considerable distances from each other, made it very difficult for the clergy to visit families, or for slaves to attend church or assemble easily at one place for religious instruction. Even as late as 1761 a missionary of the S. P. G. in North Carolina writes that most of the negroes of his parish were heathen, "it being very impossible for the Ministers in such extensive Parishes to perform their more immediate Duties in them, and find time sufficient for those poor Creatures Instructions, and very few if any of their masters will take the least Pains about it".¹¹⁰ Some of the colonies passed acts which hindered the Christianization of slaves, such as laws to prevent them from assembling in numbers, at places outside their master's plantation.¹¹¹ Even where there were laws to the contrary, the working of slaves on Sunday¹¹² was a common practice. In both cases the opportunity of the slave to meet for religious purposes was more or less restricted.

Keeping in mind the two groups of factors which promoted and

¹⁰⁸ Bacon, *Two Sermons*, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁹ See answers of the clergy of Virginia and Maryland, 1724, note 23, above.

¹¹⁰ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1750-1761, pp. 58-59. Cf. Thomas Bacon, *op. cit.*, p. 128. See also Davies, *The State of Religion among the Protestant Dissenters in Virginia; in a Letter to the Reverend Joseph Bellamy*, etc. (Boston, 1751), p. 23.

¹¹¹ Compare *Arch. of Md.*, XIX. 149, 157 (1695); Bacon, *Laws of Md.*, act of 1723, ch. XV.; McCord, *Stat. of S. C.*, VII. 352 (1712); *ibid.*, p. 386 (1735); *Ga. Col. Rec.*, XVIII. 135 (1735). Such acts, however, did not ordinarily prevent slaves attending church with their master's consent, Allinson, *Acts of Gen. Assem. of N. J.*, 1702-1776, pp. 191-192; and the Virginia act of 1723, though prohibiting assemblies, specifically forbids masters from prohibiting their slaves attending church on Sunday, Henning, *Stat. of Va.* (Richmond ed.), IV. 129, and repeated in 1748, *ibid.*, VI. 108; see also *Arch. of Md.*, XXV. 57. An act of North Carolina, 1715, forbade anyone to allow slaves to build a meeting-house on his land for the purpose of worship. *St. Rec. of N. C.*, XXIII. 65.

¹¹² On Sunday laws and labor see notes 25, 26, 86.

hindered the conversion of slaves, we may now consider the progress made before the Revolution. The testimony of Morgan Godwyn in 1680, and that of David Humphreys in 1730, agree to the effect that the state of religion in the Southern colonies was very low. If this was true of the white inhabitants, then the situation of the slaves must have been still worse. A declaration of the House of Burgesses of Virginia in 1699 denies that religious progress is possible in the case of *imported* negroes, because of the "Gros Barbarity and rudeness of their Manners, the variety and Strangeness of their Language and the weakness and shallowness of their Minds."¹¹³ In North Carolina Mr. Taylor reported in 1719 that masters were on the whole opposed to the conversion, baptism, and salvation of their slaves,¹¹⁴ and other missionaries make the same complaint.¹¹⁵ The letters from Mr. Thomas, 1703-1706, show that there were about 1000 slaves in the colony of South Carolina at this time, but he reports only four as Christianized and one baptized.¹¹⁶ Rev. Mr. Pownal reported in 1722 that there were about seven hundred slaves in his parish (Christ Church) a few of whom understood English, but very few "knew any Thing of God or Religion";¹¹⁷ and Mr. Hesell of St. Thomas Parish wrote in 1723/4 that there were 1100 negroes and Indian slaves and twenty free negroes in his parish, with "about 12 negroes baptiz'd, some of them free, and some Slaves".¹¹⁸

The first extensive survey of the religious conditions of negroes in the Southern colonies was made in 1724, when the Bishop of London sent queries to the clergy respecting the condition of the parishes. One of these queries reads, "Are there any infidels, bond or free, within your parish and what means are used for their conversion?"¹¹⁹ An analysis of the replies from twenty-nine parishes in Virginia shows that slaves were accustomed to attend church in eleven of them, but in most cases only a few were allowed this privilege, largely those born in this country who understood English. Likewise comparatively few were given religious instruction. According to nine replies, a few of the masters undertook the work themselves, and a few allowed the clergy to do so, espe-

¹¹³ *Journal of the House of Burgeſſes*, May 22, 1699.

¹¹⁴ *N. C. Col. Rec.*, II. 332.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, I. 720, 858; II. 153.

¹¹⁶ "Letters of Samuel Thomas", missionary of S. P. G., *S. C. Hist. and Gen. Mag.*, IV. 278-285; V. 21-55 ("Documents concerning Mr. Thomas, 1702-1707").

¹¹⁷ Humphreys, p. 111.

¹¹⁸ *Abstract, S. P. G.*, 1723-1724, p. 40. Cf. Mr. Read's report for Craven County, N. C.; he was "afraid most of the Negroes [about a thousand] may too justly be reckoned Heathens". *Ibid.*, 1760-1761, pp. 58-59.

¹¹⁹ See note 33.

cially in the case of the more intelligent; but it appears certain that the great bulk of the slaves neither attended church nor received religious instruction. A still smaller number were baptized and made communicants.¹²⁰ On the whole it appears that the sentiment of masters towards Christianization of slaves was distinctly hostile in about one-third of the parishes reported, hostile in the remainder for imported negroes and those who understood little English, and favorable for a few of their slaves who they believed might profit thereby. A petition from various persons, urging the Christianization of negro children "borne in this Country", was presented to the House of Burgesses in 1723, but the report of the committee to whom it was referred reads, "Resolved that the same be rejected being at present impracticable."¹²¹

Replies from South Carolina are available from eight parishes.¹²² In St. James (Santee) parish, it is declared that there are many slaves, but only one negro man is mentioned as a Christian. In St. John's parish there were "no means used for their Conversion". In St. Philip's parish there were about 2000 black and Indian slaves, but "no means are used for their Conversion". In St. James (Goose Creek) parish there were about 2000 negro slaves, but the rector reports that "the best means are used for their Conversion which the present posture of affairs will admit of which will I hope hereafter have a more prosperous aspect than at present". In Christ Church parish there were about 700 negro slaves "all of them in Infidelity. Both public preaching and private exhortation I have used with their Owners, but all those methods at present are ineffectual." In St. Andrew's parish, though there were a great number of slaves, "all the means I use for their conversion is to show their Masters their obligations, but few or none will be prevailed on". In St. Dennis parish the rector replied: "All Infidels in my Parish are Bond Servants and their Masters will not consent to have them instructed." In Dorchester, St. George's parish it is stated, "I have hitherto endeavored in vain to prevail with their masters to convince them of the necessity of having their slaves made Christians." It will be seen that these reports for South Carolina are much more discouraging than those of Virginia or Maryland, a

¹²⁰ Baptism occurred in 17 parishes but numbers were small and many of these were infants. Communicants are mentioned in two parishes.

¹²¹ *Journal of House of Burgesses*, May 17, 1723, pp. 368, 370. See also the proposition sent to the Bishop of London in 1724, outlining a plan for the conversion of negroes. Perry (Va.), p. 344. The replies from the clergy of Maryland in 1724 and 1731 show that the religious condition of the negroes was very similar to that of Virginia. See note 33.

¹²² The replies are not printed, but may be found in the Hawks MSS., volume for South Carolina. For mention of this material see *Report, Am. Hist. Assoc.*, 1898, pp. 59-60.

situation that was apparently maintained throughout the colonial period.

From 1724 to 1776 there was less opposition on the part of masters towards both conversion and baptism, and a larger number of conversions and baptisms are reported than in the earlier period. But it must be remembered that in the later period the increase in the slave population was very large, especially by importation. The figures seem to show that there was no very great increase in the proportionate number of slaves Christianized. The letters of Samuel Davies and other Presbyterian ministers in Virginia, 1750-1761, show some progress. Davies reports in 1750 that there were as many as a thousand negroes in Virginia converted and baptized, about one hundred belonging to Presbyterians.¹²³ In this same letter he writes that he himself had baptized forty in a year and a half, and had admitted seven or eight to full communion.¹²⁴ In 1756 he said "the Protestant dissenters lie under an odium in this colony—yet the Negroes in these parts are freely allowed to attend upon my ministry";¹²⁵ but he laments "upon the almost universal neglect of the many thousand of poor slaves . . . who generally continue Heathens in a Christian Country".¹²⁶ So a report of a yearly meeting of Friends in Virginia (1764) declared that "more care should be taken to instruct negroes in the Christian religion".¹²⁷ Other evidence points in the same direction.¹²⁸

In South Carolina we may judge of progress from a letter of Rev. Mr. Harrison (1759) of St. James (Goose Creek) parish, who said that he had two hundred families in his parish, and his congregation generally consisted of 150 whites and fifty to sixty negroes. His communicants numbered thirty-one whites and twenty-six negroes.¹²⁹ The inhabitants of this parish were, however, un-

¹²³ Perry (Va.), p. 369. The slave population of the colonies is here given for two dates, approximately 1755 and 1775. For 1755 we have in Maryland, 46,225, Virginia, 116,000, North Carolina, 20,000, South Carolina, 45,000, Georgia, 2,000—total 229,225. For 1775 we have in Maryland, 70,000, Virginia, 200,000, North Carolina, 45,000, South Carolina, 110,000, Georgia, 15,000—total, 440,000. There were about 29,000 slaves in the Middle Colonies, and 16,000 in New England in 1775. These estimates are based on those of Dexter, "Estimates of Population in the American Colonies", in *Proceedings*, Am. Antiq. Soc., new series, V. 22-50. They must be recognized as only approximately correct, for accurate figures are unobtainable.

¹²⁴ Perry (Va.), p. 369. See also Mr. Gavin's letter telling of his success in St. James's parish, Goochland, 1738. He reports 172 blacks baptized. *Ibid.*, p. 360.

¹²⁵ *Letters from the Rev. Samuel Davies and others, showing the State of Religion in Virginia particularly among the Negroes*, etc. (second ed., London, 1757), p. 20. Letter to J. F., March 2, 1756.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 21-22. See also Davies's sermon, p. 8, note 87, *supra*.

¹²⁷ Thomas, p. 288.

¹²⁸ E. g., Benjamin Ferris expressed a similar opinion; see Weeks, p. 202; see also note 61.

¹²⁹ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1759-1760, pp. 61-62.

usually favorable to the conversion of slaves. Rev. Mr. Clark, rector of St. Philip's, Charleston, said in 1757/8 that there was great negligence among white people respecting the religious education of negroes, and laments that there was not one "Civil Establishment in the Colony for the Christian Instruction of fifty Thousand negroe Slaves". He says, moreover, that the duties of the clergy, "besides many other Difficulties and Obstructions" prevent them from remedying the evil.¹³⁰ Hewatt writes discouragingly of conditions in South Carolina at the opening of the Revolution. He says that the negro slaves were "excluded in a manner from the pale of the Christian Church"; that the S. P. G. had, a few years before, "no less than twelve missionaries in Carolina with instructions to give all assistance in their power for this laudable purpose; but it is well known, that the fruit of their labors has been very small and inconsiderable".¹³¹

In the Middle Colonies and in New England we are concerned with a very much smaller number of slaves throughout the period. However, much the same opposition to conversion came from masters,¹³² and progress was not marked. Although there were about 1400 negroes and Indian slaves in New York City (1725/6),¹³³ the catechist of the S. P. G. writes that from 1732 to 1740 but 219 had been baptized, only twenty-four of whom were adults.¹³⁴ In 1770 thirty communicants were reported.¹³⁵ The replies¹³⁶ made in 1724 from seven parishes in New York show considerable opposition to conversion as in Rye and Staten Island, with very few reported as baptized or as communicants,¹³⁷ and later reports do not indicate much improvement.¹³⁸ In New England the early period shows negligence,¹³⁹ though after 1730 reports are somewhat more favorable.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁰ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1757-1758, p. 50.

¹³¹ Hewatt, pp. 353-354. For progress in North Carolina, 1735-1776, see Bassett, pp. 215-216; cf. also Brickell, p. 274; also note 151.

¹³² Perry (Pa.), p. 165 (1728), cf. also pp. 184, 196.

¹³³ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1725-1726, pp. 37-38.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 1740-1741, pp. 71-72. An excellent account of the Catechizing School of the S. P. G. in New York City is found in Kemp, ch. IX.; see note 39.

¹³⁵ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1770-1771, p. 24.

¹³⁶ The replies from some of these parishes are printed, e. g., Westchester, Rye, and New Rochelle, in Bolton, *Hist. of the Ch. in Westchester Co.*, pp. 47-49, 227-230, 436-437; Hempstead, in *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record*, XXII. 131; and Jamaica, *Documentary History of New York* (1850), III. 185-187. The replies for other parishes (New York and Staten Island) may be found in the Hawks MSS., volume for New York. See note 122.

¹³⁷ Bolton, pp. 250, 256, 258, 266, for period 1727-1735; Humphreys, pp. 209, 213.

¹³⁸ Cf. Bolton, pp. 77, 84 (1764-1769).

¹³⁹ See note 63, and *Col. Rec. Conn.*, 1678-1689, p. 298; answers to queries, 1680.

¹⁴⁰ See note 66, and *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1740/1-1741/2, p. 41; and 1746-1747, p. 52; McSparran, *Letter Book and Abstract of Out Services* (Boston, 1899), pp. 4-25 (catechizing and baptism of negroes, R. I., 1743-1751).

This survey of the colonies points to the conclusion that the number of slaves who were even nominal Christians bore a small proportion to the total number, while it is certain that a very much smaller number can be said to have lived Christian lives. It is evident that the comparatively few clergymen and missionaries who took an interest in the conversion of slaves, could make little impression on the whole slave population. This threw the main responsibility on the masters; but the testimony respecting their general hostility or negligence is almost unanimous, from both the clergy and other witnesses. Moreover, in considering the figures based on reports of the clergy some discount must be made, due to their well-known enthusiasm for favorable accounts of conversion, church attendance, etc., and the fact that many of the baptisms mentioned were those of infants.¹⁴¹ We should also remember that a Christian life was not a necessary result of this ceremony. Then, too, the tendency of the clergy of the established church to rely on outward forms rather than inward regeneration, as a test of Christianity, is too well known to need comment.¹⁴² Those who described their methods usually laid stress on ability to say the creed, repeat the ten commandments, or the catechism, as the main test for baptism.¹⁴³ The actual effect of nominal, or even real, conversion upon the conduct of slaves was in dispute. Many asserted that conversion made them worse than before.¹⁴⁴ On the other hand there is contrary evidence, though much of this is theoretical rather than concrete.¹⁴⁵ It must be admitted that the conditions which often surrounded the negro slave made it very difficult for him to lead a real Christian life.

It is impossible to assert how many slaves were even nominally converted. David Humphreys, the historian of the S. P. G., reported in 1730 that some hundreds had been converted.¹⁴⁶ Dean Berkeley said in 1731: "The religion of these people [slaves], as is natural to suppose, takes after that of their masters. Some few are baptized, several frequent the different assemblies, and far the greater part none at all."¹⁴⁷ Peter Kalm, the Swedish traveller,

¹⁴¹ *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1752-1753, p. 51 (N. C.); *ibid.*, 1754-1755 (N. Y.), p. 48; *ibid.*, 1759-1760 (N. Y.), p. 47.

¹⁴² See note 91.

¹⁴³ Cf. letter of Mr. Taylor, missionary of S. P. G. to North Carolina, 1716, *N. C. Col. Rec.*, II. 332; Perry (Md.), pp. 306-307; *Abstract*, S. P. G., 1753-1754, p. 55; *Classified Digest*, pp. 15-16. Cf. also Davies, *Duties of Christians to propagate their Religion*, etc., pp. 38-39.

¹⁴⁴ See note 87.

¹⁴⁵ Godwyn, pp. 125-127; Jones, pp. 70-71; Hewatt, pp. 355-356; Moore, *Notes on Hist. of Slav. in Mass.* (quoting writer in *Athenian Oracle*), p. 94.

¹⁴⁶ Humphreys, p. 233.

¹⁴⁷ Sermon before S. P. G. (1731) quoted in Updike, *Hist. of Episc. Ch. in Narragansett, R. I.* (1847), p. 177.

declared in 1748: "It is likewise greatly to be pitied that the masters of the Negroes in most of the English Colonies take little care of their Spiritual welfare and let them live on in their pagan darkness."¹⁴⁸

We must conclude from all the evidence that the struggle between the contending forces had on the whole resulted in a victory for those which were antagonistic to the conversion of negroes. John Griffith, a Quaker missionary to Virginia, declared in 1765: "It is too manifest to be denied, that the life of religion is almost lost where slaves are very numerous; and it is impossible it should be otherwise, the practice being as contrary to the spirit of christianity as light is to darkness."¹⁴⁹ If Griffith's observation is true, then the institution of slavery must be considered a primary cause, not only in greatly hindering the conversion of the negroes, but also, where slaves were numerous, in preventing important religious advances among the whites. Thus the heart of the difficulty is apparent. As one missionary states, "It can hardly be expected that those should promote the spiritual welfare of this meanest branch of their families who think but little (if at all) of their own eternal salvation."¹⁵⁰

The reasons for the failure of the clergy and missionaries to accomplish more, have been well expressed by Hewatt in accounting for conditions in South Carolina at the opening of the Revolution. He says:

Whether their small success ought to be ascribed to the rude and untractable dispositions of the negroes, to the discouragements and obstructions thrown in the way by their owners, or to the negligence and indolence of the missionaries themselves, we cannot pretend to determine. Perhaps we may venture to assert, that it has been more or less owing to all these different causes. One thing is very certain, that the negroes of that country, a few only excepted, are to this day as great strangers to Christianity, and as much under the influence of Pagan darkness, idolatry and superstition, as they were at their first arrival from Africa.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Kalm, *Travels in North America* (ed. 1770), I. 397.

¹⁴⁹ Weeks, p. 203; see also note 91. So Samuel Fothergill describes conditions in Maryland, 1756. "Maryland is poor; the gain of oppression, the price of blood is upon that province . . . I mean their purchasing, and keeping in slavery, negroes, the ruin of true religion the world over, wherever it prevails." Crosfield, *Memoirs of the Life and Gospel Labors of Samuel Fothergill*, p. 282, letter dated November 9, 1756. See also for North Carolina, *ibid.*, p. 283.

¹⁵⁰ Perry (Pa.), p. 184.

¹⁵¹ Hewatt, *op. cit.*, p. 354. The latest book dealing with the education of the negro is that by C. G. Woodson, *The Education of the Negro prior to 1861* (New York, 1915). Chapter II. deals specifically with the religious education of the negro before the Revolution. See also original documents in appendix, pp. 337-359, and bibliographies, pp. 399-434.

It is evident that much of the difficulty lay in the system of slavery itself. The lack of a sufficient number of earnest workers was a second great difficulty. But much greater progress could undoubtedly have been made but for the low state of religion among the masters and the positive hostility to conversion of slaves on the part of a large number of them. One of the chief reasons for this opposition seems to have been economic in character. Thus one can understand how ideals growing out of a desire for material gain triumphed, for the most part, over those religious and moral in character. In explanation of this economic reason it must be recognized that many were convinced that the conversion of slaves would inevitably lead to increased demands from the negro for equality—religious, social, and political—a situation that would not only reduce the economic value of the slave, but might seriously endanger those conventions between master and slave which were deemed necessary for effective control. Thus fundamentally the contest between the opposing forces involved, in the opinion of many, the life of the institution of slavery itself, and perhaps the very existence of Southern society so far as it was based on this system.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

INFLUENCES WHICH DETERMINED THE FRENCH
GOVERNMENT TO MAKE THE TREATY
WITH AMERICA, 1778

THE motives of the French government for making an alliance with the United States in the midst of the American Revolution are assumed to be too well known to be worth further examination. The French historian Doniol wrote five great folio volumes, fully annotated, impressively documented, and representing an investigation pushed into every cranny of the French archives, and with some excursions into Spanish, English, and Prussian diplomatic pigeonholes. Half a dozen minor works, dealing with Franklin, Lafayette, and Franco-American diplomacy of the period, have been dug out of Doniol's vast quarry; and before his time Bancroft had diligently searched the muniments of Europe to solve the problems of Revolutionary diplomacy. Yet in spite of all this pursuit of alluring but ever fugitive truth, I believe the seductive goddess has eluded them all. There are two apparent reasons, one of which is that the essential parts of the key document had not been used by Doniol in his monumental work, and the second is that the very profusion of his material caused him to overlook motives actually revealed in his documents, but unheeded because they did not fall in with his preconceived ideas. He could not see the woods for the trees.

In the diplomatic history of the relations between France and America, there are two vital problems to solve. The first is the motive of France for giving secret aid to the American cause almost from the beginning of the armed conflict with Great Britain. There is no mystery about that, for so large and obvious are the historical facts, that he who runs may read.¹ The second problem is more shrouded in the mists of human motives, court intrigues, and diplomatic craft. Why did the French government, already overwhelmed with debt, abandon the policy of secret aid to the Americans which had been so rich in results, which had cost so little, and which seemed to be entirely successful, for a policy which meant certain war, and probable financial ruin, even if the war were won?

To make clear what is *not* sought in this investigation, let me

¹ Nevertheless it remained for Professor E. S. Corwin to state and elucidate them in the most convincing and accurate form in his article in the *American Historical Review*, October, 1915.

state briefly the French motive for giving secret aid. The basic reasons for French antipathy to England lay, of course, centuries back of the Revolution. These had been accentuated by the terms of the treaty of Paris (1763), which closed the Seven Years' War. This war began, asserted Choiseul, when England "threw at its feet the most sacred rules of equity, the most inviolable maxims of the rights of nations". "All the powers of Europe were alarmed at the scandalous rupture." "Its purpose was to invade France's American colonies, drive France from that continent, and seize all its commerce there." "But even this did not bound its ambitions." "It proposed to seize all of Louisiana, to penetrate by this way to New Mexico, and thus open for itself gradually the road to all the Spanish possessions." This was Cromwell's dream. "Indeed, they would go further. They would stifle our marine in its birth, rule the sea alone and without a rival."² The humiliating peace of 1763 was bought, said Choiseul, "at the price of our possessions, of our commerce and of our credit in the Indies; at the price of Canada, Louisiana, Isle Royale, Acadia, and Senegal."³

England [declared the eager minister to the frivolous sovereign, who was more easily moved by the charms of Madame de Pompadour than by the interests of his empire] England is, and will ever be, the declared enemy of your power, and of your state. Her avidity in commerce, the haughty tone she takes in the world's affairs, her jealousy of your power, the intrigues which she has made against you, make us foresee that centuries will pass before you can make a durable peace with that country which aims at supremacy in the four quarters of the globe.⁴

From 1763 on, Choiseul was the "Cato the Elder" of France, urging ceaselessly that England must be destroyed.

When Choiseul fell and Vergennes rose to power, the new minister had the same policy toward England. When the British colonies rebelled, Vergennes was eager to aid them. England, he said, in a memoir to Louis XVI. and his ministry, is the natural enemy of France. "She is an enemy at once grasping, ambitious, unjust, and perfidious. The invariable and most cherished purpose in her politics has been, if not the destruction of France at least her overthrow, her humiliation, and her ruin." "She is a restless and greedy nation, more jealous of the prosperity of her neighbors than concerned for her own happiness."⁵ "It is our duty then to seize

² Paris, Archives du Ministère des Affaires Étrangères, Mémoires et Documents, France, vol. 581, fols. 3, 4.

³ Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation de la France à l'Établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*, I, 2.

⁴ Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 581, fol. 41.

⁵ Archives Nationales, K, 164, dossier 3, no. 22.

every possible opportunity to reduce the power and the greatness of England." If they are foolish enough to exhaust their finances and to engulf themselves in a civil war, why should we interrupt them? Let us quietly watch them consume themselves.⁶ Again he declared earnestly, "Here is the time marked out by Providence, to deliver the universe from a greedy tyrant, who is absorbing all power and all wealth."⁷ Besides this motive of revenge, Vergennes's memoir and many others of the time dwell upon the fact that the fundamental economic interests of the French nation were at stake. The outcome of this struggle of England with her colonies would determine, they all assert, whether France should share in the commerce of America.

There were differences of opinion in the French cabinet, and the only policy that could be agreed upon, was that of giving secret aid. Turgot had convinced the king that while France could stand war if absolutely necessary, yet it should be avoided as the greatest of evils. Unless it was put off for a long time, it would prevent forever a reform absolutely necessary for French prosperity. "His Majesty knows", said Turgot, "that in spite of the economies and improvements already made since the beginning of his reign, there is between the income and the expense a difference of twenty millions." "The military and the marine is", he said, "in a state of weakness which it is hard to imagine."⁸ Secret aid was not entirely to the king's taste, but it was not over costly, and the royal conscience was salved by the insinuation that a precedent for it had been set by England in Corsica, when that island, a French province, was in rebellion. St. Germain, the secretary of war, had commended the idea.⁹ Vergennes had argued that it would keep up American courage and hopes, and Beaumarchais was passionately eager to execute the plan. On May 2, 1775, Vergennes placed in the king's hands a scheme for expending in America's aid a million livres, by a device so wrapped in mystery, so secret in its administration, that no British spies would ever detect it.¹⁰ Spain was to be asked to double this amount. Beaumarchais, in the guise of Hortalez and Company, began supplying the Americans with every manufactured article which that bucolic people so sadly lacked—powder, guns,

⁶ Doniol, I. 243-249.

⁷ *Ibid.*, I. 273-278. See Wharton, *The Revolutionary Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States*, II. 289, where Franklin expresses the idea that all nations of Europe wish to see England humbled.

⁸ Arch. Nat., K, 1340, no. 10, p. 53.

⁹ Aff. Étr., Correspondance Politique, Angleterre, vol. 515, fols. 179-180.

¹⁰ Arch. Nat., K, 164, no. 3 (Vergennes Corres., no. 9). Some of the documents referred to in this article and designated in the archives may be in Doniol, but I have not found them there and have used my copy made from the original in the archives.

clothes, drums, fifes, medicines of every sort, surgical instruments, and even cannons with the Louis XVI. monogram graven upon them.

We cannot here tell the story of French approaches to the Continental Congress, how that body was encouraged to accredit envoys to France, and to send its privateers into French ports with their prizes. If we enumerate the duties of a neutral, we shall find that France violated nearly every one of them. Vergennes was even confronted by affidavits sworn on "the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God" that in the French islands, English sailors captured by American privateers were held in French prisons and dying by "inch-meal".¹¹ Yet he never hesitated to trail England along with promises, evasions, and unblushing denials of facts plain as holy writ. Vergennes's correspondence with Stormont, the British minister, and with Beaumarchais, the French agent in American affairs, convinces one that had he enjoyed the ambidexterity which tradition attributes to Caesar, he would not have hesitated to write with one hand to the British government protesting his regard for the obligations of a neutral, asserting the friendship, good feeling, and peaceful intention of the King of France, while with the other hand he gave written orders to Beaumarchais to render the Americans every possible assistance. On one occasion Stormont asked the French government to restore prizes brought into French ports by American privateers. Vergennes answered, "You cannot expect us to take upon our shoulders the burden of your war; every wise nation places its chief security in its own vigilance." Stormont retorted, "The eyes of Argus would not be too much for us." Whereupon the astute Vergennes replied with unction, "And if you had those eyes, they would only show you our sincere desire of peace." Stormont said that even the French officers were hurrying to America. "Yes", suavely returned Vergennes, "the French nation has a turn for adventure."¹² Vergennes knew that an emollient answer turneth away wrath—especially when the recipient is chiefly anxious to save his face, and will prefer a palpable lie to an acknowledgment of a truth, which could have no other result than a war which England, just then, was anxious to avoid.

This was the state of the diplomatic relations of England and France in respect to America, when the news of Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga came over the sea to work its miraculous conversion. France was not long in exchanging peace and secret aid

¹¹ *Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre*, vol. 526, fol. 20, note.

¹² Bancroft, *History of the United States* (ed. 1866), IX. 286.

for war and open assistance to the American cause. We cannot know all that went on within the ivory towers of French diplomacy, but the reasons for this alliance must have been very strong, since the king and cabinet had been obdurate to every argument for eighteen months preceding the day when they seem to have seen a great light. Since the appearance of Doniol's exhaustive study all writers have drawn their explanations from his plethoric pages,¹³ following their historical bell-wether with Arcadian innocence, and all seem to have come from his account with much the same impression. Two points are dwelt upon, one that the Saratoga victory seemed to promise ultimate American success, and the other that the French government was fearful lest Great Britain should acknowledge American independence, and France thus lose American gratitude. In unemphasized passages of contemporary material quoted by Doniol, other motives appear, but these are the reasons which the author's treatment brings to the fore.

The most important document for interpreting the motives of the French government was used only in part by Doniol when he wrote his account.¹⁴ In a collection in the French Foreign Office entitled "*Mémoires et Documents*", so filled with meaningless, insignificant papers as to discourage the most faithful investigator, this key document was found by Mr. W. G. Leland, while making his guide to the materials for American history in the Archives of Paris. This document is a memoir by Vergennes on the foreign policy of France after 1774, addressed to the king in 1782, when Vergennes had been attacked by his enemies at court.¹⁵ A translation of its essential parts reads as follows:

The news of the surrender of Burgoyne produced in England an almost unanimous demand that peace should be made with America and war with France. Soon the echoes of this were heard in the British Parliament. The ablest members composing it were inclined to recognize the Independence of America and to make with it a league like that which Your Majesty has with the ruling house in Spain. This uniting the interests of the two people would make them as one in peace and

¹³ Doniol nowhere makes a brief, definite statement of the motives which he thinks determined the French government, but one is left to make up one's mind from a medley of vague statements, long quotations filled with a variety of matters, and partial conclusions which change from page to page.

¹⁴ Years after, Doniol wrote a brief work entitled *Politiques d'Autrefois: le Comte de Vergennes et P. M. Hennin, 1749-1787* (Paris, Colin, 1898). In this Doniol uses more of the Vergennes memoir in question, but does not even there use it all or point out its significance. In his great work *La Participation de la France*, etc., V. 187, he quotes briefly from some unessential parts of this document but uses it only to show that Vergennes felt called upon in 1782 to defend his policy.

¹⁵ The old partisans of Choiseul, Breteuil, ambassador to Austria, and Castries, minister of the marine.

war, and France would have to pay the price of this sacrifice. . . . The minister, Lord North, obtained from the majority a commission to be sent to America with great powers, to make a sort of preliminary examination of the ground as to American independence. If resistance seemed to be invincible, they might cede to America what it seemed no longer possible to take from it. All the negotiations which the British ministry attempted meanwhile through its agents with the American representatives residing in Paris, betrayed a disposition not far from complete surrender of their independence. They asked of the Americans only the semblance of dependence, a nominal dependence, provided they would unite with England against France. They would allow them the most extended exercise of all other sovereign rights. From the moment that we were able to perceive this disposition, war with England appeared inevitable whatever part Your Majesty might take, and the question reduced itself to knowing whether it was more expedient to have war for the purpose of upholding America or to wait until England united with America should begin it. This question of which the answer seemed easy was nevertheless discussed for a long time and thoroughly examined in different memoirs which were then submitted to Your Majesty. You examined them yourself and caused them to be discussed by those of your ministers whom you found it good to call to this important deliberation. I humbly pray you to recall that when it was a question of deciding whether we should treat with the Americans, Monsieur le Comte de Maurepas, urged by Your Majesty to make known his opinion, asked to be excused. He pointed out that the matter having been so carefully weighed and discussed in the memoirs and deliberations, it was for Your Majesty in your wisdom to decide, and that the ministry had only to await your orders and to execute them.¹⁶

Herein we note two new ideas, first, that the French ministry thought England was about to offer independence to America on condition of America uniting with England against France, and second, that as a result France was confronted by the necessity of war in any case, against England and America together as one horn of the dilemma, or with America against England as the other. This document is of course merely a reminiscent defense of a policy, and is therefore subject to two criticisms. Written to defend the author against the attacks of his enemies, it must be subject to the suspicion of distorting facts to make his case. Since it is dated five or six years after the events it narrates, we must beware of the tricks of the human memory. We shall therefore bring its assertions to the test of contemporary material. Before turning to that process, it should be noted that the general thesis of Vergennes's memoir is sustained or partially so in brief statements, almost contemporary, by Rayneval, Auberteuil, and Condorcet,¹⁷ while

¹⁶ *Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc.*, vol. 446, fol. 355.

¹⁷ Rayneval, in a Notice Biographique sur le Comte de Vergennes dated 1782 (in *Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc.*, France, vol. 446, fol. 359, and vol. 584, fol. 93—here the date is 1788—, says "Après ayant acquis la certitude que le ministère

the French historian Droz, writing in 1858, and Henri Martin, following Droz, got this same idea from some source we know not of. But all American and English historians fail to grasp this idea of the terrible dilemma with which the French cabinet imagined itself confronted.

Vergennes had been haunted with the bogey from 1776 on, that as a result of America's struggle for independence, France and Spain would lose their West Indian possessions. It was Beaumarchais's fine Italian hand that first planted this thorn which never ceased to worry Vergennes until the war was ended. Though Figaro was only a creature of Beaumarchais's fancy, the intriguing author was a remarkable embodiment of his own imaginary hero. He dwelt with comfort in the house of diplomacy, which has been called the chosen abode of lies. On his return from England after his curious adventure with the mysterious Chevalier d'Eon, Beaumarchais informed the king, by means of a memorial, that he had met one Arthur Lee in London, a representative of the Continental Congress, who had, in its name, offered France, for its secret aid, all the advantages of American commerce. But, Lee threatened, if France refused, America would send her first prizes into French ports, and force France either to admit or forbid them. Forbid, and America would accept peace and join with England in an attack on the French West India islands; admit them, and a rupture with England would follow anyway.¹⁸ Whether Lee or Beaumarchais

Britannique fondait sa réconciliation avec ses colonies révoltées sur une rupture avec la France, et que la faveur ou la justice qu'il consentait à leur accorder devait être le prix des hostilités qu'ils commettraient contre cette couronne".

Auberteuil says of the British government, "Ne pouvant plus espérer de soumettre les Américains, elle désira se réconcilier avec eux pour déclarer la guerre à la France. Elle employa d'habiles agens pour rechercher et sonder les commissaires Américains qui résidaient à Paris, et leur proposer la paix, à condition que le Congrès réunirait ses efforts à ceux de l'Angleterre contre la maison de Bourbon." M. Hilliard d'Auberteuil, *Essai: Historiques et Politiques sur la Révolution de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1782), p. 324.

Condorcet, who was a friend and correspondent of Turgot, writes concerning the influences leading to the alliance with America, "Inquiet du départ de commissaires Anglais chargés de porter en Amérique des propositions séduisantes, signa enfin un traité d'alliance avec les Etats-unis." *Éloge de M. Franklin* (Paris, 1791), p. 30.

Droz says: "Beaucoup d'Américains, mécontents des lenteurs de la cour de Versailles, ne demandaient aux Anglais que de reconnaître l'indépendance, pour s'allier contre nous avec eux. Tout annonçait que nous avions le choix entre deux guerres, dont l'une promettait d'être glorieuse, et dont l'autre pouvait être féconde en désastres. Vergennes n'hésita plus. Maurepas était disposé en faveur des Américains par son désir de plaire à l'opinion publique." J. Droz, *Histoire du Règne de Louis XVI.* (Paris, 1858), p. 198.

Martin says: "La réunion des deux Angleterres contre nous était à redouter maintenant, non point si nous faisons la guerre, mais si nous ne la faisons pas. Les Anglais pouvaient, d'un moment à l'autre, reconnaître l'indépendance des États-Unis au prix d'une alliance offensive contre la France." H. Martin, *Histoire de France* (fourth ed.), XVI, 422; refers to Droz, *Hist. du Règne de Louis XVI.*, I, 262.

¹⁸ Donio, I, 402 (February 29, 1776).

invented this striking and terrible dilemma, I do not know, but the menace of its horns never ceased to worry Vergennes. At least he never ceased to pretend to be worried by them.

Frederick the Great, secret enemy of England, had even earlier planted at the French court a like insidious idea through his minister in Paris. He suggested that France and Spain "had best reinforce themselves in America, for if England gets a great army and navy over there, it will seize the occasion, after subjugating its colonists, to attack the Spanish and French possessions there".¹⁹ St. Germain in a memoir to Vergennes March 1, 1776, declared his belief that when England was through with the American struggle, whether she won or lost, she would recoup her losses by seizing the French West India islands. "The ease of conquest would suggest the idea and the excuses are easy to find."²⁰ Beaumarchais's suggestion had made its instant appeal to Vergennes's imagination, and in his next memoir to the cabinet,²¹ he dwelt upon it at length, and suggested secret aid and at the same time preparation for war. Even Turgot, in his reflections on Vergennes's memoir,²² thought it likely that if England failed she would wipe out the shame by an attack on Martinique and Porto Rico. Yet he suggests that England may be too exhausted financially. For Vergennes there was no such hope, and for the next eighteen months his letters are filled with warnings of that danger. He was continually plying Spain with reasons for being ready for war, and, indeed, any time after 1776 he would have plunged France into war with England, if Spain would have joined with her;²³ but our problem is, why did France, after Burgoyne's defeat, unite with America in war upon England without Spanish aid.

The fears of Vergennes were never allayed, but rather ever augmented by reports from England. Noailles, the French ambassador in London, wrote as early as November 8, 1776, that the British ministry would be glad to see a war break out between England and France and Spain over the Portuguese affair. Then they could gracefully drop the American affair, which they were now too proud to do. Indeed, Noailles wrote that Lord Rockingham, calling attention in debate to the growing armaments of France

¹⁹ Bancroft, *Histoire de l'Action Commune de la France et de l'Amérique pour l'Indépendance des États-Unis* (trans. and ed. Circourt), III. 63 (January 8, 1776).

²⁰ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 515, no. 24.

²¹ Doniol, I. 273-278, March, 1776.

²² Arch. Nat., K, 1340, no. 10, p. 42. "La morale de l'Angleterre en politique n'est pas faite pour nous rassurer", he adds.

²³ Bancroft, IX. 64-66; Doniol, II. 696, 664; Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 1897, fol. 70.

and Spain, had proposed reconciliation with America at any price, and then an alliance with that independent people. The Duke of Manchester and the Duke of Grafton had seconded this proposal.²⁴ Again, December 31, 1776, he wrote that the news of the American loss of Fort Washington had made London wild with joy. Their madness knew no bounds. This delirious people were ready to defy all the powers of the world, and "they talk loftily of attacking France".²⁵ In May, 1777, the French spies reported that Lord Camden had shown full knowledge of French aid to America, and of France's preparations for war. "Let us have war with all the world", he cried, "but peace with America."²⁶ By August of 1777 Vergennes was so beset with his *bête noire*, that he told Stormont, the British minister, flatly, "your public papers, your pamphleteers, your orators, and ours, repeat ceaselessly that if you do not regain your colonies you will fall upon ours".²⁷

This was the state of mind of the French foreign minister when the news of Burgoyne's defeat came oversea to England and to France. After all these auguries of war, it is little wonder that trifles light as air seemed proofs as strong as holy writ. Simultaneously with the arrival in Paris of the news of Burgoyne's surrender came the news from the French spies in London that the Duke of Richmond had proposed in the House of Lords to re-establish peace with America, and form with it a family compact, in all the force of that term, which would put the two countries out of reach, and render them superior to all other family compacts.²⁸ Fox, wrote the Duke of Noailles, was occupied with the same object in the House of Commons.²⁹ Another agent discusses at length the ominous threat that Chatham will be recalled.³⁰ "If he re-enters the cabinet he will be the master, and his insatiable avidity for glory will not let him neglect the means which he will have in his hands if he can, of attacking France and Spain."

Although Vergennes hastened as early as December 6, at the latest, to assure the American commissioners in Paris that the king contemplated an alliance of some sort with America,³¹ yet we know

²⁴ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 519, no. 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 123.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. 523, fol. 155.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. 524, no. 114.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 526. These spies not only reported the debates of both houses of Parliament, but even in some cases the discussions in the cabinet.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fol. 163, December 5, 1777.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, fol. 154, December 5, 1777. Vergennes quotes this exactly, December 13, 1777. Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 102.

³¹ Doniol, II. 626. He and Maurepas, he says, "think there is not a moment to lose in making friends with Congress—useful if we attach it, dangerous if we neglect it".

that the French ministry hesitated until December 17 before committing itself any further, and for a month after that it would have withdrawn from negotiation if anything untoward had happened, or if it could have shaken off the fear that America would make peace with England and form such a compact with it that France would be in danger of attack by both. Vergennes's diplomatic aims for a time appear in passages of his letters, as in that to Gerard (December 10, 1777), where he says he is too tired to see Deane and Grand who have just called, but "you see them" and "encourage them". "It is not possible to promise absolutely, but you can put them on the road to give to themselves the promise."³² On the following day he was writing Montmorin, "I will study meanwhile in the conference which I am to have to-morrow with the American deputies to so compass my language that I shall nourish their hopes without meanwhile engaging us beyond what is reasonable."³³ Moreover, he had told the commissioners that France ought not to act without Spain's approval, and had got them to await an answer from Spain.³⁴ These points are important since they reveal that December 6 was not the critical moment when the French decision was made, but rather some later date, perhaps as late as February 4, 1778, when the Spanish letter of January 28, 1778, arrived, and the French ministry knew of Spain's positive refusal to join with France against England.³⁵ Therefore all information which came to Vergennes meanwhile, strengthening his conviction that war was inevitable, influenced the final decision.

Letters from the secret agents of France in England continued to pile up the evidence that England sought peace with America, and wished war with France.³⁶ The Duc de Lauzun, writing from London, corroborated their fears, while the Comte de Broglie indited his usual memoir to the king filled with the same idea.³⁷ Every rumor from London confirmed these fears. The Duke of Richmond in parliamentary debate had declared that it was impossible for England to get peace with America on any other basis than that of independence. He urged a treaty of union like that with Scotland wherein the two nations would recognize the same king.³⁸ Chatham was reported to have made the same proposal.³⁹

³² Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., États Unis, vol. 2, no. 175.

³³ Doniol, II. 534-635.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 750-756.

³⁵ The drawing up of the treaty it is true had gone on, and after December 17, it would have been awkward for France to withdraw.

³⁶ Doniol, II. 648-649; Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 129.

³⁷ Doniol, II. 649-650, 668-670; Arch. Nat., Marine, B 4, vol. 132, fol. 20 (original of Broglie memoir).

³⁸ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 226.

³⁹ Arch. Nat., Marine, B 4, vol. 132, fol. 20. See also Bancroft, IX. 478.

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Lord North, talking of peace, was known to be working with the greatest zeal to get unlimited subsidies for war. Already sixty thousand sailors were voted, it was said, and it was not difficult to foresee the usage they would make of them if they could get their elbows free in America.⁴⁰ While French spies in London were daily sending the French ministry fresh proofs of the reality of their fears, Vergennes knew that the American commissioners were receiving agents sent by the British government to propose terms for a conciliation,⁴¹ and Franklin and Deane, while seeming very frank in confiding to Vergennes all that went on in these secret interviews, admitted with diplomatic innuendo that America might have to make peace with England, and even to turn on France because the United States got so little support in Europe.⁴² It seems to have been the astute policy of the American agents to create a jealousy in the French government by feigning to be near to a compulsory alliance with England, while at the same time they kept England on the anxious seat by affecting to desire an alliance with France. Carmichael, one of the American commissioners, put into Vergennes's hands a memoir pointing out that the help France had given thus far in money and arms was regarded by many in America as merely giving a little nourishment to the fire which would consume its enemy. If France, he warns Vergennes, lets England triumph, this force in America which united to France might put England where it could do no harm, will be directed against France. In America the love of conquest might replace that of patriotism. And Spain ought not to forget that England will console America for the loss of its liberty by the pillage of Spain's American possessions.⁴³ Paul Wentworth, the British spy, reported that Franklin in conversation with him (January 4, 1778) said, "It was affection to Great Britain which induced him to say that Independency was certain, that a few weeks would evince that he was still the friend of Great Britain, in wishing her to go before France and Spain and avoid a war on her part as well as prevent the colonies from engagements, which must be taken out of England's scale."⁴⁴ These clever American agents seem to have understood well the art of

⁴⁰ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pcl., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 248, December 13, 1777.

⁴¹ The assiduous Beaumarchais, ardent as ever for intervention in favor of America, brought this news, Doniol, II. 685. Noailles also suggested this, Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 120, also no. 131 bis; Doniol, II. 648, note.

⁴² Doniol, II. 629-631. Also Wharton, *Dipl. Corres.*, December 8, 1777.

⁴³ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, fol. 388.

⁴⁴ Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 34415, fol. 27. Franklin had conditioned this interview "on the understanding that propositions of honor and emolument, if Franklin would bring about a conciliation with England, must not be made". *Ibid.*, fol. 18.

worrying both England and France to the eternal advantage of their native land. They made capital out of their report to Vergennes on the proposals of England's secret agent. "He made them understand", writes Vergennes, December 15, 1777, "that the British ministry was ready to grant everything almost to Independence, which they could not risk for fear of losing their places. All was tried, promises, seduction, menaces. The most positive thing was that instructions had been sent to Lord Howe to negotiate in America. The formal proposition is to unite cordially and to fall upon France and Spain."⁴⁵ A fear that haunted Vergennes was that Lord North taking advantage of the stress of circumstances would anticipate Parliament's action. "Give all news on the wings of haste", Vergennes wrote fervidly to Noailles in London, December 13, "do not spare the couriers". "Tell them to push on in case of urgency even to Versailles." "Be on the alert, watch Parliament, the ministry, and the ports. We may expect violent scenes and extraordinary resolutions."⁴⁶ "In the distress wherein the British ministry finds itself", urges Vergennes, "every means will appear good to it to escape from its straits. Although North has announced the coming January 20, for submitting his plans of peace and of war, I have some reason for believing that he will not wait this time to prepare a reconciliation with the Americans. Orders must have been sent very recently to Howe for this undertaking. . . . If he believed that he had the power to accord independence, he might have a good chance—all other conditions being more difficult." He begs Noailles to solve for him the question whether North would dare grant Independence and treat as state with state before having the consent of Parliament. He fears that the ministry in its desperation may do almost anything. They may well regard a new war as a remedy to the evils which now overwhelm them.⁴⁷ Even if the North ministry falls, one under Chatham will succeed, and "it is the same to us", cried Vergennes, "whether war comes from Lord North or Lord Chatham".⁴⁸

By December 27, Vergennes was wholly decided. "The question which we have to solve", he wrote "is to know whether it is more expedient to have war against England and America united, or with America for us against England."⁴⁹ Over two weeks before,

⁴⁵ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 105. More fully told, *ibid.*, no. 112.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 84.

⁴⁷ December 20, 1777, Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Angleterre, vol. 526, no. 110 bis; *ibid.*, fol. 248.

⁴⁸ Doniol, II. 649.

⁴⁹ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., Espagne, vol. 587, no. 135.

Vergennes had used in a letter to Spain the exact words of Beaumarchais, who, Menior or Mephistopheles, was ever at his elbow during this critical period, whispering suspicions, and furnishing him with taffeta phrases which Vergennes never disdained to borrow in his next letters, while he kept a little at a distance and in the background this "Barber of Seville", who was too clever not to be used, but of too humble birth to be acknowledged. He wrote in Beaumarchais's words of the day before, "We must not forget that the power which recognizes the independence of the Americans first will gather all the fruits of this war."⁵⁰

This idea came also to dominate the mind of the king, as we see in his letter of January 8, to his "dear brother and uncle" the King of Spain. After discussing the effects of Burgoyne's defeat, and Lord North's proposal of pacification, he says, "It is the same thing to us whether this ministry be in power or another. By different means they unite to ally themselves with America, and they do not forget our ill offices. They will fall upon us as if the civil war had not been. This fact, and the griefs which we have against England, have determined me after having taken the advice of my cabinet that it is just and necessary to consider the propositions which the American insurgents make, and to begin to treat with them to prevent their reunion with their mother country."⁵¹ We have here the king's word as to the cabinet meeting to which Vergennes refers in his memoir, and, indeed, the archives contain what is almost certainly Vergennes's contemporary letter urging the king to ask each minister for a written opinion as to what ought to be done in the emergency, "the crisis in America."⁵² Even the contemporary memoirs, at least two of them, submitted to the king have been preserved in the archives,⁵³ so that Vergennes's reminiscent memoir of 1782 seems borne out in all of its assertions by the contemporary material. Vergennes's fears expressed in all his correspondence from 1776 to the time of France's momentous decision, make it seem clear that Vergennes did not invent this motive for the alliance—the idea that the French government was confronted by the dilemma of war with England anyway, whether France allied itself with England or not. He does not in my opinion merely use this device to get the consent of the king and the other ministers to the plan he wished to pursue. But whether it is his

⁵⁰ Doniol, II. 632. Beaumarchais's letter, *ibid.*, p. 684.

⁵¹ Aff. Étr., Mém. et Doc., France, vol. 1897, fol. 83.

⁵² Arch. Nat., K, 162, no. 3 (Corres. of Vergennes, no. 6; the date is merely December, 1777).

⁵³ Aff. Étr., Corres. Pol., États-Unis, Supplément, vol. 26, fols. 38-47. Doniol, II. 673, 655.

conviction or his device, the idea of the terrible dilemma remains the reason for the decision of the French cabinet. The king's letter of January 8, 1778, seems to dispose of any idea that Vergennes alone of the members of the French cabinet was possessed of this spectre of inevitable war. We may therefore accept, with as much confidence as historical evidence ever grants us as to the motives of men, the assertion of Vergennes in 1782, that France entered into alliance with the United States in the spring of 1778, because the king and his ministry were convinced that France was doomed to a war with Great Britain whether she formed the American alliance or not, but that it was the better policy to join with America and thus win her support rather than to wait for England to make peace with America, and then make war in company with her upon the House of Bourbon whose insular possessions would lie so completely at their mercy.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE KEELMEN OF NEWCASTLE

THE Webbs in one of their best books, defining trade union as "a continuous association of wage-earners for the purpose of maintaining or improving the condition of their employment", asserted that they had been unable to discover within the British Isles before the beginning of the eighteenth century anything falling precisely within this definition.¹ The guilds of the Middle Ages had been fundamentally associations of capitalists and entrepreneurs, while the bachelors' companies and the infrequent combinations of journeymen or workmen had been either subordinate to the will of their masters, ephemeral in character, friendly societies for co-operative benefit and assistance to the members, or for other purposes. Nor could the long-lived combinations of masons, so often forbidden by Parliament, be considered as early trade unions, since the members hired themselves not to employers but instead to the consumers direct. The origin of trade unionism in England they found just before the Industrial Revolution in certain skilled trades where the increasing amount of capital required to establish a business made it less possible for journeymen actually to become masters, and reducing them to the condition of life-long wage-earners, led them now to form new combinations of their own for the purpose of increasing their wages and bettering conditions. The typical instances were the tailors and the wool-combers, whose associations date from about the beginning of the eighteenth century.²

The keelmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne may be cited as earlier instance of an organization of wage-earners who appear to have used their organization in attempts to increase their wages and remedy abuses, and so tended to become something like a trade union, representing, perhaps, a phase of transition from the old to the new. A great mass of records concerning the keelmen still exists in manuscript,³ which would probably reveal more clearly the structure of their organization and the ends which they sought to attain. Keelmen navigated the wherries or keels which plied upon the Tyne

¹ Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *The History of Trade Unionism* (new ed., London, 1907), p. 1.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 4-6, 8-10, 15, 16, 18, 2, 24, 25-31.

³ F. W. Dendy, introduction to *Extracts from the Records of the Company of Hostmen of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Surtees Society, CV., 1901), p. lii.

and the rivers nearby. Perhaps they carried various commodities,⁴ but as the great business of Newcastle came to be the export of sea-coal, they were occupied there almost entirely in transporting coal from the mine-staiths or wharves to the ships in which it was carried away. The keels in which they worked were the property of the hostmen of Newcastle, who by the beginning of the seventeenth century had obtained a monopoly of the coal business in this place. The keelmen, who were said to number about sixteen hundred, hired themselves to individual hostmen at certain wages for a year at a time. Many of them were Scots or Borderers. Some returned to Scotland in the winter season, but others with their wives and children occupied a particular part of the town, and had their own hospital and church and school.⁵

The "Kelemen" were organized in a by-trade or gild which is mentioned along with other "felawshippes or craftes" in a decree of Star Chamber in 1516.⁶ In 1607 it is spoken of as the "Company of Kelemen", and as a "Fraternity" somewhat later.⁷ This body, governed by stewards or overseers chosen from its own membership by the fitters or hostmen, undoubtedly exercised disciplinary control over its members.⁸ About 1699 they agreed to contribute from their wages towards a fund for the relief of their sick and poor, from which money a hospital or almshouse was built. That it might the better be collected they agreed that the hostmen should make the deduction from their wages, though they afterward complained of maladministration, and attempted to get entire control of the fund themselves.⁹

Whatever may have been the principal purposes of the keelmen's organization in the beginning, it is certain that as time went on they attempted collective bargaining with their employers, and entered into agreements with other keelmen in places nearby to compel employers to give them better wages or remedy abuses which were put upon them. In 1654 Whitelock notices "A Mutiny of the *Keelmen* at *Newcastle*, for increase of Wages".¹⁰ Not many years later they assembled tumultuously at Newcastle to complain of ill-treatment at the hands of the masters of the colliers as to wages. The "riot"

⁴ In 1560 payment was made "to iij kelmen and a kell to go to sheall to cast furthe skyns". *Extracts from the Records of the Merchant Adventurers of Newcastle-upon-Tyne* (Surtees Society, CI., 1899), p. 170.

⁵ Dendy, p. 1.

⁶ Patent Roll, 8 Henry VIII., I. 15-16, printed in Gross, *The Gild Merchant*, II. 382.

⁷ *Surtees Society*, CV. 57; State Papers, Domestic, Entry Books, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

⁸ *Surtees Society*, CV. 157, 178.

⁹ Dendy, pp. 1, lii.

¹⁰ *Memorials* (London, 1682), p. 581.

was ended when the deputy-lieutenant raised a part of the trainbands.¹¹ In 1707 the Hostmen's Company resolved to blacklist many keelmen concerned in a petition to Parliament.¹² In 1710 the keelmen ceased work and riotously prevented navigation on the Tyne, and were not suppressed until the local militia had been called out and reinforced by six companies of the queen's troops. The trouble arose from discontent at the administration of the keelmen's fund and because of demands for better pay. The mayor asserted that some of their complaints had to do with their wages, "which they wou'd have encreased beyond what has been paid them these thirty years—With severall extravagant demands not in our power to grant them". The queen ordered an investigation of "the present Combinations and Complaints".¹³ Nine years later the keelmen of the Tyne joined with those upon the Wear in a combination to force an increase of wages and obtain relief from various abuses. They complained that the fitters, their employers, compelled them to do more work than previously and paid part of their wages in clothing and other necessities. This the fitters denied. The magistrates of Newcastle attempted to adjust the dispute, but the strikers not only refused to work, but would permit no fitter to make use of his keel, so that coal traffic was completely suspended. Such disorder resulted that troops were again despatched to the scene, and vigorous action taken. The keelmen persisted until their leaders were in prison and themselves reduced to destitution, when they submitted. The fitters on their part made some slight concessions.¹⁴ In 1738, because of "some grievencys", the keelmen struck and prevented others from working, and the local authorities appealed for military assistance to "remove the present obstruction to Trade".¹⁵ In 1750 there was another strike in which the keelmen remained idle for several weeks. The magistrates summoned men and masters, and, as they affirmed, redressed the just complaints immediately; "But the Men would not go to work without having their Wages advanced, which were very extravagant Demands". It was admitted that the men did no mischief, but several of the "Offenders" were committed to prison in the hope of bringing the others "to their Duty".¹⁶

¹¹ S. P. Dom., Entry Books, XXXI., June 4, 1671; Privy Council Register, LXIII., June 9, 1671; *Historical MSS. Commission Reports*, 12, VII. 79.

¹² *Surtees Society*, CV. 172.

¹³ S. P. Dom., Anne, XII., June 23, July 11, 21, 1710; S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CIX., June 17, 27, July 1, 4, August 1, 1710.

¹⁴ S. P. Dom., Regencies, LVII., May 15, 16, 17, 30, 1719; LXI., May 19, 21, June 4, 5, 9, 16, 1719; LXII., July 16, 1719; S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CCLXXXI., June 16, July 23, 1719.

¹⁵ S. P. Dom., Entry Books, CXXX., May 16, 1738.

¹⁶ S. P. Dom., George II., CXII., April 30, 1750.

It would seem, then, that the fellowship of keelmen at Newcastle, originally a by-trade, apparently subordinate to the Hostmen's Company, and certainly controlled by it, while continuing to exercise the functions of regulation, discipline, and benefit, for which it had been founded, developed other activities, in which it persevered as time went on. Always a body of wage-earners, during the latter part of the seventeenth century and in the early part of the eighteenth it strove for better conditions and sought increased wages for its members, and not only pursued the same objects but adopted some of the methods of the tailors and the woolcombers, among whom trade-unionism in England is acknowledged to have had its origin.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

THE CRIME OF W. H. CRAWFORD

AT the time when I was writing my doctor's thesis on the *Civil Service and the Patronage*, it was fashionable for civil service reformers to consider the law of 1820 fixing the term of most presidential appointees at four years as the *fons et origo* of the spoils system and W. H. Crawford as its conscious author. In the effort to throw light on this point, I found many curious and some important things, but no proof of the charge. In fact, I inclined to the belief that Crawford had no intention of using the law to secure his election, and that the law itself, in addition to being in accord with the democratic tendencies of the day, had some justification as an administrative measure. It is to the consideration of the latter point that I wish to add an item.

In the seventeenth century the Propaganda was the most active and efficient as it was the newest department of the papacy. Its administrative problem was precisely that of the United States, only on a much larger scale, the control of agents rendered practically independent by distance. Inspection was difficult, and the same distance rendered the inspectors as uncontrollable as the inspected; each inspection resulted in charges and counter-charges rather than in action. Even if the charges were true, the unfrocking of a priest or the removal of a bishop created a scandal and was too heavy a penalty to be inflicted for a light offense or on suspicion however strong; just as Crawford told Monroe in 1820, what was true in 1820, that the removal of a public official simply because he was unsatisfactory put an unjust stain upon his character. The control of the papacy over its clergy in America was almost non-existent, and the control of the United States over its distant officials in 1820 was unsatisfactory.

In both cases resort was made to a periodic and automatic cessation of powers. The American clergy needed certain *facoltà* not inherent in their orders or positions. The Propaganda adopted the policy of granting these *facoltà* for limited periods. At first the bishops were given fifteen years. In 1670 this was made seven, "because it is observed, that they remember the Sacred Congregation no more, until the necessity of renewing them arrives". In the case of lesser dignitaries the period was shorter, averaging, perhaps, three years. Refusal to regrant such *facoltà* could be made without ecclesiastical process and without scandal, unless the man neglected made it. In the United States the full commission ran out after four years; the same man could be reappointed or a new man substituted. It was the privilege of the man dropped to protest, or, if his failure of reappointment was for obvious cause, to hold his peace.

The system of the Propaganda did not work perfectly, but it gave the papal administration such a hold over distant clergy as it had never before had; it was the chief administrative device of the most active department of the Church's central organization. It is significant that, though lately much reduced in the range of its application, it is still the chief administrative device of the Methodist Church. In the United States the system was never really put into operation until the government was in the control of the spoilsmen who have found it a convenient, though by no means a necessary, device, while the development of communication changed the situation it was designed to meet.

I do not suppose I create the impression that W. H. Crawford had studied the history of the Propaganda or that he was deliberately copying the Methodist system, but the adoption, by various organizations, of systems so similar, to meet similar situations, shows the measure to be a reasonable piece of administrative machinery, and throws the burden of proof upon those who maintain that the motive for it was sordid.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

DOCUMENTS

Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain, 1789-1791

THE intrigues of the Vermont Separatists savor of the type of conspiracy so prominent in the West before the acquisition of Louisiana. In fact, the geographical positions of Vermont and of the Kentucky country were in one respect very similar. Both regions were so situated that it was easier for the inhabitants to float their products out by means of inland navigation systems through the northeastern and southwestern frontiers, respectively, than to send them out over the difficult land routes to the harbors of the eastern coast states. The position of Vermont in this respect closely resembles the relation of the Kentucky and Tennessee settlements to the closure of the Mississippi navigation, and was productive of much the same results; for while the Western citizens of the Ohio Valley were demanding the free navigation of the river, and while their delegations to the Virginia ratifying convention hesitated to consent to the adoption of a new Constitution that would give control of navigation and commerce to a remote central government that had not been over-careful of their rights to the New Orleans outlet, a strong party in the Sovereign State of Vermont was against joining the Union, and favored an alliance with Great Britain, or even return to British rule.

That Vermont was to a great degree dependent on the Champlain system appealed to many men in that state as a strong argument for seeking the protection of Great Britain rather than joining the new Union and accepting a part of its debt. Forming a natural highway from points almost as far south as the head of navigation of the Hudson, the Champlain system offered easy communication between Quebec and northwestern New England, together with those adjacent counties of New York, extending as far as Lake Ontario, which were claimed by Vermont under the old New Hampshire grants. Other things being equal, it was less laborious and cheaper for the inhabitants of this country to send out their produce and to receive their importations by way of Lake Champlain and the Sorel River than to carry them to and fro over the rough roads to the Atlantic Coast. If commercial concessions

were offered or to be had, the temptation for a Canadian connection was all the stronger.

The Allen brothers, Ethan, Ira, and Levi, were the most active and versatile of the separatist party, and their negotiations with Canadian and English officials form a story that is yet to be treated. The documents on which it must be founded, and from which a selection is here presented, are preserved among the Colonial Office Papers in the British Public Record Office. Transcripts of most of them are in the Canadian Archives at Ottawa, series Q. The references below, to one or other of these repositories, merely indicate the one in which the present inquirer found a particular document.¹

Immediately after the preliminary articles of peace had become known, several "persons of influence" from Vermont visited General Haldimand at Quebec, at different times. They represented their state as being strongly opposed to joining the Confederation, even though Congress complied with the condition, which had been advanced, that the new state should be exempt from any part of the debt of the United States contracted before the date of admission. They encouraged the settlement of royalists, and candidly and confidentially told Haldimand that Vermont must either become annexed to Canada or become mistress of it, as it was the only channel by which their produce could be marketed. They assured him that they preferred annexation. Haldimand, who, unlike some later Canadian governors, lacked initiative for petty intrigue, told them plainly that he could not interfere, and that he had positive orders to do everything possible to conciliate the affections of the subjects of the United States and those of Great Britain.² When Lord Sydney, then directing colonial affairs, received this news, he commented on it as extraordinary, but thought that it would not be consistent with the treaty to interfere "openly" in the disputes of the people of Vermont, though it would "be difficult to refuse to take them under our protection should they determine to become subjects of Great Britain". Haldimand must use his discretion, but should take no step without first notifying the home government.³

Through the year 1784 little was heard at Quebec from the

¹ The contributor being in Europe at the time of the final preparation of this material for the press, some of the annotations have been added, without ability to consult him, by the managing editor.

² Haldimand to North, Quebec, October 24, 1783, Canadian Archives, Q. 22: 85.

³ Sydney to Haldimand, Whitehall, April 8, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 55. Sydney was home secretary from December, 1783, to June, 1789.

Vermont separatists, and a formal demand by Governor Chittenden for the delivery of the British posts at Pointe-au-Fer and Dutchman's Point was refused. It was supposed that they were turning their attention more to Congress.⁴ The matter of connections with Canada had not been forgotten, however; for Ira Allen turned up in Quebec in the spring of 1785 with a commission from the governor of Vermont⁵ to negotiate for free trade between that state and the British provinces. Hamilton, then acting governor, sent Allen back with an indefinite answer.⁶ The governor's council declined to interfere on the ground that a royal order-in-council regulated all commerce. The request was forwarded to Whitehall.⁷

A memorial for free commercial privileges with Canada, with the same freedom as to the trade with the British West Indies and England in British vessels, was presented by Ira Allen to Dorchester late in 1786, and met with partial success. The governor's council, or "Council of State", this time saw fit to open up a trade by way of Lake Champlain, with the "neighboring states" to the province of Quebec. Free importation of lumber, naval stores, hemp, flax, grain, provisions, livestock, and all products grown in those states was allowed, and all British products excepting furs and peltries might be exported into them from Canada without payment of duties.⁸ The ministry afterward confirmed the action of the Canadian authorities, allowing Dorchester to direct the passage of such laws as were deemed expedient for regulating trade with Vermont, but not by this means to permit the importation of foreign goods, or the exportation of furs. A commercial treaty, which Allen had petitioned for, was impossible, said Lord Sydney.⁹

While Ira Allen had been negotiating for commercial privileges, his brother Levi had endeavored to secure a contract for supplying the British navy with masts, at prices paid at Portsmouth, N. H.,

⁴ Chittenden to H. Hildmand, Arlington, Vt., April 15, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 78. Hildmand to North, Quebec, May 12, 1784, Can. Arch., Q. 23: 161.

⁵ Act by the state of Vermont for the purpose of opening up free trade to and through the province of Quebec, with a resolution to appoint Ira Allen, Major Joseph Fay, and Hon. Jonas Fay commissioners for that purpose. Rutland, Vt., October 29, 1784. The act is in Slade, *Vermont State Papers*, p. 496; both act and resolution are in *Records of the Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, III, 397-398. The Council, October 26, 1785, substituted Levi Allen for Joseph Fay, resigned; *ibid.*, 399.

⁶ Hamilton to Sydney, Quebec, April 7, 1785, Can. Arch., Q. 24: 282. Ira Allen's report, June 7, 1785, to the General Assembly, is in *Records of Governor and Council*, III, 398.

⁷ Extract from the minutes of the Council of State, Quebec, March 24, 28, 1785, Can. Arch., Q. 24: 450.

⁸ Memorial of Levi Allen, November 22, 1786, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 7. Proclamation of Dorchester, April 18, 1787, in *Records of Governor and Council*, III, 402. Ordinance of governor and council of Canada, April 30, 1787; *ibid.*, III, 403. Dorchester to Sydney, Quebec, June 18, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 4.

⁹ Sydney to Dorchester, Whitehall, September 14, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 28.

before the war.¹⁰ This offer, transmitted to the British naval authorities, does not appear to have had any further consequences.¹¹

Another petition from Vermont was brought to Quebec by Levi Allen late in 1787, asking permission to export produce from Canada in British bottoms on the same terms as those enjoyed by British subjects. There is no record of this request being granted.¹² The next summer his brother Ethan presented to Dorchester a long memorial, dated at Québec, which is notable for the way in which this hero of Ticonderoga chaffered for British trading concessions and for supplies of arms in case of a rebellion against Congress, and indicated the willingness of Vermont to come under British dominion again. It is interesting to observe that this was presented to the governor of Canada within a few months from the time when Wilkinson forwarded a similar communication to the Spanish governor at New Orleans, for similar purposes, and with a similar though perhaps more selfish motive.¹³ Ethan Allen asserted that Vermont had 15,000 men, and would resist aggression on the part of the United States and any attempts to subjugate it.

Vermont is locally situated to the waters of Lake Champlain, which connect with those of the St. Lawrence, and contiguous to the Province of Quebec, where they must be dependent for trade, business and intercourse, which naturally incline them to the British interest—in the time of General Haldimand's command, could Great Britain have afforded Vermont protection, they would have readily yielded up their independence and have become a Province of Great Britain, and should the United States attempt a conquest of them, they would, I presume, do the same, should the British policy harmonize with it. For the leading men in Vermont are not sentimentally attached to a republican form of government, yet from political principles are determined to maintain their present mode of it, till they can have a better, and expect to be able to do it, at least, so long as the United States will be able to maintain theirs, or until they can on principles of mutual interest and advantage return to the British government, without war or annoyance from the United States.¹⁴

Sydney acted with caution, upon receiving from Dorchester a copy of this letter, and replied that nothing could be done until the

¹⁰ Levi Allen to Dorchester, Quebec, July 2, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 107, and Public Record Office, C. O. 42: 11, f. 87.

¹¹ Sydney to Dorchester, November 8, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 28: 143.

¹² Major Skene to his father, Quebec, December 16, 1787, Can. Arch., Q. 36: 481. But the privileges accorded by the ordinance of April 30, 1787, were enlarged by one of April 14, 1788, of which the text is in the *Vermont Records*, III, 405-406.

¹³ The date of Allen's letter to Dorchester is July 16, 1788; that of Wilkinson to Miró is dated February 12, 1789. Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, III, 223-240.

¹⁴ Ethan Allen to Dorchester, Quebec, July 16, 1788, Can. Arch., Q. 36: 448. This is calendared by Mr. Brymner, in the *Report on the Archives for 1890*, who makes liberal quotations, pp. 210-211.

reassembling of the ministry.¹⁵ Impatient at this delay, the energetic Allens determined upon a bolder stroke; they resolved that one of them should go to England in person, and there confer directly with the ministry. The story of Levi's voyage to England and of his relations with the Cabinet, the adventures of his ship, and his vain attempt to prevent Vermont from joining the Union, are described in the letters printed below. The first is a formal memorial to the Secretary of State for the Home Department. The second is a reference of the memorial to the Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations. The report of the committee, made at a time when the Nootka Sound question bade fair to result in war between Spain and Great Britain, and when the ministry was doubtful as to the attitude of the United States, has already been printed in this *Review* by Professor Frederick J. Turner.¹⁶ The committee considered an identical policy to be in many ways applicable to Vermont and Kentucky. A British interest should be fostered for commercial and political reasons in Kentucky; the same interest might be enhanced in Vermont by giving the inhabitants liberal commercial facilities, though the committee did not presume to say whether the hostility of the States ought to be invited by the negotiation of an actual treaty with Vermont, which was recognized by the treaty of 1783 to be within American boundaries:

Allen was kept waiting in London while the business of the Nootka imbroglio proceeded. Grenville soon received information from his informal agent in New York, Major George Beckwith, that the United States would not go to war over the question of the posts, even should Spain and Britain come to grips. This assurance came from Alexander Hamilton, and enabled the Duke of Leeds, the secretary for Foreign Affairs, to discount the veiled threats of Gouverneur Morris, who was at the same time in London as the personal agent of Washington, inquiring as to the disposition of the ministry regarding fulfillment of the stipulations of the treaty of 1783.¹⁷ For this reason it was not necessary to hold out to Allen any favors much greater than those already granted by

¹⁵ Sydney to Dorchester, Whitehall, September 5, 1788, Can. Arch., Q. 38: 1.

¹⁶ "English Policy toward America, 1790-1791", *American Historical Review*, VIII. 78-86, report of April 17, 1790. Cf. (same article, part I.), *id.*, VII. 707.

¹⁷ See Beckwith to Grenville, New York, April 7, 1790, Public Record Office, F. O. 4: 12. Grenville to Dorchester, June 6, 1790, Can. Arch., Q. 44: 161. For Morris's mission, see *American State Papers, Foreign Relations*, I., and J. Sparks, *Life and Letters of Gouverneur Morris*, vol. II., ch. I. See also Manning, "Nootka Sound Controversy", in *American Historical Association Report*, 1906, pp. 417 ff.

the Canadian government, nor to accept the possibility of an alliance with the "Vermontese". The whole intrigue, if it may be called such, was extinguished automatically by the confederation of Vermont to the United States.

Our third document, Levi Allen to Dundas, August 9, 1791, runs parallel to, and supplements, a letter which Colonel Simcoe wrote to the same official a week before, August 2, after conversation with Allen, and which has been printed in the *Report* of the Canadian Archives for 1889.¹⁸ The fourth document is of additional interest in that, like passages in the third and sixth, it shows relations hitherto unknown between Simcoe and General Elijah Clarke, the Georgia backwoodsman, in the period between the latter's first disappointment over President Washington's Creek treaty of 1790, on the one hand, and his relations with Genet in 1793 and trans-Oconee outbreak of 1794.¹⁹ The fifth and sixth documents relate the story of Allen's final disappointment, in a manner to supplement the account which Allen gave Simcoe in a letter dated November 19, 1791, and printed in the *Canadian Archives Report* for 1889.²⁰

The Unionist party gave the governor of Canada considerable anxiety for the safety of the British posts in that state. In 1791 he gave orders to the officers there that any attack must be repelled, and noted with concern the erection of the custom-house at Alburgh, which Levi Allen feared would take fire.²¹ The aggressive attitude of the Unionists toward the British posts was the subject of representations by Hammond, the British minister at Philadelphia, to Jefferson, who took some steps to quiet apprehensions.²² Dorchester's nervousness over the Vermont posts added to his perturbation in 1794, when he made the famous hostile speech to the Indians and ordered Governor Simcoe, of Upper Canada, to build the Miami Fort on American soil, near the present city of Toledo.²³

Ira Allen made a voyage to Europe in 1796, visited England, and petitioned the government for leave to cut a canal between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence River.²⁴ While in France

¹⁸ P. 53. Colonel John Graves Simcoe had long since been listed for appointment as the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, though his commission was not issued till September 12, 1791. Read's *Simcoe*, p. 127.

¹⁹ Stevens, *History of Georgia*, II. 404 ff.

²⁰ P. 56.

²¹ Dorchester to Lieut.-Col. Buckeridge, January 17, 1791, Can. Arch., Q. 50: 113. See p. 557, *post*, and note 40.

²² *American State Papers, For. Rel.*, I. 461-463, correspondence between Randolph and Hammond relative to the speech of Lord Dorchester. Also Dorchester to Dundas, Quebec, September 20, 1794, Can. Arch., Q. 70: 64.

²³ Dorchester to Hammond, Quebec, February 17, 1794, Can. Arch., Q. 67: 105.

²⁴ Ira Allen to Portland, London, August 15, 1796, Can. Arch., Q. 77: 339.

he purchased 20,000 stand of arms for the Vermont militia, though the Canadian officials noted that the Vermont militia was legally required to furnish its own arms.²⁵ Allen's shipment was captured by a British warship, it being suspected that they were for the aid of a revolution of the French inhabitants of Lower Canada. The proceedings and correspondence relative to Allen's connection with this plot against British authority are printed in part in the *Report* on the Canadian Archives for 1891,²⁶ and in his *Olive Branch*.

S. F. BEMIS.

I. MEMORIAL OF LEVI ALLEN, MAY 4, 1789.²⁷

*To the Right Honble Lord Sydney,
Principal Secretary of State.*

THE Representative and Memorial of Levi Allen in behalf of the Inhabitants of the New Hampshire Grants, known by the name of Vermont Humbly sheweth,

That your Memorialist is authorized by Commission under the Great Seal of Vermont, pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly thereof, to negotiate a Commercial and Friendly Intercourse between Vermont and His Majesty's Dominions.²⁸

In the first place, your Memorialist begs leave to represent to your Lordship that during the late unhappy Troubles in America, great numbers of His Majesty's faithful subjects from the provinces of New England, New York and New Jersey retired into the District of Vermont in order to avoid being driven into arms against their Sovereign, by the Revolters; these Loyal Emigrants, joining with those in Vermont who adhered to their allegiance, made at least three-fourths of the Inhabitants of that District, and those of the Inhabitants, who in the beginning of the frenzy which unhappily prevailed in America, even for a time opposed to His Majesty's Government, soon saw their error and would have been happy to have been permitted to have returned to their Allegiance long before the end of the war, for which purpose Overtures were made to the Commander-in-chief in Canada early in 1788. this would still be their greatest wish could it be practicable, but being in doubt with respect to its practicability, this part of their wish is not comprehended in the Commission with which your Memorialist is charged. The locality of Vermont, as well as the Disposition of its Inhabitants, renders its connection with Canada the most natural as well as the most advantageous of any, as the waters of Lake Champlain are the principal means by which they can export their produce, or receive their manufactures they stand in need of from this Country, on this account they earnestly hoped to have been incorporated as an appendage

²⁵ *Burlington Mercury*, December 1, 1796, in Prescott's letter to Portland, Quebec, December 17, 1796, Can. Arch., Q. 78: 131, 159, 160.

²⁶ Pp. 63-64, 81-84, of first part. *Records*, III. 413-418.

²⁷ Public Record Office, F. O. 4, vol. 7, and C. O. 42: 12, f. 409.

²⁸ Levi Allen seems to have had no other public authority than his commission under the act of 1784, which conferred powers for exercise in Quebec solely. See his letter to his brother Ira, London, June 25, 1789, printed in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, I. 572-573, and in *Records*, III. 409.

to the Province of Quebec, but those hopes were defeated by the boundary line of the United States as settled by the late Peace.

Your Memorialist begs leave further to represent to Your Lordship that the number of the Inhabitants of Vermont is computed to be one Hundred and Sixty Thousand Souls,²⁹ and the Country is daily increasing by a rapid Population; their vicinity to Canada and particularly the bordering of Lake Champlain, the principal entrance to that Province from the South, cannot fail, Your Memorialist humbly apprehends, to render their Friendship and Commerce useful and acceptable, and as they are for the most part people who were (and continue to be) loyally disposed, and after being driven on that account into this place of Retreat were finally cut off from His Majesty's Dominions and Government sorely against their wishes, would willingly hope that they might be considered in some degree worthy of His Majesty's Royal Benevolence and Regards.

The Produce of Vermont consists in Lumber, Naval Stores, Corn and Grain of all sorts, Pot and Pearl Ashes, pig and bar Iron, Cattle and Provisions of all kinds, Horses and Mules, Hemp, Flax, Tallow, Bees wax and Honey, with many more articles, which the Inhabitants early wish to be permitted to send to or through the Canadian market, and to receive in exchange such Goods and Manufactures as they have occasion for, In the same manner and subject to the same duties, Imports and Drawbacks as if said District had been part and parcel of His Majesty's Province of Quebec.

Your Memorialist therefore humbly prays that your Lordship would be favorably pleased to take this Memorial into Consideration, and that such free License and Permission may be granted in the Premises, as shall on mature deliberation be found meet.

And your Memorialist will pray for and in behalf of
The Inhabitants of Vermont.

LEVI ALLEN

LONDON, May 4, 1789, N 4 Bridge Row, near Ranelagh

II. GRENVILLE TO THE LORDS OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL
FOR TRADE AND PLANTATIONS.³⁰

The Lords of the Committee for Trade and Plantations;

My Lords,

I have the honor of enclosing to your Lordships herewith a Memorial delivered to me this day (addressed to my Predecessor in Office) by Mr. Levi Allen in behalf of the Inhabitants of Vermont, setting forth that he has been appointed under the Great Seal of that State pursuant to an Act of the General Assembly to Negotiate a Commercial and friendly intercourse between the said State and His Majesty's Dominions, and proposing certain arrangements in consequence, and I have received His Majesty's Commands, to desire that Your Lordships will take Mr. Allen's proposals into your consideration and acquaint me for His Majesty's information what steps may in Your Lordships' opinion be taken therein.

²⁹ The census of 1790 gave a total population of 85,425.

³⁰ Public Record Office, F. O. 4, vol. 7. The date may be presumed to have been June 13, 1789. Grenville succeeded Sydney as home secretary on June 5.

I enclose a Copy of the Minutes of the Legislature of the State of Vermont, and of the Commission before mentioned.³¹

III. LEVI ALLEN TO HENRY DUNDAS, RANELAGH, AUGUST 9, 1791.³²

Sir;

Since I left Vermont in Janry 1789 the Principal men of Governor Chittenden and Allens Party, Instructed me in addition to the business of the Commercial Treaty I was Honor'd with from Vermont, to assure the British Court that Vermont was from local situation as well as from inclination firmly attached to them, and that whenever Vermont should find it necessary to join Britain or join Congress, they would positively join the former. Indeed Vermont at that time viz. the principal men of Chittenden's and Allen's party was clear for joining Great Britain immediately; in order to which my surviving Brother, Ira Allen, and myself waited on Lord Dorchester at Quebec, about two months before my departure for England, and gave a written proposal for that purpose.

After my arrival in London more than twelve months passed without the least Probability of success; of which I informed my brother Ira, with much reluctance, after receiving several letters from him full of complaints for my unpardonable neglect in not acquainting him with what was doing, and what probability there was of anything being done at the British Court.³³ A short time after, just as I was preparing to embark for America, Col. Simcoe took me by the hand and brought forward the business of Vermont in a very satisfactory manner, of which I lost no time in acquainting Governor Chittenden and Ira Allen at the same time acquainting them I should set out for Liverpool in a few weeks to charter and load a ship with all possible dispatch for William Henry,³⁴ and they would not fail to have a proper cargo prepared at William Henry for the English market on the ship's arrival. Many unavoidable Procrastinations took place in the course of chartering and loading the ship at Liverpool, amongst which the obstructions thrown in my way by the Merchants in this country who supply Canada were not the least, our seamen were impressed³⁵ and a second crew mostly ran away, the latter was owing to some imprudence of the Captain. The contrary winds Prevented getting out of the harbor for a long time, and to complete the unfortunate scene, was drove by a heavy gale of wind from the Banks of Newfoundland within sight of the Azores or Westerly Islands, neither the captain or mate had ever been up the St. Lawrence, and all appeared much afraid to venture, and as a clause in the Charter Party left it optional with the Captain to stop at Quebec he found it unsafe to proceed to William Henry. The captain being an obstinate timmed man, declared if I insisted on his again attempting the St.

³¹ A marginal note here says that these inclosures were not found.

³² Can. Arch., Q. 54: 698, and C. O. 42: 85; summarized in *Report* for 1890, second part, p. 306. Dundas succeeded Grenville as home secretary on June 8, 1791, Grenville on that day becoming foreign secretary.

³³ Grenville meanwhile wrote Dorchester of the importance of having the friendship of Vermont in the event of alarm from the United States. This friendship had been strengthened, he said, by the encouragement already given. For this reason he had encouraged Levi Allen. Grenville to Dorchester, Whitehall, May 6, 1790, Can. Arch., Q. 44: 87.

³⁴ At the head of Lake George.

³⁵ A general press for the Nootka Sound armament occurred on the night of May 4, 1790.

Lawrence he positively would go no farther than Quebec, which would by no means answer my purpose, and the wind still continuing unfavorable we stood for Georgia.³⁶ After arrival I wrote Governor Chittenden and Ira Allen, the misfortune met with, and that I should pay them a visit as soon as the ship was loaded for England, but having to dispose of and purchase a cargo in a place where I had little acquaintance and less *Friends*, and none I could depend upon, the Captain proving to be an obstinate ignorant miserly Brute I deemed it improper to intrust him with the cargo, a dispute arising about demurrage which could not be settled with him, and some bills I had been favored with leave to draw in England would shortly become due, and my credit forever ruined as a *Merchant*, or a man of *Honour*, if the same were not Punctually Paid; In this disagreeable situation I again wrote Governor Chittenden and my Brother, and returned in the ship, Having previously taken two long tours into the back-woods of Georgia to see Genl Clarke, he being absent the first, for the particulars of which I refer you to Col. Simcoe, who has Clarke's letter.³⁷

I shall always be doubly happy to serve this country, for in doing so I shall serve Vermont, whose interests on a proper establishment will be forever mutual, and of course Perminant, the rulers and inhabitants of Canada and Vermont ought to keep up a friendly connection, and I am sorry to have occasion to observe it is not the case at Present, through some little foolish Prejudices that exist between them. Soon after my leaving Vermont my brother Ethan Allen died,³⁸ and before the end of the year, through some private outrages of Congress and New York, and by means of two hundred and thirty votes of Chittenden's Party not arriving in time, the opposition very unexpectedly to Chittenden's *Friends* got Mr. Robinson in Governor, which the other and far the strongest Party, had not the least suspicion of.³⁹ Chittenden had been Governor, and chosen annually from the commencement of the State to that day. During Robinson's reign overtures were made to federal Congress, to admit Vermont into the federal Union. In October Chittenden was again elected Governor by a large majority of votes. Congress finding their friend Robinson, was out of office, and that Vermont was negotiating as a Sovereign State a commercial treaty, with Great Britain in January 1791 Passed a decree allowing Vermont to join the Union and send three members to Congress, and at the same time giving the same liberty to Kentucky, and probably for similar reasons and immediately after Passed a decree to establish a Customs House on Lake Champlain at 45° N. Lat. for the Purpose of making the Vermonters pay the same duty

³⁶ The difficulties of autumnal navigation into the St. Lawrence are illustrated, under date of October 16 in the next year, 1791, by the following passage from Mrs. Simcoe's diary: "It will be so late before we come into the River St. Lawrence that the pilots will probably have quitted the Isle of Bic [their station 108 miles below Quebec]. . . . and the master of the *Triton* cannot carry her up without a pilot. In this case we must return to the Gulph, and the season being too severe to keep in a northern latitude, we must steer for Barbadoes." *The Diary of Mrs. John Graves Simcoe* (Toronto, 1911), p. 46.

³⁷ An examination of the papers in the Canadian Archives has failed to throw any light on the subject of these "tours". Apparently the letter spoken of has not been preserved. A letter of Levi Allen to his wife, an extract from which is printed in the *Vermont Historical Magazine*, I. 573, is dated Savannah, November 29, 1790.

³⁸ Ethan Allen died February 13, 1789.

³⁹ Moses Robinson was elected governor October 9, 1789.

on goods through Canada as those that come up the Hudson River; which customs house soon after built will probably suffer desolution by accidental fire as there are many very careless people in Vermont, who often set the woods on fire to facilitate catching their game.⁴⁰ Since the passing of the aforesaid decrees in Congress there has been no stated session of the general assembly of Vermont (nor any special one called that I have any information of) till the meeting of the general assembly which shall be on the second Teusday of October next; before which time I will be there (the King of Terrors only shall prevent) and make no doubt that the Profer of Congress will be rejected by the Legislature of Vermont. Vermont have annually for many years chosen three representatives for Congress, but they never attended. As to the Proclamation given out by Governor Chittenden to the inhabitants of Alburg to convene for the purpose of choosing town office, etc., it is a matter that the law directs on organizing a new town, which is the case with Alburg.⁴¹ As to that part which mentions to choose some proper person to represent them in Congress, I cannot positively see what necessity there was for it, but it may be a form of word used upon those occasions, as all the original parts of Vermont have for some time and do still vote for members of Congress, as before observed. Whatever is done or is doing in Vermont I shall give you the minutest information of, after my arrival there, and if matters work as I firmly believe, and most sincerely wish, for the good of Great Britain, Canada, and Vermont, shall Probably be here again in a very short time and be able to silense the little invectives privately and liberally thrown out against Vermont.

I will venture to say that the People of Vermont have not the most distant idea of allowing the State of New York to hold the lands lying between Lake Champlain and Lake Ontario, as those lands were included in the grant made to New Hampshire more than a century ago. As there is a considerable party in Vermont who adhere strictly to the Principles and Doctrines of the Church of England, I could Politically as well as religiously wish that they might be encouraged, and if Government send out a Bishop to Canada he may have liberty to exercise his functions in Vermont,⁴² and if he be an unbigoted sociable man, he may assist in the cement necessary between Canada and Vermont, and I have reason to believe the latter will appropriate lands for his support, as they have 360 acres in every six miles square in Vermont already granted to the glebe of the Church of England, and the same amount

⁴⁰ Act for admission approved February 18, 1791; for three representatives, February 25; for custom-house at Alburgh, act of March 2, 1791, ch. 12, sec. 8. Alburgh lay south of 45°, but was on land claimed under British authority as Caldwell's Manor, and was within the district of the British military posts at Dutchman's Point in North Hero, Vt., and Pointe au Fer, N. Y.; but this was not known to Congress when it established the Vermont port of entry there. Letter of Buckenridge, St. John's, May 8, 1791, *Can. Arch.*, Q. 50: 146, and information from "a member of the Senate" (plainly Rufus King) in *Report* for 1890, first part, p. 171.

⁴¹ For the history of the resulting disturbances, see *Vermont Records*, IV, 454-478.

⁴² Dr. Charles Inglis, the first colonial bishop of the Anglican church, was consecrated bishop of Nova Scotia in 1787, with jurisdiction extending over Canada. Though the appointment of a bishop of Quebec was under consideration in this year 1791, as the next document shows, the first bishop of that diocese, Dr. Jacob Mountain, was not consecrated till 1793.

granted to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.⁴³

This much on the supposition that Vermont has not joined the federal Union, and as to the other supposition, that they have joined, I do not chose to intrude upon your time by writing on so disagreeable and improbable a subject.

You shall hear from me the truth the first Opportunity after my arrival in Vermont.

I have the honor to subscribe myself in behalf of Vermont,

Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

LEVI ALLEN

IV. EXTRACT OF LETTER FROM SIMCOE TO DUNDAS, LONDON, AUGUST 12, 1791.⁴⁴

I beg to offer you the Copies of three Letters, the one from the late General of Vermont, Ethan Allen,⁴⁵ is now in my possession. In it, Sir, you will find the substance of the Politicks which I have adopted relative to Vermont. When Sir H. Clinton intrusted me with his plan of operations which were prevented by the Death of Major André, I was directed to make myself master by every inquiry within my power of the nature of the Ground, and the Inhabitants in the vicinity of the Upper Posts of Hudson's River. From that moment to the present Hour I have been convinced of the importance of Vermont, and the real good intentions of its Leaders to this Country. I think they may be of the utmost utility in the present critical moment.

Another letter is to me from Elijah Clarke, a General of Georgia, and who can neither write nor read. He took Augusta from us in the last war. The third is from that active adventurer, Bowles. He had served when a boy under my command. I inculcated to him peace, and to settle a Boundary; and a system of colonization which I thought practicable and might eventually be of great utility to this Country. You will perceive, to my surprize, he talks of visiting me in Upper Canada.⁴⁶

⁴³ The foundation for this statement lies in the fact that, in each of a large number of townships granted in Vermont by Governor Benning Wentworth of New Hampshire, one allotment had been set aside "as a glebe for the Church of England as by law established", while another had been assigned to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (and another to the first settled minister personally). But an act of 1787 had authorized the selectmen of each such town, save in the case of the few Episcopal ministers then actually officiating, to use the lands for the town. Subsequent state legislation, of 1794 and 1805, and a decision of the United States Supreme Court in 1815 (*Pawlet v. Clark*, 9 Cranch 292) diverted the glebes entirely to secular uses; but the Society's lands were secured to it in 1823, against similar legislation, by the decision of the same court in the *Society v. New Haven*, 8 Wheaton 464. See also [Batchelder and Bailey], *The Documentary History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Vermont* (New York, 1870), *passim*.

⁴⁴ Can. Arch., Q. 278: 283. The rest of the letter is irrelevant to the immediate subject of the part quoted. It will be found calendared in the *Report* on the Canadian Archives for 1891, Upper Canada, p. 3.

⁴⁵ This letter is not found as an enclosure. Neither have the other two documents mentioned below been found. As to Elijah Clarke, see the introduction and note 19, above. The item respecting William Augustus Bowles is a new contribution to the life of that picturesque adventurer.

⁴⁶ As to William Augustus Bowles (1763-1807), see *American Historical Review*, VIII. 708, 726-734, where are letters from him showing his presence in London in January, 1791. His presence there in that year is also shown in *Authentic*

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V. REV. SAMUEL PETERS TO GRENVILLE, PIMLICO, NOVEMBER 19, 1791.⁴⁷

PIMLICO, Novembr. 19th, 1791.

My Lord—

Last evening I received a Letter from Levi Allen Esqr. dated at Boston New England the 15th of October 1791, which says, "this day at 12 O'Clock at Noon I arrived here in a small sloop from Halifax and to morrow morning I shall set off on Horseback to execute the Business I have much at Heart". Mr. Allen adds, "I was charged four Guineas duty at Falmouth; and twenty eight Guineas for my passage in the Grantham Packet to Halifax which with other Expenses on the Road from London to Falmouth and from Halifax to Boston, exhausted nearly all my Cash, whereupon I called on Dr. A. A. Peters of this Town,⁴⁸ and gave him the signal of *Lewis Alden* and the Dr. Advanced me one hundred Pounds Sterling for *Lewis Alden's* Bill on you. If I carry the two points in full Expectation, I shall not mind my Expenses and Labours".

By various Letters from the States of America I have Information, that Emigration and discontent still prevail, and my friends wish to know by next January whether I am to go out Bishop of Canada, as February and March are the months for moving their families on the snow and Ice.⁴⁹

My Lord,

I am with honour and esteem,
your Lordships
most obedient and most humble Servt.

SAMUEL PETERS.

Right Honble. Lord Grenville.

VI. LEVI ALLEN TO [DUNDAS], VERMONT, UNION RIVER, NOVEMBER 27, 1791.⁵⁰

Sir

As the Courier from Canada from [for?] New York is Put in here in a gale of wind, I take the liberty (tho' out of the channel proposed through Governor Simcoe) to write you as the same will come sooner to hand.

Memoirs of William Augustus Bowles, Esquire, Ambassador from the United Nations of Creeks and Cherokees to the Court of London (London, 1791), and in the *Canadian Archive Report*, for 1890, second part, p. 285. Bowles and his party visited Quebec on the way, in July, 1790. See *ibid.*, pp. xlii, 154-156 of first part, 255-256 of second part.

⁴⁷ Public Record Office, C. O. 42: 88; Can. Arch., Q. 57: 176. Dr. Samuel Peters (1735-1826), the celebrated Tory parson and writer of Connecticut history, was now living in London on a government pension of £200 per annum. P. R. O., Treas. 50: 7. The letter is endorsed as received the same day and transmitted to Dundas in Lord Grenville's note of the same date.

⁴⁸ Apparently Dr. Alexander Peters, a physician in Boston at this time.

⁴⁹ Simcoe, in a letter to Dundas, London, June 2, 1791, declaring it indispensable that a bishop should be appointed for Upper Canada, states that he has recommended Mr. Peters, late of Connecticut, as a proper person. Can. Arch., Q. 278: 228. In 1794 an irregular convention of Vermont Episcopalians elected him bishop of Vermont, and he accepted the election, but was never consecrated. See *Doc. Hist. of the Prot. Episc. Ch. in Vt.*, pp. 25-46.

⁵⁰ Can. Arch., Q. 54: 721, and P. R. O., C. O. 42: 85. In Can. Arch., Q. 57: 194, and P. R. O., C. O. 42: 88, there is a letter of the same purport to Dr. Peters, signed "*Lewis Alden*" and dated at Alburgh, on the same day, November 27.

I sailed on the Grantham, Capt. Bull the 11th of September arrived at Halifax in 27 days, the next morn. took a Passage in a little fishing sloop for Boston, where I arrived the sixth day, bot a horse and saddle, etc., and in three days rode to Windsor in Vermont where the Legislature of Vermont had a few days previously met, and much to my great mortification [found] that there had been an adjourned session between Oct. session 1790 and Oct. 1791, also a convention of deputies from each town, Previous to said adjourned session, in which Vermont had fully joined the United States.⁵¹ I remained at the General Assembly to the close thereof, twenty-one days. I think I may affirm without arrogance that if I had got up the River St. Lawrence last year with the well-chosen assortment of goods, Vermont would not have joined Congress, in fact a majority of both Houses now confess they are sorry, and feel themselves much hurt on hearing many advantages that would have accrued to Vermont if they had remained Independent, and at the same time on the other hand I made an estimate of the Probable Duties Vermont would be obliged to pay annually, which had not been before properly stated. I made no mention of anything, only my own opinion and what I had found would have been done in the course of negotiating the commerce of Vermont.

The facts are a number wanted to go to Congress, and tho' but four can go, yet 44, at least, expected to be appointed. Ethan Allen being dead, and Ira Allen was silent on account of the land he owned, and Caldwell first claimed,⁵² that Governor Chittenden thought it unpopular to oppose the current, so that poor Vermont had not a man of any considerable consequence to say a word for her real interest.

I shall in the course of the insuing winter go into the back parts of Georgia, visit General Clark,⁵³ and communicate every information to Governor Simcoe that may be advisable to him. The puff of wind being abated the courier will not wait, nor give me time to write this out fairly.

I am Sir, your faithful Humble Servant,

LEVI ALLEN.

⁵¹ Assembly session of January 13-27, 1791; convention of January 6-10.

⁵² Caldwell's Manor, a tract near 45° N. lat. and including Alburgh, claimed by Caldwell under grant from the Canadian government, and, in part, by Ira Allen under grant from that of Vermont.

⁵³ Elijah Clarke.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Men of the Old Stone Age: their Environment, Life and Art.

By HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN, Sc.D., Ph.D., LL.D., Research Professor of Zoölogy, Columbia University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 545.)

ANYONE who has made a serious study of the problem of man's antiquity cannot fail to be impressed by its complexity. By reason of this complexity, its avenues of approach are many. Professor Osborn has approached from the side of the zoölogist, the palaeontologist. In the preface he frankly confesses that he is in no sense an archaeologist; and that his volume represents the work of many specialists. This co-operative feature should prove to be one of the chief merits of the work, and is an example worthy of imitation.

The task set by the author is a synthesis of the results of geology, palaeontology, anthropology, and archaeology. The time factor in prehistory can only be drawn from a great variety of sources: climate, geography, fauna and flora, and the mental and physical evolution of man. In fact there are no less than four ways of keeping prehistoric time: that of geology, palaeontology, anatomy, and human industry, the most delicate chronometer being that afforded by human industry—in other words archaeology.

The plan of the book is not unlike that of other recent works on the same general subject; and the conclusions drawn are for the most part in harmony with one of the dominant European schools. Geographically it is confined to the Old World, and almost wholly to Europe; it has crystallized largely about a summer's trip through the cave regions of France and Spain, in which the reviewer likewise had a share. While not limited rigorously to the men of the Old Stone Age, the men and stone ages of the New World are not touched upon.

In late Pliocene times the human ancestor is supposed to have emerged from the age of mammals and entered the age of man, the event marking, in other words, the beginning of prehistory. The attitude is erect and the opposable thumb already developed. The anterior centres of the brain for the storing of experience and the development of ideas are still rudimentary, which is probably true of the power of articulate speech. Penck's minimum of 525,000 years in round numbers is accepted as the length of time that has elapsed since the beginning of the Quaternary or Pleistocene epoch. The Trinil race (*Pithecanthropus*) lived near the beginning of this epoch. The question whether

the skull cap and the femur belong to the same individual or even genus is left open; as is likewise the question of the position of *Pithecanthropus* with respect to our direct ancestral line of descent.

The oldest known race of man, that represented by the Mauer jaw (*Homo heidelbergensis*), is given a place in the next to the last interglacial stage (Mindel-Riss), which is in agreement with the general consensus of opinion. This race is looked upon as the ancestor of the Neandertal race, being more primitive and powerful as well as more ape-like. According to the author's time scale, *Homo heidelbergensis* lived some 250,000 years ago.

Regarding the age of the Piltdown man, the author's opinion runs counter to that of some well-known authorities, who consider *Eoanthropus* to be as old as the Heidelberg man. In fact the name chosen—"dawn man"—would suggest an even greater antiquity for Piltdown. But Osborn synchronizes *Eoanthropus dawsoni* with the last interglacial stage (Riss-Würm), thus giving him only half the antiquity of *Homo heidelbergensis*. He further believes that the Piltdown race was not related in any way either to the Heidelbergers or to the Neandertals; neither was it directly ancestral to any other races of the Old Stone Age, or to any existing species of man. In other words it "represents a side branch of the human family which has left no descendants at all". This is rather disconcerting to those of us who would be glad to claim as a remote ancestor one with such high-bred cranial contours, and who see in Piltdown a very suitable stump to which to attach a family tree.

The author's reasons for rejecting *Eoanthropus* are no doubt based on the Piltdown lower jaw; but Miller's recent convincing demonstration that this jaw belongs to a fossil chimpanzee and not to the Piltdown skull would seem to place the latter once more in the running for direct ancestral honors. Restorations of *Eoanthropus*, therefore, based on the supposition that the skull and mandible of Piltdown belonged together, are faulty: they also emphasize the fact that in the making of restorations there is always present the danger of overstepping the legitimate boundaries of scientific presentation.

One need not linger long over the author's interesting and ample treatment of the better-known archaic Neandertal race, which outstayed its time on the stage, finally making a rather hasty but very effective exit. In its place there came the upper palaeolithic races referred to by the author as Crô-Magnons, and who in his opinion first overran Europe between 25,000 and 30,000 years ago. He does not believe that the negroid Grimaldi race ever became established in Europe as a contemporary of the Crô-Magnons.

The last races of the Old Stone Age were the broad-headed and narrow-headed races of Ofnet. With the broad-headed type are correlated the races of Furfooz and Grenelle, as well as the existing Alpine brachycephals; while the narrow-headed type resembles the modern

"Mediterranean" type of Sergi. The Old Stone Age racial factors are effectively summarized graphically by means of a tree showing the main theoretic lines of descent.

Interwoven with this story of the successive races is a fund of information bearing on the contemporary faunas and their influence on the course of human progress. This is a subject upon which the author is peculiarly fitted to speak with authority, and in these features the merits of the work reach their highest level.

To the specialist the treatment of the culture stages, although possessing genuine merit, is not quite so convincing. At times there is apparent a tendency to pronounce the final word on controverted questions. This tendency is borne of an enthusiasm which comes of traversing new fields of unusual interest; an enthusiasm which possesses the virtue of being contagious, whatever may be its faults, for no one can deny the attractiveness of the presentation.

The author has been especially generous in the matter of illustrations, which are notable alike for the care with which they have been selected, their number, and their general excellence. All points considered, *Men of the Old Stone Age* outranks any other work on that subject hitherto published in the English language, and is thus assured of a wide field of usefulness.

A History of Babylonia and Assyria. By ROBERT WILLIAM ROGERS, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D., F.R.G.S., Professor in Drew Theological Seminary. Sixth edition. In two volumes. (New York, Cincinnati: The Abingdon Press. 1915. Pp. xxvi, 542; xix, 609.)

ROGERS'S *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, which appeared in 1900, has been often reprinted. Since its appearance great advances have been made in Assyriological study, notably for the early Assyrian period through the excavations of the German Orient Society at Asshur, for the early Babylonian period through the exploration of Susa by De Morgan and Scheil, for the late Babylonian or Chaldaean period by the work of the German Orient Society at Babylon, and for all periods by the important researches of a score or more of independent investigators. The result of these advances is that a book published fifteen years ago is at many points no longer abreast of the times.

The new edition is enlarged nearly one-half. In externals (type, form, binding, etc.) there is no noticeable change, except the increase in bulk. The general division of the material, and the titles of the several books, are also unchanged. Volume I. is devoted to book I., Prolegomena, with thirteen chapters. Eight of these treat of travel, exploration, and excavation in Babylonia and Assyria, and of decipherment of the inscriptions. A chapter of twenty-three pages on the script and languages of the inscriptions is new. The other chapters are on the sources, the lands and peoples of Babylonia and Assyria, and

on the chronology. The chapter on sources has grown from 12 to 24 pages, that on exploration after 1872 from 29 to 81 pages, and that on chronology from 37 to 83 pages.

Volume II., comprising books II. to IV., is devoted to the history. Book II. gives the history of Babylonia in six chapters (132 pp.). The first chapter in the first edition, *History of Babylonia to the Fall of Larsa* (37 pp.), has become three chapters in the new edition (72 pp.), with the titles *Early Sumerian History*, *Empire of Sargon I.*, and *History to the Fall of Larsa*. Book III. is devoted to the history of Assyria, in eleven chapters (350 pp.), as against 295 in the first edition. Book IV., the *Chaldaeian Empire*, consists of three chapters, on *Nabopolassar*, *Nebuchadrezzar*, and the last years of the Empire, with 94 pages, an increase of but 8 pages over the first edition.

The appendix has been slightly increased. In addition to a well-selected bibliography, it gives Herodotus's account of the destruction of Sennacherib's army, and two accounts of the defenses of Babylon, one by Herodotus and one by Nebuchadrezzar.

The index of authors has been enlarged by one page (now 3½ pp.). The general index, on the other hand, has been reduced from 18 to 11 pages. A large increase would have been a more welcome change. The defect is met in part by the full table of contents.

The 78 full-page half-tone illustrations are very interesting, except a few which are too indistinct (as at I. 173; II. 370, 374). One wishes more had been given, even at the cost of diminishing the size. The ground of choice is not always obvious. Eight are taken from the recent excavations at Babylon, but none of the ground-plans of the temples and palaces excavated at that place are reproduced. Two illustrations are marked "*The River Euphrates, south of Babylon*" (I. 130, 420). One would have sufficed. The absence of plans of the ruins and excavations (only one given, I. 310) is a defect. In view of the vast mass of geographical reference, the entire absence of maps is much more serious.

Professor Rogers has produced an independent piece of work. He is well acquainted with the work of his colleagues in this field, and is generous in making acknowledgments. The style is vivacious, almost exuberant. In accounts of exploration and decipherment there is a tendency to excess of biographical detail.

In regard to plan and scope two general comments may be offered. One relates to the selection of material. Should a history be so largely a record of the deeds of kings? That it should, was undoubtedly the view of Assyrian and Babylonian rulers. But to the modern mind the life of the people, the art, the religion, the literature, the work of the jurists, the scholars, the poets, are at least as important as the boastful records of the kings. Assyrian wars are at best rather dismal reading, and the record needs to be relieved by at least a partial representation of the more humane elements of the national life. For this larger treatment space might be gained by judicious condensation.

A second remark relates to proportion. In the first volume the space given to travel, excavation, and decipherment is 353 pages, all interesting and important material, but by discreet omission and condensation the space might be reduced one-half without serious loss. On the other hand the chapters on sources (23 pp.) and the peoples (12 pp.) might profitably be enlarged. That Assyria should fill more than half (350 pp.) of the second volume is perhaps natural, in view of the comparative abundance of material, but when Sargon and his three successors, who reigned less than a century, fill about 45 per cent. of the space devoted to Assyria, the principle of proportion seems to be not well observed. And are these four kings, however interesting, of so nearly equal importance as to deserve each about the same amount of space (41, 41, 34, and 42 pp. respectively)? And if Esarhaddon is worth 34 pages, is not Hammurabi, the most illustrious name in Babylonian history, worth more than 10 (II. 80-90)?

Within the self-imposed limits Professor Rogers has given us a book of sound learning and great excellence, serviceable to specialist and general reader alike. The spirit is conservative, the judgment sane, the treatment objective. In spite of the high cost (\$10.00 net), the book is sure to have the large circulation which it richly deserves.

DAVID G. LYON.

The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria: its Remains, Language, History, Religion, Commerce, Law, Art, and Literature. By MORRIS JASTROW, jr., Ph.D., LL.D., Professor in the University of Pennsylvania. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1915. Pp. xxv, 515.)

PROFESSOR JASTROW'S book is the first attempt on a large scale to present in English a comprehensive account of the Babylonian-Assyrian civilization. It treats in a most entertaining way all the main branches of the subject.

The frontispiece gives pictures of eight of the explorers, decipherers, and interpreters. The text is illustrated by a good map, and by 76 plates, some of which contain not one but several pictures. The selection and reproduction are admirable. The type is large, and the mechanical part of the work excellent. An index of 18 pages is a welcome feature.

Of course, none of the subjects are treated exhaustively, but all sufficiently to give the reader a fair view of the more important phases of the civilization. In the chapter on exploration and excavation the space is given almost entirely to the names (French, English, American, and German) of large accomplishment, while the less important are omitted, or disposed of in a few words. The same is true of the decipherment, in which the great names are Grotefend, Rawlinson, and Hincks.

The survey of the history begins with the obscure period of the struggles between Semites and Sumerians, and proceeds to sketch in broad outlines the relations of Babylonians, and later of Assyrians, to Elamites, Amorites, Egyptians, Hittites, Hebrews, and other nations. We get instructive glimpses of the shiftings of empire, and of such great rulers as Gudea, Sargon, Hammurabi, Assurbanipal, and Nebuchadnezzar.

Nearly a fifth of the book is devoted to the religion (gods, cult, and temples), a subject which the author treats *con amore*, because it is one which he has made peculiarly his own, and in which he has made significant contributions to the science of Assyriology. The religion is a mixture of Semitic and Sumerian elements. One cannot read the chapter on the gods without feeling an agreeable kind of acquaintance with Shamash, the judge; Marduk, the merciful; Adad, the thunderer; Sin, the nocturnal illuminator; Asshur, the warrior; Ishtar, the love-goddess; and a score of other deities. The terra-cotta representations of these gods are crude and grotesque, but the representations in stone are often dignified and noble.

Cults and Temples is not exactly fortunate as the title of the fifth chapter, which is devoted so largely to demonology, magic, incantation, and portents. The chapter on law and commerce consists mainly of a summary of the Hammurabi Code, with illustrations drawn from records of business transactions. These give a varied picture of trade, marriage, lawsuits, wills, adoption of children, and the multiform aspects of a well-regulated social system. The chapter on art describes briefly the architecture, sculpture, pottery, tombs, gem-engraving, and work in metals. Many of the great masterpieces are reproduced and described in detail, as the Entemena vase, the Naram-Sin stele, the ornaments of the bronze gates, and the diorite statue of a woman (p. 394). The great centres of culture, Lagash, Nippur, Babylon, and many others are thus brought before us in a most interesting way. The chapter on literature gives selections from the hymns, prayers, mythological poems, letters, reports, etc.

There is an occasional slip in proof-reading. On page 307 a line seems to have dropped out at the end of the first sentence. On page 41, bottom, two are reversed, and on page 40, middle, a line is repeated. The author's familiarity with the large and rapidly growing literature is attested by numerous foot-notes, which the reader can use as a guide for detailed study.

Dr. Jastrow's fertility in suggestion is charming, and often illuminating, but not always convincing. The statement (p. 314) that a certain treatment of slaves is due to "a regard to their feelings of pride" seems fanciful. The law prescribes that a native Babylonian who has been a slave in his native land, if bought by a trader in a foreign land, brought back to Babylonia, and recognized by his original owner, shall be set free "without money". The basis of this law is obscure, but it

can hardly be that suggested by Professor Jastrow. We may suppose that the slave was not a runaway, but that he had been carried off by a raid of the enemy. As a captive in a foreign land, he was permanently lost to his owner. If therefore he came home again, not by recapture, nor by effort of his owner, this owner could not have any just claim on him. It is not so clear why the trader who bought him in the foreign country must liberate him. There are many possibilities. The man who had been a slave at home may have been living at liberty in the land of his captors, as the Jews did in the Babylonian Exile.

In §§ 131, 132 of the Code (p. 311), relating to the suspect wife, the essential difference in the two laws is that in one case only the husband complains or is suspicious, the matter is private, while in the second case the wife is the subject of public gossip or scandal. In regard to the husband carried off as captive (p. 312, l. 4), we are informed that "making provision" for the support of his wife is "an indication of the husband's intent to return". The question of his intention is not at all involved in these two laws. Of course he will return if he can. The only question is, whether the estate of the captive is sufficient to support his wife in his enforced absence. If it is not, she is at liberty to remarry.

Of course in a book with such a mass of details occasional errors are inevitable. One such is the statement that votaries and priestesses never married (p. 308). On the most probable interpretation of paragraphs 144-146 of the Code it is evident that they did marry, and such marriage of a priestess of Marduk in the reign of Ammiditana is recorded at length in *Cuneiform Texts* VIII (=85-5-12, 10). On page 311, line 6 (adultery), the correct statement is not that king or husband might spare the guilty wife, but that the king might spare the guilty man, if the husband spares the guilty wife. On page 313, line 5, it is stated that a man may not marry his father's widow. It should be added, provided she has borne children to the father. The presumption is that marriage of a father's widow, who has not borne children, is legitimate. The statement that the adopted children of paragraphs 193, 194, of the Code are illegitimate (p. 304), although this is the view generally held, is not proven, and is highly improbable.

But such items, though blemishes, affect the value of this great work only in minor degree. In spite of them the treatment as a whole shows great care and mastery of the subject. The book is indispensable to one who wishes to have in a single volume a comprehensive and authoritative presentation of the larger aspects of Babylonian-Assyrian civilization. Those who desire a fuller treatment of some of the themes covered by Jastrow's book may find it in such works as Booth's *Trilingual Cuneiform Inscriptions*, King's *Sumer and Akkad*, King's *History of Babylon*, Handcock's *Mesopotamian Archaeology*, Rogers's *Cuneiform Parallels*, Rogers's *History*, and Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*.

DAVID G. LYON.

Hellenic Civilization. Edited by G. W. BOTSFORD, Professor of History, Columbia University, and E. G. SIHLER, Professor of the Latin Language and Literature, New York University. With Contributions from Professor WILLIAM L. WESTERMANN, CHARLES J. OGDEN, Ph.D., and Others. [Records of Civilization: Sources and Studies, edited by James T. Shotwell, Professor of History, Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 719.)

SOURCE-BOOKS have now become a standardized tool in the American manufacture of munitions for teaching the secondary and collegiate historical idea to shoot; and where the individual specimen submitted to him is marked neither by defects nor by superlative excellencies, the reviewer is tempted to moralize about the species.

Professor Botsford and his colleagues have collected here in convenient compass and in sufficiently accurate translation, the texts for a survey of the actual course of Greek history, and a large number of the aptest and most familiar quotations from the literature, the historians, the inscriptions, and the recent papyri in illustration of such topics as the Minoan and Homeric Civilization, Colonization, Government and Political Conditions, Economy and Society, Private and Criminal Law, Medical Science, Interstate Relations, Literary Criticism and Art, Science and Inventions. Even scholars when in a hurry will find the bibliography and the pertinent quotations of this volume a convenience for themselves, though they may deprecate the temptations it will present to their sociological and historical colleagues to generalize on insufficient evidence.

To the intelligent collegian who uses it rightly, the book ought to make the study of Greek civilization a far more vivid and significant thing than it ever could have been to a less fortunate earlier generation unprovided with the *χορηγία* or external muniments that are deemed essential for Aristotelian happiness and twentieth-century education. But will it? Teachers aware of the quantum of Greek history and literature actually retained by those pupils who are presumed to know most, will wonder how much a Greekless and Latinless generation of high school and undergraduate students will digest of the bounteous feast here spread before them. The cooks are cunning, the menu choice and elaborate; but how much will the diners assimilate if they refuse to take exercise? To drop the allegory, can the modern study of history find a way to dispense with or circumvent those elementary prescriptions of sound historical teaching which the new pedagogy discards—severe discipline in the interpretation of texts, direct memorizing of an indispensable minimum of facts?

But commending these queries to the prayerful consideration of my colleagues in history, I must return to my text. The introductory chapter on the Sources of Hellenic History is in effect a primer of Greek

literature from this special point of view. Its judgments are not intended to be definitive, and it would be captious to scrutinize them too curiously. The statement that Thucydides's philosophy "has taught him that as a rule the individual counts for little in history" will puzzle a student who observes the fateful rôles in the destiny of Athens which he assigns to Pericles and to Alcibiades. From Tyrtaeus's line "Greed for money will undo Sparta and nothing else" Professor Botsford infers that "the social conditions at Sparta in the seventh century were quite different from those of the fifth and fourth centuries". They probably were: but in view of Plato's bitter fourth-century satire, *τιμῶντες ἀγρίως ἐπὶ σκότον χρυσόν* (*Republic*, 548a), I doubt if Tyrtaeus's words will bear the weight of the inference.

There would be little point in attempting to criticize the choice of the selections. The classical loci for Greek history have been repeatedly excerpted or cited by the historians; and the most significant of them are all to be found here, so far as space permits. The bibliographies too, though not exhaustive and sometimes a little capricious, are sufficient, and are helpfully brought down to date: the translations, when not, as is usually the case, merely revision of accepted versions, are more open to criticism—not perhaps the main body of historical excerpts supervised by Professor Botsford, but the specimens of Greek poetry entrusted to his assistants. The translation of Semonides's satire on women for example, if, as appears from the printing, intended for metre, is a baffling mixture of very blank verse and "verse-libertinism". And its diction whatever else it may be is neither Greek nor English.

PAUL SHOREY.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN HISTORY

Sources and Literature of English History from the Earliest Times to about 1485. By CHARLES GROSS. Second edition. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. xxiii, 820.)

THE appearance of a new edition of a good book provides an opportunity to call attention anew to its excellence and to give information of its existence to those who do not know of it, if there are any such in the case of such a standard work as Gross's *Bibliography of English History*; as well as to state and appreciate the improvements which have been added in the new edition. In this case, the original excellence cannot be too often adverted to and the improvements now made are by no means few. Immediately upon the publication of the original work, in 1900, Professor Gross began to collect material for a new edition. By 1909 when his death occurred, he had collected a very large number of titles of works which had appeared since 1900 or which had been omitted from the first edition, and had noted various other changes which he felt ought to be made. There was a very general wish on

the part of historical students that these materials should be utilized, even though the lamented death of the original compiler made it impossible to do this in the ideal way. This task has now been performed jointly by a committee of his colleagues of the historical faculty at Harvard, his relatives, and by no means least, according to the testimony of the editors, the young woman who had assisted in the preparation of the first edition. All scholars owe a debt of gratitude to these collaborators. The original work has long stood as a model of what a bibliography should be, but no guide to a growing body of production can remain entirely adequate.

The principal advantage of this new edition is, naturally, its enrichment with new titles. Of these there are between 1300 and 1400. Including subordinate references to other works this brings the total number of books described well up toward 5000 titles. The greater number of the new titles are of works that appeared between 1900 and 1910. Beyond the latter date the editors have made no attempt at completeness, although fortunately they have included quite a number of works which have come to their attention published since 1910. They have also filled in many omissions of earlier works from the first edition. Another improvement consists in bringing down to date new editions, continuations of older works, and extensions of series of government publications. The 180 volumes of the Historical Manuscripts Commission *Reports* listed in this as compared with the 85 of the first edition is an instance of this and a measure of the rapid progress of our time in making historical sources accessible. Some of these entries, however, are duplications, included for good reasons, and some few are probably accounted for by the entirely new method of classification adopted by the English government in the publication of this particular series. Practically the whole series of "Lists and Indexes" given here has appeared since 1900.

The editors have conferred a favor on users of the bibliography by retaining the numbers used in the first edition, providing for new items by using subordinate numbers and interspersing them with the older entries. In this way an additional advantage is obtained by calling attention to works that have recently appeared. Occasionally whole groups of new books thus appear in the work, the most notable instance being the addition of a list of works on Celtic philology. Apart from a few groups of this kind, the new entries seem to be scattered pretty evenly through the work. It is in fact hard to infer from them, as one would like to do, any special direction in recent English historical study, so far at least as it is directed to the Middle Ages.

Finally, the valuable introductory paragraphs to many of the separate sections of the first edition, giving an informal discussion based on the wide scholarly knowledge of the editor, are retained in this edition and in many cases extended by the wider knowledge of several scholars co-operating in their preparation. It is pleasant to find, not-

withstanding the extensive changes, the same typography and appearance to which we have become accustomed in the earlier edition. This new edition not only guarantees the continued accessibility of a work which was sure otherwise eventually to become hard to obtain, but is a valuable improvement upon the original.

EDWARD P. CHEYNEY.

An Introduction to the Economic History of England. By E. LIPSON, Trinity College, Cambridge. Volume I. *The Middle Ages.* (London: A. and C. Black. 1915. Pp. viii, 552.)

THIS volume is an achievement in diligent culling and combining rather than in fresh and reasoned exposition. It is intended to serve the student who wishes to be told concisely what has been ascertained from printed sources and secondary books about early English economic development. The author is not a reader of manuscripts; he nowhere reveals new sources of information; he seldom attempts to revise accepted doctrines. Yet his laborious search has at times fortified these doctrines, has at other times put them in a new light.

The success of such a work depends largely upon the writer's sense of proportion and upon his comprehensive reading. In neither respect is Mr. Lipson altogether free from reproach. More than one-half of his pages are devoted to town life and industry, less than one-third to agriculture, barely one-eighth to trade and finance. The second fraction, furthermore, attains its magnitude only by embracing a chapter on the agrarian revolution of the sixteenth century. Does Mr. Lipson mean to imply that the Middle Ages ended a century later in agriculture than, according to his own exposition, they did in industry and commerce? The chapter, too, has shortcomings. In it the relative importance of the causes of sixteenth-century rural unrest is not investigated, no comparison of enclosures and increased fines, for example, being undertaken. The numerous surveys of the period do not show that peasant holdings were to any extent consolidated before 1500; nor was the laying together of strips then usual.

More serious than the intrusion of a chapter on a later period is the inadequate treatment of agriculture, trade, and finance before 1500. The tale of the manor is told in the set phrases now grown dull—without inquiry into the diversity of manorial economy which a passing acquaintance with extents and bailiffs' rolls would have revealed to the author. The appearance of a cash nexus, the development of markets for agricultural produce, the rise of new tenures, are the interesting agrarian problems of the late Middle Ages, although Mr. Lipson gives them little attention. If he is to be excused for this because secondary works are unsatisfactory, the same pardon cannot be extended to his treatment of English foreign trade. Here he offends through disregard of important German and French contributions. No sign of acquaintance with Schaube's valuable studies is betrayed in bibliography or text,

nor does Davidsohn or Pirenne fare better. The reader would scarcely gather that Italians and Flemings had played a leading rôle in English export trade before 1350. The best account of Hanseatic merchants in England, that by Schulz, has escaped Mr. Lipson's notice, as has the rest of the extensive German literature about these traders, Schanz alone excepted. The surprisingly slight chapter on finance, too, will have to be rewritten in view of what has been explained by Sir James Ramsay, Mitchell, Gras, Lunt, and Willard.

The core of the volume, however, concerns the towns and their industrial life, there being long chapters on markets and fairs, the gild merchant, the crafts, and the woollen industry. Of these topics, that which offered Mr. Lipson the best opportunity to arrange and extend our knowledge is a treatment of markets and fairs. Yet the chapter is disappointing, largely from a failure to distinguish at the outset the relative significance of the two kinds of marts. As the author does at length point out, markets existed for purposes of local trade, were normal and essential phenomena in every city, borough, and market town; fairs had national and even international significance. Subjects thus contrasted demand separate treatment, present different problems for solution. The reader, too, feels badly oriented when he has to wait until the end of the chapter to learn what were the chief English fairs and when they originated. Nor does he ever learn much about the commodities exchanged, the provenance and quantity of them.

Relative to the gild merchant, a subject already monumentally treated, Mr. Lipson has written two of his most suggestive discussions. He contends that privileges granted to travelling merchants or to the inhabitants of certain towns did after all override the trade monopoly of the gild. In describing the earliest crafts, he argues further that the thirteenth-century conflict between weavers and burgesses was not that between poor and rich, or that between foreigners and natives, but was political in character, due to the purchase by weavers of royal privileges which conflicted with borough customs. His account of the crafts, fuller though it is than Ashley's, is less clear-cut. It does not fairly meet the question of the growth of inequality in wealth within the crafts through the possible increase of a master's apprentices. Scanty consideration is given to Unwin's theory of the development of terminal crafts into groups of petty entrepreneurs, while the origin of the London drapers, a serious problem, is entirely disregarded.

A brief description of capitalistic enterprise does occur in the chapter on the woollen industry, one of the most useful in the book. Here Mr. Lipson essays to correct Professor Ashley in various points. Capitalist clothiers appeared at the end of the fourteenth century, not toward the middle of the fifteenth. Cloths were extensively manufactured in England in the thirteenth century and were even exported; Edward III. revived an old industry which had declined, instead of creating a new one. Such discussions as these, supported as they are by the evi-

dence at hand (though one should not rely too much upon "Stamfords" in Milan and Spain), give Mr. Lipson's chapters their independent value. He is able at times to supplement Gross, Ashley, and Cunningham, writers whom he seldom equals in originality of thought and lucidity of expression. His volume, none the less, is a most useful handbook for the beginner and no one can afford to neglect his judicious summary of evidence winnowed from newly published borough records.

H. L. GRAY.

A History of France. By J. R. MORETON MACDONALD. In three volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xiv, 366; 399; 551.)

A COMPREHENSIVE and balanced history of France embodying the chief conclusions of modern investigation would be welcome to a large class of readers and would contribute to the general enlightenment. It cannot be said, however, that this service has been rendered by the work before us and the chief reason is indicated by the author himself in his preface. Writing from France at the end of May, 1915, he says that he is conscious that he has

overstated the temperamental characteristics, and in particular the temperamental weaknesses, of the French. The truly remarkable way in which, under the present trial, France has purified herself of her traditional vices and developed virtues which were supposed to be quite alien to her character drives one to the conclusion, not only that the temperamental qualities of nations change more rapidly than we have been accustomed to think, but also that they are often only qualities which have been foisted on nations by noisy minorities.

Whatever may be meant by noisy minorities foisting temperamental qualities upon nations, and the phrase is utterly baffling, the conclusion to which the reviewer is driven is, not that France has suddenly changed—a most unlikely and unhistorical proceeding—but that the author is very far from understanding the people whose history he has undertaken to write. Our confidence in his judgment and penetration is not increased when we read in the next paragraph that Frenchmen "live by instinct rather than by tradition", that "the range of their political vision is short", and that they lack the historical sense. One thing is clear at the outset. We have to do with another history of France written from the point of view of stiff British conservatism.

Mr. Macdonald's book covers the annals of France from Roman times down to 1871, in a little less than twelve hundred pages. The space assigned to the various periods is judicious. The first volume ends with Louis XII., the second with the removal of Louis XVI. to Paris in 1789, the third with the treaty of Frankfort. Some of the summaries in the first two volumes are excellent for their concision and clearness, as, for instance, those describing the Merovingian monarchy, Charlemagne, Louis XI., Sully, Richelieu, and Mazarin. The

author writes mainly of politics and war, giving much attention to military campaigns and some even to the technique of war. It is curious that in a narrative frequently clogged with a multitude of details and with dates galore you look in vain for the dates of Crécy and Poitiers. The treatment of the Renaissance is a brief and inadequate presentation of a significant phase of French development. The treatment of the Reformation is almost entirely political and military, yet the French Reformation was much more than a political movement conducive to civil wars.

It is when he reaches the Revolution, however, that the author becomes a particularly unsafe guide. We hear the same old refrain, in vogue ever since Edmund Burke published his blazing pamphlet, and verily not needing repetition. It is the "incendiary mob" that dominates the situation from the summer of 1789. Mirabeau is "the only statesman among dreamers". The storming of the Bastille is "the first great triumph of the forces of anarchy masquerading in the sheep's clothing of constitutionalism". The "failure of the men of 1789" indirectly provoking the deplorable excesses of the Revolution, "should be a warning to all politicians who sacrifice principle to power and accept the dictation of the proletariat". As to the division of France into departments, "the abandonment of local history and traditions was part and parcel of the stupid craving for absolute symmetry and uniformity which possesses a certain type of politician. It possessed the revolutionary politicians in very high degree, making them always eager to abandon tradition for ideas, in this case for mere mathematical precision. Complete severance with the past was one of the crazes and blemishes of the Revolution" (III. 5).

So much for the prevailing note of this account of the modern history of France. Moreover that account contains many errors of fact. The Declaration of the Rights of Man was not compiled "on the lines of that which appeared in the American Constitution" (II. 393) for the excellent reason that there was at that time no such section in that document, if by "American Constitution" is meant the Constitution of the United States. The Tennis Court oath was taken on June 20, not on June 21, 1789 (II. 385). The anniversary of the storming of the Bastille was not celebrated on June 14, 1790, because that was not the anniversary (III. 8). The Legislative Assembly was not elected under the influence of the September Massacres for the reason that those elections occurred in the summer of 1791 and the massacres in September, 1792 (III. 252). The Convention first met on September 20, 1792, not on October 20 (III. 24). Sieyès was not "the real author" of the Constitution of 1795 but on the contrary had practically nothing to do with its making (III. 61). Napoleon had nothing like 250,000 men in the Peninsula at the beginning of his Spanish adventure (III. 160). Pius VI. did not excommunicate Napoleon in 1809 (III. 172) nor was he at Fontainebleau on January 25, 1813 (III. 194), because he had

died in 1799. The first treaty of Paris was not signed on April 30, 1814, but on May 30 (III. 225). The electoral law of February 5, 1817, did not remain in force "for thirty years" (III. 257) but for only three years. Moreover in the very next paragraph the author refers, for our mystification, to "the electoral law of 5 September, 1817". The statement that Odilon Barrot was the leader of the Republican party in France about 1840 is amazing (III. 291) and is in contradiction with the statement three pages later (III. 294) that he was the leader of the Dynastic Left. The plébiscite of 1851 was held on December 20, not on December 30 (III. 318). Most emphatically Lesseps was not sent to Rome in 1849 "to arrange terms of peace at any price" (III. 313).

Speaking of Lamartine, whom he has previously characterized as a "great political hypnotist" and as having had an "ascendancy over all" parties under Louis Philippe, which is certainly news, the author states, "It is this dominance of Lamartine that makes the whole period of the Second Republic such a strange episode in government; almost laughable in its blunders, capricious contradictions, and inconsequences" (III. 300). It would be difficult to compress more misconceptions into a single phrase. After this it is perhaps unnecessary to point out that Bismarck was not at the Congress of Paris in 1856 (III. 327); that the Polish insurrection occurred in 1863, not 1862, as apparently stated on page 338 (vol. III.); that Bismarck did not hurry "ostentatiously to the side of Russia" and that his "unsolicited overtures" did not end in "an agreement between the two Powers for joint action (February 8, 1862)", one reason at least being that he did not enter the Prussian ministry until September, 1862 (III. 339).

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

An Economic History of Russia. By JAMES MAVOR, Ph.D., Professor of Political Economy, University of Toronto. In two volumes. (London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons; New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1914. Pp. xxxii, 614; xxi, 630.)

THE Anglo-Saxon world should welcome a pioneer work whose object is "to present to English readers the main result of recent historical researches which have been conducted by various Russian scholars". Professor Mavor has very conveniently divided his two massive volumes into seven books of about equal length and has covered the economic history of Russia from its beginning to 1907.

In certain external aspects of the book, the author may be unfavorably criticized. No uniform system of transliteration has been used throughout the work. Moreover, the author does not spell correctly in his transliterations, as when he transliterates the letter III by "tsch" in English (I. 40 ff.). It must be either "shch" or "shch" or something similar. Frequent grammatical errors, such as the use of the

genitive plural "yamskikh" (I. 132) for the nominative singular, have crept in. *Teurks* is used for *Turks*, *Khersonessus* of *Tauridas* for *Tauric Chersonese*, *Loparian* for *Lap*, etc. (I. 576 ff). On the other hand, it may be said without hesitation that the author uses the Russian language ably for purposes of research. The work is not founded largely on documentary, but, with a few exceptions, on secondary material which indeed is often the best that exists. There is occasionally some confusion as to the old and new style in chronology.

In tracing the economic history of Russia to 1762 in the First Book, the author follows closely the famous work of the late Kliuchevski, Russia's best synthetic historian. Previously, a clear outline of the economic history of that period did not exist, even though it may be found imbedded with much other material in the work just mentioned. In describing Slavic origins with so much detail, Professor Mavor might have used the works of Niederle, Florinski, Peisker, and Hrushevski, not to mention others. In this he is less an anthropologist than an historian, and more an economist than anything. The account of Kievan Russia is excellent, and the great changes brought about by the Mongol conquest are on the whole adequately treated. The rise of bondage is admirably traced, and the field is cleared of the false scholarship which claimed that serfdom began with the ukase of 1597. The economic achievements of Peter the Great, as well as his place in history, are exalted above the views current among Russian and Western scholars alike, and for the first time, the author shows his independence, even in the face of such excellent authority as that of Miliukov.

The Second Book is devoted to the fall of bondage right and to an analysis of agriculture under bondage. Here a minute examination of great value is made of all kinds of agricultural peasants in the eighteenth century. This is based largely on the researches of Semevski, whose works have superseded those of Bielaiev. The chapter (IX.) on the literary movement so far as it affected the peasant question would bear expansion, because of the important part literature played in Russian history. Disappointing likewise is the chapter on the Slavophiles and the *mir*. The examination of the *mir* does not go back far enough historically, and it strangely fails to give the present state of Russian research on this thorny question. The chapter (XIII.) on the editing commission is an able one. Especially illuminating here is the author's description of the line-up of liberal and reactionary forces, of the martyrdom of the liberal Rostovtsev, who died of overwork, and of the reactionary opacity of his successor, Panin.

The Third Book covers the subjects of the fall of bondage and industry under bondage. On the whole, this is one of the most interesting parts of the work, even though serfdom and not industry occupies the centre of the stage. The author has depended here almost wholly on the excellent works of Semevski and Tugan-Baranovski, the standard authorities in the field. Now and then the results of pamphlet litera-

ture are thrown on the screen, making the whole a valuable piece of work. Most illuminating is the struggle of the Kustarnaia Izba or Home Work against the factory system, the final supremacy of the latter, and the transformation of the former into an "artistic and philanthropic" industry. The final chapter, which sums up the gradual triumph of protection, is a useful bit of synthesis and shows the author at his best.

In the Fourth Book, the modern political and social revolutionary movement in Russia prior to 1903 is discussed. The story of Pugachev's revolt, 1773-1775, is told in a most pleasing narrative based almost wholly on Dubrovin's exhaustive work. The revolt of the Dekabristi, 1824-1825, which is called "the first modern revolutionary movement in Russia", is inadequately treated. The introduction to the part played by socialism in the revolutionary movement is undoubtedly valuable in itself, but much of it could have been condensed, because the V Narod (To be of the People) movement was "characteristically Russian" and steeped in the philosophy of Bakunin. In the chapters on the V Narod movement and on the more actively revolutionary Narodnaia Volia (The People's Will), which dashed itself to pieces against the police bureaucracy by 1887, the author actually weaves together a new account of this period. Important also is the description of the gradual emergence of Marxism, as evidenced by the growth of the Social Democratic movement begun in 1885. The existence of a revived and radical revolutionary state of mind just before the Russo-Japanese War is ably traced. The same, however, cannot be said of the treatment of the Far East, which is founded on meagre sources and which constitutes by far the weakest part of the whole work. The treaty of Aigun (1858) is passed over too lightly, while to state that the Franco-Russian Entente (?) had melted away in 1898 and 1904 (II. 236, 240) is too strong.

The Fifth Book is devoted to the complicated agrarian question. The observations on peasant character and classes, the primitive family, the *pomieshchik* or landlord, and the condition of agriculture since 1861 are valuable to the Western reader. Perhaps most interesting is the analysis of the peasantry in 1905, in which the author reaches the conclusion that just before the revolution the peasant became inoculated with a revived Bakuninism in which the cry was for the nationalization of the land and the destruction of the state. Illuminating also is the author's conclusion that the Russian peasant revolted because he wished to hasten the improvement of his condition and not because his condition was desperate.

The Sixth Book, devoted to the industrial development of Russia under capitalism, shows how gradually the artisan came to blame the government for his woes. In contrast to the peasant, the artisan wished the state organization of industry and hence a powerful state. The brief chapters on wages, housing, and factory legislation are suggestive,

if not conclusive, while that on the labor movement and another on the employers' association help to round out a very difficult subject. This part of the field is hardly ready for scientific historical work.

The Seventh and last Book deals with the revolutionary movement in Russia, 1903-1907. It is to be regretted that it does not weave together the loosely connected narrative of the preceding six books and point out more clearly the antithesis which existed between the peasant and the artisan. An important portion of the book is given over to the part played by Father Gapon in the revolution. Though personally weak, he succeeded in creating the "first real legal trade union" which destroyed the faith of the common people in the Czar and thus removed the last obstacle to the grasp of violent hands at the inalienable rights of man. The story of the general strikes, of the Black Hundred Pogroms, and of the Counter-Revolution is interesting. It is to be regretted, however, that the author did not continue his study beyond 1907, because it might have been written from as trustworthy material as any used for the account of the last decade.

Although the secondary material used by Professor Mavor is of a very high character, one often finds that he has neglected works of capital importance. He does not appear to have used Chernevski's bibliography, nor Ustrialov, Polevoi, Danielson, Wittchevsky, Sering, Semenov, Iermolov, Sviatlovsky, Cherniavski, Kulczycki, Masaryk, nor Afassa, not to mention others. Financial history has received less attention than it should, and commerce has been passed practically unnoticed. Nevertheless, it may be said that Professor Mavor has written a work which is indispensable to English readers in many ways and which, in spite of the limitations mentioned above, will long remain the best general account of the economic history of Russia in the Western European languages, if not in any language.

R. J. KERNER.

History of the Norwegian People. By KNUT GJERSET, Ph.D., Professor of Norwegian Language, Literature, and History, Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. In two volumes. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 507; xi, 626.)

ON May 17, 1814, after four centuries of union with Denmark, Norway formally resumed her place among the independent monarchies of Europe. Two years ago the centennial anniversary of this event was celebrated not only in Norway but in the Norwegian settlements of the American Northwest. As a part of this celebration the leading historical scholars of Norway undertook to write a co-operative history of the kingdom. This interest in the Norwegian past also extended to our own country and in 1915 it bore fruit in Dr. Gjerset's *History of the Norwegian People*.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to say that Dr. Gjerset's work must be classed among the more important historical publications of the

past year. Until it came from the press there was no adequate account of Norwegian history in any English work. Bain's *Scandinavia* deals almost exclusively with the modern period and has very little to say about Norway except in the closing chapter, and this is written from the Swedish point of view. Dr. Gjerset deals primarily with Norway, but he has also found it necessary to travel over much of the ground that Bain has covered. His viewpoint is confessedly Norwegian, but he has been remarkably successful in maintaining a fair and tolerant attitude toward the countries with which Norway has come into conflict. In tracing the difficulties between the Norwegians and the Swedes which culminated in the revolution of 1905, his effort has been to state the facts without attempting either to justify, or to condemn; he has striven to write "without any spirit of antagonism against the noble and heroic Swedish people, who are and will be Norway's truest friends".

The first volume carries the story down to 1319, in which year the native Norwegian dynasty expired and the crown passed to alien kings. The greater part of the second volume deals with the "middle period", the five centuries following 1319; this was a period of national eclipse, of the short-lived union of Kalmar, of Danish control, and of the gradual revival of Norwegian nationality. The remainder, about one-third of the volume, is devoted to the "modern period", the century since 1814. Nearly one-half of the entire work is concerned with the history of three centuries: the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the nineteenth. This would seem to indicate a somewhat-distorted perspective on the author's part, but the facts of the subject appear to justify him in distributing the space as he does: the enduring achievements of the Norwegian people lie chiefly in the periods that he has emphasized.

Dr. Gjerset has kept in mind the fact that the history of a "people" must be more than an account of dynastic ambitions and political movements; his work has therefore been made to include a great deal of material of a general sort dealing with the social and intellectual life of the nation. Among the subjects of this type which the author has treated with some fullness are the culture of prehistoric times, the viking raids, the Norwegian colonies, the literary achievements of medieval and of recent times, social life, governmental institutions, religious movements, and the emigration to the New World.

The least satisfactory part is the long and rather uninteresting story of the middle period. But it is also true that no writer on Norwegian history has ever approached this period with much enthusiasm. In great measure the history of the age is Danish history, Norway being little more than a province of Denmark. Even in those parts of the history which are specifically Norwegian, the leading characters and dominating personalities are Danish viceroys and other officials from the southern kingdom. But although Norwegian nationality was completely submerged during the "Danish time", the liberty of the indi-

vidual was never lost. The story of how the Norwegian farmers fought the alien officials, how they resisted every encroachment on their ancient rights, and how they maintained their freedom is told in vivid English and forms one of the most important and interesting parts of Dr. Gjerset's work.

The author has read widely in the sources of Norwegian history, especially in the literature of the Middle Ages; but on the whole, his work impresses one as being largely a compilation. His outlook on the earlier centuries he seems to have derived from P. A. Munch. The title of his history is the same as that of Munch's great work, and he has also adopted Munch's plan of dividing the narrative up into comparatively brief sections instead of chapters of the conventional type. There has, however, been much written on Norse medieval history since Munch's day, and this monographic literature the author has taken into careful account. For the modern period he has found a guide in J. E. Sars, but he has also used the writings of other historians and seems to have covered the literature quite completely.

The reviewer regrets to have to add that the general excellence of the work is marred by a number of inaccuracies, most of which are, however, of slight importance. It is scarcely correct to say that Giraldus "accompanied the Anglo-Norman barons to Ireland" (I. 371); he went later in the retinue of Prince John. Benedict of Peterborough did not write the *Gesta Henrici Secundi* (I. 377) and the Hoveden chronicler was named Roger, not Robert (*ibid.*). Sebastian Cabot was not a Spaniard (II. 181). It is somewhat misleading to speak of Norwegian colonists in Bristol in the fifteenth century (II. 46) and to mention the Shetlands and the Orkneys in connection with legislation for Norway in 1604 (II. 192). The map of the "Norwegian colonial empire" is also misleading, as it makes claims for Norway and Denmark which cannot be defended.

The work is unusually free from typographical errors; the reviewer has noted only one that is of any consequence: Holland (I. 367) should no doubt be Halland. The maps are clear and not burdened with details. The illustrations are excellent and useful. Bibliographical data have been placed in the foot-notes. The index, however, is a disappointment.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Normans in European History. By CHARLES HOMER HASKINS, Gurney Professor of History and Political Science, Harvard University. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. viii, 258.)

THE story of *The Normans in European History*, as Professor Haskins tells it, began with the coming of Hrolf the Ganger with his viking band to the Seine valley in the early part of the tenth century and closes with the reign of Roger II. of Sicily, who died in 1154. It is a far cry from medieval Norway to Sicily and farther still from the Norse chief-

tain to the Sicilian despot; but the fact that these two men belong to the same historical series merely illustrates the wonderful adaptability of the Norman race. For nearly three centuries the Norman people played an important part in the history of Europe, especially as "founders and organizers of states"; and the achievements of this period are the theme of Professor Haskins's work.

Beginning with a discussion of the Norman duchy, of the physical characteristics of the land and the significance of the sea that lies before it, the author proceeds to relate the story of how Normandy came to be, and to examine the relative importance of the Norse and the French contributions to Norman civilization. While he does not deny that the Scandinavian influence may have been important, he finds that "in most respects the tangible contribution was slight" (p. 48). From this subject the author passes to a discussion of the social and institutional arrangements of Normandy and of its relationship to the neighboring parts of the French monarchy. Professor Haskins next turns to the career of William the Conqueror and to the story of the conquest and reorganization of the English kingdom. The achievements of Henry II., the third great Norman ruler, are told in connection with the history of the Norman Empire. Professor Haskins objects to the term "Angevin Empire": the Angevin dynasty did not create it; "the centre of the empire was Normandy, its founders were the Norman dukes" (p. 85). He holds that Henry II. was a Norman rather than an English ruler. Henry is associated with English history chiefly because "after the collapse of the Norman empire under his sons, the permanent influence of his work continued to be felt most fully in England" (p. 91). The collapse of the empire the author considers inevitable for physiographic as well as for personal reasons: "the rivers in their courses fought against the Plantagenets" (p. 126). The constitutional development of the reign of Henry II. is carefully outlined. From the subject of the Norman empire Professor Haskins turns to the activities of the Normans in the Mediterranean lands and to the founding of the kingdom of Sicily. The hero of this part of the narrative is Roger II., to whom the author attributes much that was formerly credited to Frederick II.: "it is not too much to call the kingdom of Roger and his successors the first modern state" (p. 233).

Professor Haskins has not overlooked the fact that this strong, orderly race, which accomplished so much in warfare and government, has also made its contribution to the world of culture and civilization. A brief but illuminating account is given of the civilization of the North which the vikings transplanted to French soil. Some attention is also given to the composite civilization of the Sicilian kingdom. The "life and culture" of Normandy are discussed at some length: under this head Professor Haskins discusses, among other things, churches and castles, cities and commerce, schools, monasteries, and the morals of the clergy, the teaching of Lanfranc, the writings of Ordericus Vitalis, and the important library of Bec.

The work is made up of eight lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in February, 1915. As the conclusions are based largely on papers which the author has published elsewhere, he has not found it necessary to add foot-note references except in rare instances. The reviewer takes pleasure in adding that he has read but few books which combine, to such an extent as this does, the virtues of good historical writing: wide and exact knowledge, rare skill in the presentation of facts, and a style which in addition to Norman strength and orderliness possesses the qualities of elegance and genial humor.

Documents relating to Law and Custom of the Sea. Edited by R. G. MARSDEN. Volume I., A.D. 1205-1648. [Publications of the Navy Records Society, vol. XLIX.] (London: Navy Records Society. 1915. Pp. xl, 561.)

THE present volume makes an interesting addition to the materials in which the student may endeavor to trace the development of maritime law. The records reproduced in it go back as far as the year 1205, while the latest in date belongs to 1648. Of many of the earlier and some of the later documents the original text is Latin, though occasionally there is a French text; but in every such instance an English version is given, accompanied with the original. The transcription and the editing of the texts from the original records have required much labor, care, and expertness and the task appears to have been skillfully performed. The presswork is excellent. But, where only extracts from documents are given, the excerpts are sometimes insufficient to enable one to form a confident opinion as to the subject-matter, while in other cases the interpretations or summaries given in the introduction to the volume are open to question.

For example, it is stated (p. ix) that "before the end of the thirteenth century the supply of war material was being stopped by arrest or capture of the carrying ship", while "sometimes neutrals were politely requested not to do so". In support of the former statement, reference is made to page 21, where an English royal order of 1293 is given for the arrest of a number of Frisian and German ships that had put into English ports under stress of weather and were said to be laden with armor and other military supplies for the enemies of England in France, the arrest to be made in order that the cargoes might be unloaded and disposed of by the owners among the English people. It was also alleged that at least some of the cargoes were enemies' property. This allegation appears not to have been sustained, but the military character of some of the cargoes was unquestionable. There was no capture on the high seas, and there probably never was a time when a government would permit military supplies, when brought within its jurisdiction, to be carried on to its enemies. As to neutrals being "politely requested" not to supply war material, it will be found that the document cited (p. 64) conveyed a request of the King of England to

the Count of Holland not to permit his subjects to furnish armed ships to the Scots, who were then (1336) in rebellion against the English king, or to persons professedly in league with them. This tends to illustrate the antiquity of the distinction between what is now called contraband and the fitting out of ships, which is analogous to the raising or setting on foot of a hostile expedition.

Again, it is stated (p. ix) that "where there was no order to the contrary, enemy goods in a friend's ship condemned the ship". The document cited (p. 66) is in reality a royal order issued in 1337 for the delivery of a Flemish ship as a gift to an English subject who had captured her while she was engaged in transporting "Scottish enemies", some of whom the captor slew in the act of making the capture. The language of the order indicates that the ship was regarded as forfeited to the crown "as a capture from our [Scottish] enemies aforesaid", in other words, as a transport in the enemy's service. Indeed it seems possible that the ship may have been actually owned by enemies (p. 67). The question whether a certain quantity of goods and chattels at the same time captured aboard the ship did not in the circumstances stated belong as of right to the captor was four years later decided adversely to the captor's claim; and as he had retained them, he was held liable for them or their value to the king (p. 69). The value of the royal order of 1346 (p. 75) as proof that a friend's ship, which had been carrying enemy goods, was in that case restored because condemnation in such cases "was soon found, for political reasons, to be inexpedient" (p. x), is impaired by the fact that the order was founded on a particular treaty stipulation. The bare decree of the Admiralty of 1612 (p. 384), directing that certain tobacco imported into England by a Spanish subject be delivered to the Spanish ambassador, does not of itself disclose with certainty the nature of the case. The same comment may be made upon the extract (p. 430) called a "sentence condemning to the captor, as good prize, a ship and corn cargo destined to the enemy". From what is given it would not be safe to infer that the court would have condemned a neutral ship with a cargo of corn destined to the enemy. If the ship, as may be inferred from her name, was English, the ground of condemnation would appear to have been an attempt to trade with the enemy. These examples, as well as others that might be adduced, lead to the conclusion that, valuable as the volume undoubtedly is, its value to legal science might have been enhanced if space had been available for the fuller disclosure of essential facts.

The volume contains the commission issued in 1595 to Hawkins and Drake (p. 284). There are also interesting documents relating to the treatment of enemy goods as well as to reprisals, neutrality, contraband, visit and search, the *voyage de conserve*, impressment, and the Rule of the War of 1755.

The Evolution of the English Corn Market: from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century. By NORMAN SCOTT BRIEN GRAS, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Clark University. [Harvard Economic Studies, vol. XIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. xiii, 498.)

MR. GRAS'S *Evolution of the English Corn Market* is a detailed and distinctly serviceable contribution to the history of English agriculture, commerce, and shipping, from the time when the manorial system was still intact to the eighteenth century. Mr. Gras opens with the period when it was customary for a manor to supply the deficiency in wheat of another manor under the same ownership, sell some of its surplus in the local markets, and in exceptionally bountiful years export wheat, and traces the development of the corn market to the modern era, when, under acts of Parliament of 1673 and 1689, bounties were paid on exports of wheat. With wheat as an article of commerce Mr. Gras is almost exclusively concerned—its marketing, and the laws and regulations governing its marketing—as distinct from its production. But incidentally the book throws new light on many other aspects of English mercantile and social economy, particularly as regards manorial organization and the decay of the manorial system, the functions of the medieval municipal corporations and guilds as regards the victualling of towns and cities, the fiscal policy of the crown in the days before Parliament was supreme in fiscal policy, the navigation laws of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and the growth of the population of London from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century and the problems—particularly the victualling of London—that this growth created for the municipality and the central government.

As a starting point Mr. Gras takes the system of manorial marketing—a system that was evolved in the early part of the twelfth century, by which time local markets had come into existence, and exchange between the town and country was organized. He then traces the supersession of the manorial marketing system between 1250 and 1500 by the local markets which served particular areas of the wheat-growing shires. The development of the local market area was complete by the second half of the fifteenth century. By that time the needs of each district were supplied by the tenant farmers of the district, instead of by the old manorial markets, embracing not one area but many. Next, in one of the most interesting chapters of the book, Mr. Gras examines the grain regulations of medieval London and of such cities as Bristol and York. These municipal regulations fell into three groups: (1) those dealing with the town as a whole, its government, its relation to its own citizens and to foreign towns; (2) those concerned with the guilds; and (3) those dealing with the relations of citizens with citizens. Regulations for the grain trade came within the third category; and Mr. Gras emphasizes the fact that while many governmental functions

were deputed to the gilds, the supervision of the trade in grain and other victuals was retained by the city magistrates. Paternalism marked the medieval regulation of the grain trade, especially in London, where the authorities at Guildhall not only made such regulations as would give citizens every possible advantage in the purchase of wheat brought to the city markets, but wrought, often with the aid of the central government, to enlarge the area of domestic supply, and even bought and stored grain with a view to safeguarding the poorer citizens during years of scarcity. Following a survey of the corn laws from the first enactment against engrossing, forestalling, and regrating to the law of the Restoration Parliament which gave freedom to anyone to buy wheat in the open market, to store it and sell it again, Mr. Gras devotes two chapters to the middleman in the corn trade—the middleman of medieval days whose field was the local market, and the middleman of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, whose field was the London or metropolitan market. Here again interest is wider than the corn trade, as Mr. Gras brings out the change in popular attitude towards the middleman from the days when he was distrusted as superfluous, to the recognition of his usefulness that was accorded by the municipal authorities of London towards the end of the seventeenth century. The appendixes, which run to 200 pages, consist chiefly of statistics concerning the production, importation, and prices of wheat. There is a remarkably good bibliography extending to fifteen pages.

L'Université de Louvain: Conférences données au Collège de France en Février 1915. Par PAUL DELANNOY, Professeur et Bibliothécaire de l'Université de Louvain. (Paris: Auguste Picard. 1915. Pp. xx, 229.)

THIS book owes its origin to the fact that, on August 26, 1914, the German 165th regiment of infantry destroyed the ancient buildings and the famous library of the University of Louvain. The author, professor and librarian of the university, came to Paris after the burning of its home and accepted an invitation to give a course of lectures on the history of the university before the public of the Collège de France. Bound by the limits of this kind of lectures, Professor Delannoy had to single out certain important features of the university's history and was, of course, unable to develop the whole history of the institution. In the six chapters of the book—each of them reproducing one of the six lectures—he deals successively with the foundation of the university in 1425; its organization and privileges; the influence of the university on the introduction of the Renaissance in the Low Countries; the part played by Erasmus in this movement; the struggle of the faculty of theology against Luther; the life of professors and students in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the Austrian rule and the continuous interfering of the Austrian government with the activities of the university; the French régime and the suppression of the university in 1797,

followed by its restoration in 1835. The last chapter deals with the Halles, the ancient central building, and gives the history of the library.

As the book is cleverly composed, Professor Delannoy in fact carries us through the whole history of the institution, each period being represented by and studied in the most important events or the most celebrated scholars.

The aims of the author are modest: he tries to show, by the reproduction of the outstanding features of its history, the part played by the university in the scientific and national life of the country. He has very well succeeded in putting in full light both points.

To those who know the *Fasti Academici* of Valerius Andreas and the *Academia Lovaniensis* of Vernulaeus, together with the general history written by V. Brants, the book of de Robiano, *De Iure Ecclesiae in Universitates Studiorum*, and the history of the faculty of theology by Professor H. De Jongh, the book of Professor Delannoy will not bring many new facts or new considerations. However, as it stands, its study will supply them with valuable information on points hitherto not sufficiently studied and with a carefully chosen bibliography.

The last chapter, giving the history and description of the Halles and of the library, will be appreciated as being the one which contains unknown or incompletely known elements of history, and it will bring home to many people how great were the losses sustained by the university during the destruction of 1914. The sixteen illustrations of the book are well chosen and reproduce some of the pictures and the treasures which are gone forever.

Some corrections ought to be made. Page 14, note 1, the story according to which three Brabantine *seigneurs* sent people to measure the area of Ghent, Liège, Paris, and Cologne, and found out that Louvain was larger in extent than those cities, is a legend. Page 124, the main reason for the decline of the university in the sixteenth century was the presence of the foreign garrisons, who stayed at Louvain to keep it loyal to Philip II., and the frequent disorders of the soldiers, among whom the German mercenaries behaved the most badly. Page 198, it is not because the cloth manufacture was declining that the Cloth Hall was ceded to the growing university in 1432, but owing to the change in the industrial conditions. As the manufacturers were now working at home as operatives of the capitalists, the Cloth Hall was no more needed.

The book of Professor Delannoy is a very readable one: it gives a vivid narrative, based on carefully tested information, and it offers a very good idea of the part played by the university in the scientific and in the national life of Belgium.

The stern words used in the preface to brand the crime of the German soldiers can only be fully understood by those who, like the author, suffered directly from the outrage. He who was the guardian

of the destroyed treasures has certainly the right to cry his contempt and his indignation in the face of the civilized world.

LÉON VAN DER ESSEN.

A History of England and the British Empire. By ARTHUR D. INNES. Volumes III. and IV. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1914, 1915. Pp. xxvi, 550; xxxv, 604, with maps.)

THE present volumes cover the period from 1689 to 1914 and thus bring the work to a fair completion. It is hardly necessary to call attention again to the peculiar weaknesses of this author's style. His haste, moreover, to finish his task is apparent. Thus on page 118, volume III., Louis XIV. dies, but five pages later, he is still alive, hale and hearty at seventy-five, and as capable of mischief as ever. On page 128 the writer gives the mythical despatch of Byng after Passaro but forgets to give the real despatch. On page 275 Wilkes is introduced, but the introducer, curiously enough, like many another master of ceremonies, forgets to give the name of the guest; in this case leaves him before the audience as simply "a disreputable person". The influence of Hume in clearing up the haze that had befogged the Tory mind and enabled the Tory to support a Hanoverian king, "with a clear conscience", is well put; but nothing is said of the far more direct influence of Blackstone's *Commentaries*, or the more widely known *Idea of a Patriot King* of Bolingbroke. In general, the number of obscure passages, of carelessly formed sentences, in which the simplest rules of composition are violated, is so great that it is hardly worth while to list them; a constant and annoying reminder of the haste of the author in completing his book.

This is unfortunate. These volumes are packed with useful and interesting information, and yet they will not be read with pleasure nor their contents be easily mastered by the very class of readers for whom the author confessedly writes. The book has many points of real merit; but in a work of this class, written for the young, haste in the making is deadly.

Of most interest, we take it, are the last thirty pages of the fourth volume, in which is given a summary of the events that have taken place in British history since the death of Queen Victoria. Here are recounted with real skill the bitter struggles over protection and free trade, old age pensions and workingmen's insurance, the obscuration of the Lords, and Lloyd George's famous budgets; over Home Rule in Ireland, Welsh disestablishment, and plural voting, presenting in each case a summary of the arguments on either side, and with such impartiality withal as to give no hint of the author's own sympathies.

This is wise; for, as the author states in the preface, "the natural temptation is to make of such a record something of the nature of a political pamphlet". The alternative the author has frankly accepted: to abstain from pronouncing his own judgments on controversial ques-

tions, and to endeavor to present an exact statement of facts by an accurate exposition of the varying views of the leaders of the opposing parties. Pedagogically this is sound. Its purpose is to enable the student to form an unbiassed opinion for himself. Yet if Englishmen are made up like Americans, this will hardly add to the popularity of the book.

This part of the work is clear, well balanced, and for the most part good. In treating the revolution which has taken place in English foreign policy, however, the author is not so happy. Perhaps it is demanding too much to expect an Englishman to treat the questions raised by the present conflict with the same judicial calmness with which he treats domestic problems. For most of these later pages, apparently, were written after August, 1914. Note particularly the paragraph on "Junkerism and Jingoism" on page 550 of volume IV. Nevertheless, the chapter is a good one. The arrangement is capital. One wishes, in fact, that something of the plan of this last chapter had been followed in the earlier parts of the work.

B. S. T.

La Guerre de Sept Ans: Histoire Diplomatique et Militaire. PAR RICHARD WADDINGTON. Tome V., *Pordichéry-Villinghausen-Schweidnitz*. (Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1914. Pp. 446.)

THE late Senator Waddington's important enterprise is advanced very considerably by this volume, which, after an introductory chapter on the progress of the English in India, 1760-1761, follows the 1761 campaign in Central Europe, and traces at length the decisive changes in the situation brought about by the death of Elizabeth in January, 1762. For general explanation or criticism of the author's method and achievement the reviewer will refer to surveys of earlier volumes (*American Historical Review*, X. 397; XIV. 125). But while plan and method remain the same the execution in the present installment will probably be found more agreeable by the general reader, even though he might prefer to study the period from other points of view; it cannot be doubted that M. Waddington wields his material with remarkable skill, and that he invests his narrative with a great deal of interest.

This part of the period is of course one of critical and dramatic interest; the monotony of the earlier years of unvarying military vicissitude is decisively broken to a degree to break through both diplomatic cynicism and military weariness. The author devotes to the crisis about one-fourth of the volume, under the title, "Mort de Elisabeth"; while perhaps he still keeps too closely to his diplomatic records, while we regret not to learn more about Russia's internal condition or as to the bearing of the domestic situation on the change in foreign policy, we do get a clear narrative and a great deal of enlightenment about the methods and motives of those who in Russia and elsewhere were dealing with the personal factors of the moment and setting their wits

against one another. There are some points in regard to which it seems probable that hitherto prevailing conclusions will be affected by M. Waddington's evidence, and it will be interesting perhaps to delay briefly on these.

It would appear that the aid of Russia up to this time and her defection through the coming to power of Peter, were not at first regarded by her allies so seriously as has usually been supposed. In October, 1761, Châtelet, representing France at Vienna, reports to Choiseul a remark of Maria Theresa (p. 279) in regard to the new alliance between France and Spain, to the effect that she was afraid it would prove of no more utility to France than the Russian alliance had been to Austria. And on the receipt in Paris of the news of the death of Elizabeth, Choiseul declares (p. 284) to the Austrian ambassador (who it is true does not wholly agree with him), that the defection of Russia need not be a serious matter and that Austria can still beat Frederick alone. Frederick on the other hand does not seem nearly so well informed as to the probable effect of the change of rulers in Russia as were his enemies, for on the receipt of the news he writes in terms of unchanged pessimism (p. 310). But within a week he had learned what it might mean, and he shows at once that he regarded the Russian efforts against him more seriously than apparently did either Austria or France. He loses no time in pushing on the more favorable factors in Russia; and from the point of view of his later reproaches of England, it is of interest to see that he is quite ready to play a double part with respect to his ally. For, having learned that Peter had shown hostile intentions with regard to Denmark, he instructs the Prussian envoy (February 7) to express to the czar Prussia's entire willingness to enter into an engagement of neutrality on that point on condition that England be kept in ignorance. It was six weeks later that Frederick received news of Bute's attitude, by way of Russia, and while the Prussian king could not have had a very good conscience, he must be conceded to have had some ground for indignation on discovering that Bute had urged on the Russian ambassador in London the advisability of keeping the Russian troops in Prussian territory so that Frederick might the sooner be forced to peace, and that the English government had quite reconciled itself to the necessity of Prussia's making territorial sacrifices to that end. Peter however showed only resentment at the English attitude, and even before making peace with Prussia (May 5), ordered his troops in Pomerania, not indeed to withdraw but to stay and help the Prussians. July 23 he was assassinated, and Catherine at once evaded the completion of the supplementary treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with Frederick, for which preliminaries had been signed June 20, and took up a new policy of balance between the contestants.

We find some references to Polish conditions and prospects that surprise us at this date; as when Breteuil in December, 1762, writes

his government of the necessity of preventing the progress of Poland toward dependence on Russia and thus toward a dismemberment to the latter's advantage. The terms in which the Austrian ambassador in February, 1762 (p. 302), explains to Maria Theresa the causes of Peter's attitude toward Frederick bring home to us forcibly the degree to which Frederick's system and reputation point on to, and tend to produce, our own time. Peter, he says, worships Frederick because of "cette discipline et ce gouvernement militaire dont le roi de Prusse donne à l'Europe un exemple si outré, et qui lui a valu l'hommage de tant de têtes échauffées"; the training of the Russian prince "a été tellement négligé qu'il n'a absolument pas d'idée de son État et ignore ce qui est politique, système, en un mot tout ce qui regarde l'art de régner, et rapportant toutes choses au militaire" looks up to the Prussian king as the most successful of rulers in the development and use of military resources. It may be that Peter was not so much of a fool as he looked to M. Mercy-Argenteau.

VICTOR COFFIN.

The Partitions of Poland. By Lord EVERSLEY. (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Company. 1915. Pp. 328.)

The Second Partition of Poland: a Study in Diplomatic History. By ROBERT HOWARD LORD, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXIII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1915. Pp. xxx, 586.)

THE present desolation of Poland, coming as the climax of a century and a half of dismal misfortunes, and the burning question of the country's future fate give a special interest to works on Poland's past. Lord Eversley's and Dr. Lord's volumes are of very different character. The former is a popular sketch of the history of Poland from the First Partition down to the present war. The latter is a scholarly and minute examination of the scrdid and perfidious diplomacy which resulted in the most fatal, though not the first nor the final, partition.

Lord Eversley has culled a few notes from the English Record Office, but otherwise his account rests on Sybel, Sorel, Carlyle, and other well-known secondary works, mostly in English. He avoids committing himself to a statement as to the responsibility for the First Partition by stating on one page that Catherine "was mainly responsible during her long reign for the three partitions of Poland" (p. 27), and on another that "no one, who carefully examines the whole of the negotiations of this period, can come to any other conclusion than that Frederick was responsible for the initiation of the scheme of partition; that its accomplishment was mainly, if not solely, due to his long and arduous efforts" (p. 65). After following the vicissitudes of the unhappy country through the Napoleonic period and the revolts of 1830 and 1863, he writes a good elementary chapter on "The Poles under Three Masters". In this he rightly contrasts the unsuccessful oppres-

sive methods of Prussia and Russia with the wiser policy of Austria in adopting the English plan of home rule for dependent territories. He is careless as to proper names. Bourg for Bug, Wormie for Ermland, Banse for Pesne, Mscislaw for Mohilev, and varying spellings of the same name on different pages are unnecessarily confusing.

Dr. Lord's careful monograph is based on considerable researches in the archives of Vienna, Berlin, Moscow, and St. Petersburg, and on the private papers of several Russian and Polish families in various places, as well as on the mass of sources already in print. No small part of the value of his work lies in his correction at many points of the generally accepted accounts not only of Sybel, whose *Geschichte der Revolutionszeit* has been the mainstay of writers on the subject, but also of the Russian and Polish historians. In his preface Dr. Lord gives a good critical estimate of the value and defects of the more important works relating to the Second Partition; he supplements this at the end of the volume by a fuller, though not exhaustive, bibliography. For those who do not read the Slavic languages it would have been convenient to have a translation of the Russian and Polish titles, and to know that Askenazy's excellent Polish life of Poniatowski (1905) is accessible in a German edition (1912). In eighteen brief appendixes he prints a few of the more important papers on which his conclusions rest, and discusses more in detail some of the disputed points raised in the narrative.

In an introductory chapter Dr. Lord gives an excellent sketch of the melancholy political and social conditions in Poland before the First Partition. It is the best brief account in English. He is inclined to admit, to a certain extent, the favorite thesis of German and Russian historians that the Poles themselves were primarily responsible for their fate in 1772—that the First Partition was a just retribution for all the accumulated sins of class egoism and political folly of the two preceding centuries. But with the Second Partition the case is altogether different.

If the great Powers had annexed the whole of Poland in 1772, the world would have said that the Poles deserved their fate, and, in view of the deathly languor displayed by the nation at that time, it seems probable that the Polish name and Polish nationality would also have perished. Twenty years later, however, a new era had dawned, and Poland fell, not at the moment of her deepest degradation, but just when she was beginning to put forth new life and to show her greatest patriotism and energy. The work of the Four Years' Diet, the lofty character of its leaders, the generous enthusiasms and high hopes of the period, the Constitution of the Third of May, the effort of the Polish army in 1792, and the new struggle for liberty under Kosciuszko in 1794—these things brought at least this inestimable advantage that they furnished the nation with a treasure of spiritual goods upon which it could live and maintain its faith in itself and its future after the loss of its independence (p. 491).

And so, he thinks, the Patriots of 1788 deserved well of their country. He rightly rejects the contention of Kalinka, Kostomarov, and others that the reforming Patriots made a political mistake in trying to throw off Russian domination instead of prudently continuing to submit to Catherine's protection. For this contention rests on the utterly untenable hypothesis that submission to Russia would have continued to secure the territorial integrity of Poland. Catherine, as Dr. Lord shows beyond doubt, was not averse to further partitions, in spite of her remarks, dropped for effect, to the contrary. Her powerful minister, Potemkin, was known to have sold much of his land in Russia in order to buy vast estates in Southeast Poland with a view to carving out for himself, perhaps with Cossack support, a mighty principality in Dacia or the Ukraine. Prussia, too, had cast to the winds the prudence of Frederick the Great; under Frederick William, Hertzberg, and Haugwitz she was striving by perfidious policies and treacherous treaties for reckless territorial aggrandizement at Poland's expense—in spite of her solemn promise to the Patriots to uphold them in their reformed constitution. "It is probable that had Poland remained submissive and passive, she would have fallen a victim to a new partition and to the loss of her political existence sooner or later—with the sole difference that then she would have perished shamefully, and her ruin would have been infinitely more deserved" (p. 487).

Among the more important points in which his conclusions differ from those generally accepted may be mentioned his rejection of Sybel's argument that the Emperor Leopold conspired with the Patriots in their adoption of the Constitution of the Third of May and made great efforts on behalf of Poland. He brings out more clearly than any other writer except Heidrich the extremely aggressive and grasping character of Prussia's policy, particularly in the long haggling with Austria over the indemnity for their joint interference in France. He adds much new information in regard to Austria's revival in 1792 of the old Bavarian Exchange plan and its combination with a Polish-Bavarian indemnity scheme. The diplomatic history of Eastern Europe during the half-dozen years from the beginning of the Russo-Turkish war in August, 1787, to the "Dumb Session" of the Diet of Grodno in September, 1793, which form the main part of Dr. Lord's book, is extremely difficult for the historian on account of the infinitely complicated and shifting vacillations of the rulers and their ministers. Through this muddy maze of deceit he has managed to trace a narrative which is clear and convincing. By his gentle irony, his facility in happy phrasing, and his topical form of treatment, suggestive of Sorel, he has written a volume which is much more readable than most monographs on diplomatic history.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Electoral Reform in England and Wales: the Development and Operation of the Parliamentary Franchise, 1832-1885. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Yale College. [Yale Historical Publications, Studies, III.] (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. xix, 564.)

IN view of the immense and beneficent changes in political and social conditions in England directly resulting from the reform acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884, and also of the influence of these reforms on the freedom and the democratic constitutions of Canada and the other oversea dominions of the British Empire, it is a matter for surprise that so few books of permanent value have been written on this nineteenth-century legislation. It is a further matter of surprise that until Mr. Charles Seymour's *Electoral Reform in England and Wales* was published, there was no book from which the far-reaching legislation of 1832, 1867, and 1884 could be traced. Roebuck and Molesworth, Homersham Cox, Murdoch, and Heaton, and more recently Butler and Veitch, have all made serviceable contributions towards a history of the reform of the English representative system. This is especially true of Cox and Butler and Veitch. Each of the seven writers who have been named "did his bit" towards helping students of English history to realize how the ancient franchises on which the House of Commons was elected for centuries before 1832 have in the last seventy years been replaced by an electoral system that is nearly as democratic in its inclusiveness as that of the United States or Canada. But four of these seven writers, Roebuck, Molesworth, Butler, and Veitch, are exclusively concerned with the reform act of 1832. Homersham Cox's histories of the representation do not go beyond the act of 1867; and for thirty years, in fact since the reform of 1884, there has been an obvious lack of a history adequately covering not only the first great reform for which Grey, Russell, Althorp, and Durham were responsible, but also the act of 1867, for which Disraeli and a Conservative government were sponsors, and the act of 1884, the most comprehensive act of all, which Gladstone carried through the House of Commons with quite considerable support from the Conservative opposition of that period.

Mr. Seymour's excellent monograph fills the long-existing gap in the history of the electoral franchises of England and Wales; and fills it so satisfactorily that in conjunction with Veitch's *Genesis of Parliamentary Reform* (1913), and Butler's *The Passing of the Great Reform Bill* (1914), students of English history now have in not more than three books a complete and practically continuous story of the movements for parliamentary reform; of the fortunes of the numerous reform bills from 1830 to 1884 in the House of Commons; and of the influence of the acts of 1832, 1867, and 1884 on the making of the political England that was in existence at the time the great European War was begun.

Comprehensiveness and completeness as regards the franchise legislation of the nineteenth century form one of the principal characteristics of Mr. Seymour's book. But it has two other excellent features which will enhance its permanent value and its usefulness to students of English parliamentary history; for Mr. Seymour has succeeded in two tasks that had never before been attempted by any writer of nineteenth-century English history. He has embodied in his book a comprehensive and singularly clear and readable history of the registration laws and of the working of the registration courts, first established in 1832; and he has written an equally interesting history of the weeding out of corruption in the English parliamentary electorate. The enactments after 1832 which worked to this end, particularly the acts of 1854 and the James act of 1883, are described in detail. So are other influences making for better conditions—the enlargement of the electorate in 1867 and 1884; the ballot which came into service in 1872; and the gradual dying off of the old and seasoned corruptionists, who after 1832 continued to vote in many of the older boroughs on the freeman, burgage, scot and lot, and potwalloper franchises of the unreformed House of Commons. The only criticism that can be offered as regards this subject is that Mr. Seymour does not take fully into account the gradual development of a better England as a result of the education act of 1870, or of the fact that a new democratic spirit began to pervade the working class electorate almost as soon as the trade unionists, led by Burt and Macdonald, of the miners' unions, realized that the parliamentary franchise was of more value than a money bribe or a free drink on election day, or a free ride to the polls at the expense of a parliamentary candidate.

EDWARD PORRITT.

The Diplomacy of the War of 1914: the Beginnings of the War.

By ELLERY C. STOWELL. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xvii, 728.)

ASSUMING that the actual correspondence in the colored books is at his readers' command Professor Stowell in this large and well-printed volume (in which but one typographical error has been noted) gives us: (a) a brief review of European events from the formation of the Triple Alliance to the summer of 1914; (b) a carefully reasoned statement of the steps, day by day and state by state, which intervened between the Austrian demands upon Servia of July 23 and the general outbreak of hostilities, so far as possible in the language of the notes; (c) a chapter of conclusions and reflections, as to the causes of the war immediate and more remote and as to the justice of the various contentions, which is acute, illuminating, and suggestive; (d) a curious and ingenious restatement of the said conclusions in the form of question and answer; (e) a variety of diplomatic documents bearing upon

the discussion, valuable and germane with a few exceptions; (f) a chronological appendix.

The unknown author of *J'accuse* frames a frank indictment of Germany as the prime mover in bringing about the great war, which in its cumulative force is terrific. In the book under review, Mr. Stowell both in intention and in fact is far more judicial. Yet the two writers are not far apart in their conclusions.

The one believes that Germany desired war and not a mere diplomatic triumph; the other does not go so far.

I do not wish to be misunderstood as thinking that Germany really wished for war; but by her conduct she gave evidence that she intended to back up her ally to secure a diplomatic triumph and the subjugation of her neighbor, which would greatly have strengthened Teutonic influence in the Balkans. She risked the peace of Europe in a campaign after prestige.

The one holds Russia quite blameless; the other says,

By this premature mobilization Russia did, I believe, throw away the last remaining chance of peace. . . . Since this precipitate military preparation on Russia's part could have been avoided, we must consider this also a rational cause of the war, and blame Russia accordingly. Yet never did country have greater provocation.

Nor does Stowell follow *J'accuse* in seeing a calculated manoeuvre when Austria seemed to open herself to discussion at the last moment, while Germany took up the rôle of *agent provocateur* and sent Russia her ultimatum. But in the main their judgments are alike.

Could England have averted war by frankly warning Germany that she stood by France and Russia? Against this charge Mr. Stowell defends England warmly, urging that by keeping all parties uncertain she stimulated them all to peaceful endeavor, whereas by aligning herself early in the *pourparlers*, she would probably have made war inevitable.

Certain factors not usually dwelt upon, our author brings out clearly. One is that in previous Balkan questions it had been customary to resort either to the mutual adjustment of Russia and Austria or to a conference of the powers. In turning away from such usual procedure and insisting upon dealing with Servia without allowing for other interests, Austria therefore took a grave responsibility.

Another is that in recent diplomatic alignment, at the Hague in the matter of arbitration, and at Algeciras, Belgium has taken sides with Germany, which makes the German charge of a Belgian-British agreement aimed at Germany highly improbable.

Although believing that the invasion of Belgium was by no means the sole reason for English action, Professor Stowell calls due attention to Sir Edward Grey's diplomatic skill in utilizing it. By asking both Germany and France to "declare their intentions as to Belgium" on July 31,

at one stroke Sir Edward Grey showed up Germany's designs, secured an opportunity to urge upon Belgium a timely resistance, united the Cabinet and the country against Germany, intervened in good season for the defense of the balance of power, and came to the aid of the Entente soon enough to be sure of the gratitude of Russia and France; yet he had also succeeded in holding off both sides long enough to try the effect of every inducement for peace he could bring forward.

As we get farther away from that fateful day, August 1, 1914, we are disposed, I think, to look deeper and more widely into the natures and ambitions and fears of peoples, while laying less stress upon the proximate causes of this war and their sequence. In this book we have a careful and fair record of the latter: we have also in chapter XI., in a brief forty pages, a study of the former which everyone should read who cares for European politics largely treated.

T. S. WOOLSEY.

The History of Twelve Days, July 24th to August 4th, 1914: being an Account of the Negotiations preceding the Outbreak of War, based on the Official Publications. By J. W. HEADLAM, M.A. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxiv, 412.)

MR. HEADLAM begins his *History of Twelve Days* with the sentence: "It was August in the year 1913." The ensuing account of the London Conference, preceded by the long drawn out crisis in the Balkans, gives him an opportunity to employ his lucid powers of historical narrative in a most interesting account of the relations between Serbia and Austria and the diplomatic duel between Austria and Russia for the control of the little Balkan kingdom.

When he reaches the opening scene of the great conflict which followed "a crime as purposeless as it was cruel and wicked" (p. 17), he says of the accusations which Austria directed against the Serbian government: "That there was any complicity on the part of the Serbian Government there is no evidence of any kind put forward, though it is suggested that they had been guilty of criminal negligence in not keeping stricter control over the secret societies" (p. 18). He points out how the Austrian note was published within a few hours of its presentation so that any redress offered by Serbia would appear to be as a result of the Austrian threats (p. 29). He appears to be justified when he says that the demands of the note "were drawn up with the deliberate object of making them such that they could not be at once and unconditionally accepted" (p. 30). "The real criticism of the note", he truly says, "seems to be that it confused, and intentionally confused, two different things—a political agitation and a criminal conspiracy" (p. 32). The inevitable conclusion reached, that Austria wanted war with Serbia, brings up for a later chapter the discussion of whether Austria also wanted war with Russia; but instead of devoting the succeeding chapter to the discussion of this question, as would seem log-

ical, Mr. Headlam prefers to bring early to the reader's attention the preponderant rôle of Germany, which corresponds with her responsibility. After pointing out the favorable situation from the German point of view for the launching of a conflict, he says that the German government cannot enter into a war "unless it is assured of the vigorous support of the people" (p. 43). He considers that among a considerable portion the feeling was growing up that the war was unavoidable, and if unavoidable it was better that it should come as soon as possible. I believe with him that the Germans would doubtless have preferred "a peaceful solution, provided that a peaceful solution could be obtained by the submission of Russia", and that "this is what in reality was meant by the phrase 'localization of the conflict'" (p. 53), upon which Germany took her stand. After thus explaining the causes of Germany's policy of localization, the succeeding chapter discusses the relations between Russia and Austria, and the necessity which Russia felt of intervening to protect Serbia. This is followed by an interesting chapter on the attempted mediation of the less interested powers, with the conclusion

that the German Government had determined that no mediation of any kind should be allowed, that no request to Austria to suspend her action should be permitted, and that it had been determined between Austria and Germany, that war against Serbia should be pressed on with the greatest precipitation, so as to crush Serbia before any interference, diplomatic or military, could be arranged (p. 137).

A separate chapter is devoted to the intervention of the German emperor, upon which great emphasis is laid; but this is unsafe ground for the historian at present.

Passing on to Russia's mobilization against Austria, it is truly said:

No action has been the subject of such severe criticism as that of the Russians in calling in the reserves throughout their whole Empire. The Germans have fixed on this as the sole real cause of the war, and have built up a theory that at this moment proposals of a nature satisfactory to all were on the point of being put forward, and that it was Russian mobilisation alone which prevented them being brought to a satisfactory conclusion (pp. 220-221).

Yet in a similar situation Germany, when confronted by the danger of war with Russia, immediately mobilized the whole of her forces on *both* fronts,

and though France had throughout shown the greatest restraint and had carefully avoided every word or action which could have been interpreted in a provocative sense, Germany immediately massed her troops on the French frontier and addressed an ultimatum to her. In the light of this, what hypocrisy is it on the part of the German Government to complain of the Russian action! (p. 224).

Attempts at mediatory action continued up to the very last day, when Germany, instead of communicating Austria's answer to accept the mediation proposed by Sir Edward Grey, "broke off negotiations and declared war" (p. 238). Then the great European conflict was opened by the invasion of Luxemburg and then of Belgium.

This preliminary study, which has brought us to the very invasion of Belgium, permits the author to focus attention upon that great central fact in its relation to British intervention. The consideration of the latter he preceeds by an historical study of Great Britain and the Entente Cordiale, while a history of the neutrality of Belgium prepares us for the never-to-be-forgotten horror of this greatest crime against the law of nations, the violation of Belgian neutrality. This last part of the book, more especially the chapter on British intervention, is peculiarly interesting as a British historian's portrayal and interpretation of Great Britain's action at this supreme crisis in her national life. The author frankly confesses: "Writing in the middle of the great war in which the future of the country is endangered by an enemy more powerful and more implacable than any that it has before met, it would be foolish to claim the merit of impartiality", but we cannot commend the state of mind which would declare: "Had I found in the course of the work that the result would be unfavourable to the justice and honesty of the British cause, I should have adopted the only possible course and kept silent till the war was over" (preface, p. viii). But for its absolute frankness, such a statement would cast suspicion upon the whole work, for how are we to know that a man who is governed by such considerations may not suppress in all of his work that which he perceives might lead to an unfavorable judgment on his country? The reviewer believes that it is the better part of patriotism and loyalty as a citizen to set forth the truth as it is found. When there are more citizens in each country to lay bare the truth, however repulsive it may be, to the eyes of an oligarchy drunk with power, the presence of such historians will restrain their transgressions against the law of nations and the rights of humanity. This said, we must acknowledge that Mr. Headlam gives evidence of a very fair consideration of his material. He has selected the most striking passages which give expression to the general current of the negotiations, and he has combined them in a most skillful manner. The differences in type set off clearly the quotations. He has employed those convenient marginal headings, by which English books are distinguished, to indicate at once the date of the document and the name of the diplomat, but the reader is left without any adequate check on the fairness of his treatment, since he does not give all the citations which relate to the particular matter. In view of the admitted bias of the writer both because of his nationality and of the period at which he is writing, the book can never claim to be anything more than a superior kind of brief for England. As an interesting and fair statement of the British point of view, it is especially

valuable for the account of the formation of the Triple Entente and the considerations which led to British intervention. A good example of this is seen when the author adopts that widespread and untenable English theory that when Great Britain gave her adhesion to the treaty guaranteeing the neutrality of Luxemburg, she "only undertook an obligation not herself to violate it" (p. 335).

The reviewer agrees with Mr. Headlam when he says of Sir Edward Grey's action in not promising support to Russia from the beginning:

It would, indeed, have been impossible for him to do so. Let us consider what would have happened had he acted in this manner. He could not have been sure that war would have been avoided; it is now at best a probability but not a certainty; then it was only a possibility. But had war none the less come about, in what a situation would he have been placed! How could he have come to the country and asked for their support in a war waged, as this would have appeared to be, in support of Serbia against Austria and in a matter with which this country had no interest? Even had the Cabinet supported him—and this it would not have done without losing many members—had he even secured a majority in the House of Commons, the opposition in the country to such a policy would have been so strong and determined that the country could not have thrown its full strength into the war. How would it have been possible to appeal to men to serve in the army for a war undertaken in this manner? The country would have been divided and half-hearted; neither men nor the money would have been available, and inevitable disaster would have resulted (pp. 306-307).

Again he commends the able manner in which Sir Edward Grey handled the matter of Belgian neutrality and foiled the German attempts to secure the promise of British non-intervention. In reference to Belgian neutrality Mr. Headlam says: "Even had this difficulty been out of the way it would, however, have been almost impossible to formulate all the conditions necessary to be observed if this country was to enter into any engagement not to take part in the war" (p. 331), but all these discussions brought out the fact that "the one essential matter which was at issue between the two governments was the invasion of Belgium" (p. 339).

The greatest defect in the book and one which it is hard to overlook in the case of a scholar, is the trivial and inadequate index; furthermore it is hardly excusable, where the author has access to the original German documents, to reproduce the uncouth solecisms which the English scholars of the German Foreign Office have foisted upon the English-speaking world, such for example as, "I told the general that his statement placed me before a riddle" (p. 184); nor should the name of the Serbian prime minister be "Pashitch" on page 19, while it is given in another form "Pasić" in the first line of page 67. Such evidences of haste are probably due to the desire to produce the volume without delay.

When some German historian gives the story from the German point of view, it will be interesting again to compare the two accounts. The book is both interesting and instructive and will remain a valuable exposition of the causes of the war from the viewpoint of a trained and critical British observer. In all probability nearly all the author's conclusions will stand the test of impartial criticism and the publication of material now inaccessible.

ELLERY C. STOWELL.

A History of the Japanese People from the Earliest Times to the End of the Meiji Era. By Captain F. BRINKLEY, R.A., with the collaboration of Baron KIKUCHI. (New York and London: The Encyclopaedia Britannica Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 784.)

IN this last of his valuable works on Japan, the late Captain Brinkley (for the share of his collaborator, Baron Kikuchi, in the preparation of the present volume is inconsiderable) undertakes to cover the entire historic period of Japan down to 1912, a subject too vast for a single writer or reviewer to compass with even success. As the success of an historical writer must depend upon his equipment for his task, the critic of this work is compelled to inquire into the extent of the materials its author has used and into the range of his personal interest in his many-sided subject.

As regards his material, Brinkley cannot be said to have made a full use of his large knowledge of Japanese for the exploitation of even the more easily accessible editions of sources. Nor has he availed himself half as much as he should of such results of studies by special workers as are in print in Japanese or in English; some of the well-established facts, the knowledge of which would have materially influenced many of his statements, have been inexcusably neglected. These charges might appear too serious in the case of an historical work making so large claims as this, but they seem more than justified by the consideration, among others, that Brinkley's work, such as it is, is based upon a greater amount of literature, though not of primary sources, than any other of the same kind except Murdoch's.

Few scholars might be expected to possess so comprehensive a training and interest as to enable them to feel at home in all phases of the complex career of an old nation. One may, however, ask if Brinkley's failings as a catholic historian are not most evident along some of the most important lines of his work; his weakness seems manifest on the cultural side in its deeper features, and is still more lamentable on the entire institutional side. His treatment of religion, its social reactions, and its relation to the higher forms of national art and letters is hardly less disappointing than that of Murdoch; and in his comprehension of the institutional growth, though he often discusses it at length, the

Irish author scarcely reveals the grasp of it shown by the Scottish, not altogether satisfactory though that may be. Of these two fundamental aspects of Japanese history, therefore, the reader will gain little coherent and organic view from Brinkley.

The failure of Brinkley the historian is counterbalanced by his large powers as a chronicler and historical connoisseur. Especially surpassing is his ability to describe personal and social relations, and this he invests with a genuine sympathy with the Japanese view of things, particularly when it seems at variance with the modern European standpoint. Thus his narratives are not only human but at times apologetic. These qualities are well exemplified in his chapters, among others, on the Gem-pei period (XXIV.-XXV.) and on the Catholic propaganda (XXXVII.). His accounts of customs and manners, though not so full as in the volumes on Japan in his previous *Oriental Series*, are always interesting. His love of detailed facts has further resulted in a fair summary of the archaeological researches by Munro (VI.) and in many a story of dynastic and political struggles of which the history before 1600 was full. The sudden growth of national life after 1868 is treated briefly but with a sure hand. In all these descriptions, the author has on the whole been content to follow the traditional line of thought, modified occasionally by his own judgment of human nature, rather than to reach out for new facts and reconstruct the narrative by independent critical research.

It is regrettable that the excellent descriptive quality of the work has been marred, and awkward misunderstandings occasioned, by the careless distribution and explanations, made by the publishers, of the numerous illustrations, many of which are otherwise of high quality. This is a mechanical detail that might readily be rectified in a subsequent edition.

As a whole, the work, while it can hardly supersede Murdoch's as a history, stands, as a chronicle embodying the traditional view of men and things, unequalled by any other work in a European language. So is it likely to remain, for it will be a long time before we may see other annals of Japan written with equal literary charm and evincing as much sympathy with their subject-matter.

K. ASAKAWA.

The Boxer Rebellion: a Political and Diplomatic Review. By PAUL H. CLEMENTS, Ph.D., Lecturer at Columbia University on Far Eastern Politics and Diplomacy. [Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LXVI., no. 3.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1914. Pp. 243.)

IN this monograph Mr. Clements has reviewed the antecedents, the causes, the international complications, and the methods and terms of settlement which attended the Boxer uprising.

The work is based almost entirely upon original materials, especially British "Blue Books", United States *Foreign Relations*, and treaty texts. Indeed, although the nature of the study excuses this, it might be urged by way of criticism that the author has paid too little attention to secondary accounts. For instance, some recognition and perhaps evaluation of such materials as have been made accessible by Messrs. Bland and Backhouse might add much that would be of interest and value.

Beginning with a short sketch of the early relations between the western countries and China, and having briefly reviewed the activities which marked the "scramble for concessions from 1895 to 1898", the author proceeds to the main task: a detailed account and analysis of the forces and movements, both internal and external, which marked the years 1898-1901 and resulted in the Peace Protocol of September 7, 1901.

Although he gives indication at one point (pp. 25-26) of having grasped the "real significance of the Chino-Japanese War", Mr. Clements follows at another point (p. 76) what the present writer conceives to be the common error of designating the German occupation of Kiaochow the first among the immediate political causes of the Boxer outbreak. It was Japan in 1894-1895, not Germany in 1897-1898, that *began* the programme of aggression which soon raised over the heads and within the vision of the Chinese the lowering clouds of potentially impending "partition". France, Great Britain, and Russia all thereafter got concessions before Germany "entered the game" in 1897.

However, the mistakes of the time were largely Europe's mistakes. . . . An enumeration of the immediate determining causes of the Boxer Rebellion is rather to be found in diplomatic archives than in a study of any other sources. . . . Leases, commercial servitudes, the loss of sovereignty over the finest harbors, the hypothecation of *likin* and salt revenues, the contracts to promoters and concessions to missionaries forced at the cannon's mouth, the talk of partition, the diplomatic wrangles over "spheres of influence" and "balance of power", the exaction of the last possible farthing as indemnity for acts for which neither Europe nor the United States would have granted indemnity or apology—the answer of the Chinese to all these national humiliations was the outbreak of 1900.

This is all directly to the point—and the truth and purport of such a summary may well be pondered in connection with a new series of aggressions which was begun in January, 1915, and of which we have much more to hear.

The account, introducing the documentary evidence, of the "American concession" at Tientsin (pp. 164-172) is especially interesting. "Fate seemed to have decreed that the American Power, to its everlasting credit, should be utterly landless in China" (pp. 172-173).

There occur in the book some misprints and occasional awkward

sentences, the latter especially in the foot-notes. The references are very complete. The bibliography is unusually well selected and satisfactory. The book is well indexed—would that the same could be said of every such study. This monograph will be useful to students of modern history and contemporary politics, and it is to be hoped that its practical value and possible lesson to statesmen will not be overlooked.

STANLEY K. HORNBECK.

The Fall of Tsingtau: with a Study of Japan's Ambitions in China.

By JEFFERSON JONES. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xviii, 215.)

IN view of Japan's renewed demands upon China, Jones's *Fall of Tsingtau* is a very timely book. It might properly be called Japan's Nullification of the Open-Door Policy, for it deals largely with Japan's attempt to make the whole of China her special sphere of influence. It should be read by everyone who wishes to understand the meaning of Japan's demands upon China and their bearing on America's commercial interests in the Far East.

In the first part of the book the author tells how seventeen thousand Japanese, backed by the whole army and navy of Japan and reinforced by the British Far Eastern fleet, conquered a garrison of less than four thousand Germans cut off from every hope of supplies and reinforcements. On the basis of Mr. Jones's testimony the reader is bound to conclude that the efficiency of the Japanese army has deteriorated since the Russo-Japanese War. Mr. Jones is of the opinion that the operations of the Japanese army in Shantung will add little to its reputation for scientific work; that sanitation was something wholly lacking in the Japanese camps; and that the carelessness of the Japanese generals showed itself not only in their disregard of sanitation but in their handling of the troops after the surrender.

To American readers the real value of the book lies in the last seven chapters, which deal with Japan's ambitious scheme to dominate China politically and commercially. Mr. Jones has succeeded in showing more clearly than any other writer on the Orient what is the real question at issue between the United States and Japan. It is not the California question but the Open-Door Policy. Japan has recently renewed the demands which she made of China in January, 1915. Should China be forced to yield to these demands the Open-Door Policy would cease to exist. By securing control of China's army, police system, and financial machinery, Japan would be in a position not only to annihilate the sovereignty of the oldest independent nation in the world but to secure a monopoly of the trade of China, thus effectively barring American goods from the world's most promising market. Japan's demands, therefore, affect the interests of every American manufacturer and laborer. But a larger question than that of foreign trade is involved

in Japan's policy. The United States besides being the originator of the Open-Door Policy is a party to several international agreements guaranteeing the independence of China. Japan's demands, therefore, affect not only our commercial interests but also our honor as a nation.

There are no serious errors in the book, with the exception of Baron Riedesel's name, which is incorrectly given (p. 53) as "Leadse". Mr. Jones has apparently fallen into this error by getting the name from the Japanese who are apt to confuse the letters R and L. Baron Riedesel, second secretary of the German Legation in Peking, was the first German to fall at Tsingtau. He was a descendant of the Baron Riedesel who commanded the Hessians in our Revolutionary War. Like his famous ancestor, who paid such a glowing tribute to the American soldiers who captured him, Riedesel of Tsingtau had a great admiration for Americans and was exceedingly popular in the American community in Peking. He was a true knight "without fear or reproach". Those of us who knew him there and admired him for his knightly qualities will regret that his name was distorted almost beyond recognition in the only book that chronicles the manner of his death.

LUTHER ANDERSON.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Military Unpreparedness of the United States: a History of American Land Forces from Colonial Times until June 1, 1915.

By FREDERIC LOUIS HUIDEKOPER. With an introduction by Major-General LEONARD WOOD, M.H., Former Chief of Staff of the United States Army. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xvi, 735.)

MR. HUIDEKOPER's book concerns a question of the hour and advocates a specific solution with some vigor. Yet it is historical in the sense that it sketches the history of the United States army from the time of the War of Independence down to the present. So far as it goes this sketch is sufficiently correct, but it does not go nearly far enough and always remains on the surface.

The author's endeavor is to demonstrate that waste and inefficiency have always characterized the military policy of this country; and he amply proves his case. He shows clearly that the marvel of Washington's success lay rather in his overcoming the ineptitude of Congress than in his dealing with the skill and numbers of the enemy. From that day to this there has been no very striking improvement. Our efforts during the Civil War, which Mr. Huidekoper carefully tabulates, were of an immense character, threatening national solvency for many years after. Yet the Confederacy was a weak state, with few resources for conducting a military struggle and with an army that would have been helpless against a trained force.

Where we think the author falls short is in his apparent inability to relate American military efforts to the growth of industrialism and the development of the military art as a general matter during the nineteenth century. To be more specific, he states: "At the end of the War of the Rebellion the volunteers had acquired a training which made them comparable to any armies that have ever existed." Leaving on one side what may be dismissed from this statement as merely rhetorical exaggeration, it yet reflects one of the most rooted of our popular misconceptions as to the conduct of war, and especially of the Civil War. It is the false foundation on which repose the most popular and most flimsy of our present-day defense schemes. Let us consider the question from some way back.

General Upton, on whose book, *The Military Policy of the United States*, Mr. Huidekoper has based his own, is noteworthy in our Civil War as one of the very few officers in the army who ever gave serious consideration to tactical formations, though he did not, as might indeed have been expected, achieve any very striking results. And in the vast mass of literature produced by the officers of the two armies after the war was over, Upton's book holds a solitary distinction as virtually the only one that treats warfare as though it might be a matter for scientific or professional study. This in itself speaks volumes, and the reason is obvious enough. The armies were controlled by men who were not scientifically or professionally trained. And even Mr. Huidekoper, who has devoted much of his time to military studies and should know better, has not discovered that the men of the Civil War did not know how to perform the two essential functions of the commander of troops, which are, first, to move them; second, to employ them tactically. The first of these rudimentary arts they picked up after a couple of years or more of painful experience; the second they learned only in the limited sense imposed by the practical but weak methods of their opponents. In other words, and not to develop this topic at too great length, Mr. Huidekoper virtually ignores the lack of tactical science and of the education of the staff and higher command among the items making up the defencelessness of this country. Yet it is probably the gravest item; and even Mr. Huidekoper at bottom suspects it, for in alluding to the recent administration of our military affairs he goes so far as to say that in our army "the system is one of promotion by senility". This is a little hard. Our generals have been more sinned against than sinning; and if they are untrained in the higher branches of their profession it is the fault of Congress and not theirs.

Notwithstanding its obvious deficiencies on the theoretical side, we must be grateful to Mr. Huidekoper for a useful compendium of the consistent failings of our military administration. It reads very much like some of the blackest pages in the history of the fall of the Bourbons in France. We hope that the compilers of our school texts may turn to this book for a little of the guidance in military matters that they seriously need.

Commerce of Rhode Island, 1726-1800. Volume II., 1775-1800.

[Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, seventh series, vol. X.] (Boston: The Society. 1915. Pp. xi, 501.)

THE general character of this collection and the uses to which it may be put have already been sufficiently indicated.¹ While the first volume offers a rich store of illustrative material on a number of well-known facts concerning colonial trade, the second supplies equally valuable detail regarding the birth of an independent American commercial system. Of the four hundred letters and other documents here presented, more than one-third picture attempts to carry on trade during the Revolution, a much greater number the triumphal emergence of American commerce from the restrictions formerly laid by the navigation acts, and a few the combined advantages and disabilities imposed upon the new system by the European wars commencing in 1792. Thus for the revolutionary period we have actual pictures of the difficulties encountered in domestic trade from the absence of transportation facilities on land, the presence of British vessels off the coast, the lack of a banking system and the depreciation of the Continental currency; as well as of the determined efforts through which, in spite of all, the trade was steadily carried on. The temptation to exaggerate the extent and severity of the economic distress arising from the war is corrected by records of traffic in such goods as velvets, broadcloths, and wines. In the matter of overseas commerce, we may watch the placing of "rebel" vessels under Canadian or neutral registers, the operation of "flags of truce", and the continuation of trade with England through Amsterdam, or with Europe generally through St. Eustatius and other foreign West India islands. Through letters covering the ten years of peace the reader may go with Christopher Champlin's ships to Bordeaux and L'Orient, Dublin and Cork, Amsterdam and Hamburg, Gothenburg and Copenhagen, Cronstadt and St. Petersburg, and may watch the exchange of their cargoes of lumber, fish, oil, furs, tobacco, rice, naval stores, and farm products for a still more varied assortment of articles. He may even share the pleasure of their captains in remembering that these articles had hitherto, for the most part, been obtainable only through British ports. He may see France and Ireland, the latter also enjoying new-found liberties, making every effort to capture American trade, and may learn afresh how greatly handicapped were American merchants by the inability of the states as a whole to conclude commercial treaties. In the remaining group of letters, covering the last eight years of the century, he will find examples of British interference with legitimate American trade and the temporary opening, under stress of war, of the British West India ports. But through all of this it is the facts dealing with the actual mechanism of commerce which are most worth while. The varieties and fluctuations of the currency sys-

¹ A review of the first volume by the late Professor G. S. Callender appeared in the *Review*, XX. 857 (July, 1915).

tems, the negotiation of French government paper or even of ordinary bills of exchange, the development of marine insurance, the regulation of prices and freight charges—on such matters as these the book contributes facts which are actually new. In conclusion it must be noted that it is not solely the commercial side of history upon which these letters touch. Many a glimpse is offered of conditions during revolutionary times at Boston, Philadelphia, and Newport, of the suffering and migration of people of Rhode Island, of the efforts of Congress to stop the supply of British ships and the exploits of privateers. Indeed such information ranges from a description of life at Harvard in 1784 to accounts of the slave insurrections at Santo Domingo in 1791-1793. In the way of critical comment it is necessary only to say that the work of selecting and of editing is admirable throughout and that the index, while not above suspicion as regards either comprehensiveness or accuracy, is very serviceable.

HERBERT C. BELL.

The Critical Period, 1763-1765. Edited with Introduction and Notes by CLARENCE WALWORTH ALVORD, University of Illinois, and CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER, Miami University. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. X., British Series, vol. I.] (Springfield, Ill.: Illinois State Historical Library, 1915. Pp. lvii, 597.)

THE state of Illinois is very fortunate in having the sources of its early history made accessible in collections such as this. Three volumes of documents of great interest relating to the time of the Virginian domination have been published, and this is the first of a projected series of five or six volumes covering the British period. This one, being a preliminary volume, contains two valuable introductory essays, one entitled "British Illinois, 1763-1768", and the other "The British Occupation of the Illinois Country, 1763-1765". The first essay shows that British Illinois was a matter of discussion rather than of realization; and the second is a summary of events leading up to the possession of the country by the British.

The documents included in the book are, in the main, devoted to three general subjects: description of the country and its inhabitants, French and Indian; the plans of the British for the exploitation of their newly acquired territory; and their efforts to obtain possession of it.

The reprint of the *Bannissement des Jésuites de la Louisiane*, attributed to Père Watrin, and first printed by Carayon, forms one of the most notable chapters in the volume. Though in the nature of special pleading, it is well written and throws much light on the history of the country, the methods of life of the people and of travel on the Mississippi. The letters of Sir William Johnson and of George

Croghan and the "Plan for the Future Management of Indian Affairs", formulated in England, are illuminating both as to the character of the Indians and as to the British attitude towards them. In the last-mentioned document it is amusing to find the provision, "That in Trade with the Indians, no credit shall be given them for goods in Value beyond the Sum of fifty shillings, and no debt beyond that Sum shall be recoverable by Law or Equity." The framers of the plan evidently were unable to picture to themselves any part of the royal domain in which the king's writ did not run. Equally amusing is the logic of Sir William Johnson's advocacy of the sale of liquor to Indians: "that without it, the Indians can purchase their cloathing with half the quantity of skins; which will make them indolent, and lessen the furr trade".

The statement of George Croghan as to the fidelity of the Indians to their engagements is of timely interest. He says,

It may be thought and sayd by some that the Indians are a faithless and ungrateful set of Barbarians and will not stand to any Agreements they make with us; but its well known that they never Claimed any Right to a Tract of Country after they sold it with Consent of their Council, and received any Consideration, tho' never so trifling; so that on that head we have nothing to fear in fixing a Boundary with them.

Relating to the projected exploitation of the country, there is included, from an unique original, a pamphlet printed in Edinburgh in 1763, entitled *The Expediency of Securing our American Colonies by Settling the Country adjoining the River Mississippi, and the Country upon the Ohio, considered*, in which the Scottish author advocates the establishment of a new colony bordering on the Mississippi, and extending from the Illinois River to the Ohio, to be named Charlottina, in honor of the queen. He seems to have had a knowledge of the country for he describes it as unexcelled for fertility, healthfulness, and beauty, and he apparently foresaw the rise of St. Louis, for he says that "a town at or nigh the Forks would be the common *Emporium* of the produce and riches of that vast continent". The slight consideration of this writer for the Indian inhabitants of the country is in strong contrast with the attitude of those who possessed more intimate knowledge of them.

D'Abbadie's "Journal", which is here given with more fullness than elsewhere, and the numerous letters from French and English officers, give the means for a very satisfactory understanding of the conduct of those of each nation towards the other, and of both towards the Indians, who were barring the English from the country. The suspicion which the English had that the French were intriguing against them, everywhere appears, and the entire absence of evidence of French bad faith is equally noticeable. Pontiac makes his entry, from time to time, upon the stage, but the story of his "conspiracy", and of the

siege of Detroit, are properly omitted as belonging to a more northern scene. The appearance of John Lind as messenger from Farmar to Governor Kerlérec is oddly suggestive.

Anyone who cares for this portion of the history of our common country will find this book readable and instructive; to the writer of history it is a source-book which cannot be overlooked.

The editorial work is up to the high standard set in the previous volumes. The translations are well done, though there are a few slips which might be corrected. For instance, on page 165, *songer à diminuer* is given as "consider the restriction"; *considéré* (p. 201) means a person of importance, who might be a "beloved man", as the word is here translated, though there are many instances where a *considéré* was feared and hated by his people. In English usage the word was supplanted by the noun brave. The word transliterated disgrace, on page 512, means ill fortune.

Notour (p. 154) is a good Scots word which needed no "ious" appended to it; nor should conform (p. 148) have been followed by a disfiguring *sic*. There is a good index, and the book is well printed.

American Diplomacy. By CARL RUSSELL FISH, Professor of History, University of Wisconsin. [American Historical Series, edited by Charles H. Haskins, Professor of History, Harvard University.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 541.)

THAT an authoritative text-book upon the history of American diplomacy was much needed anyone who has had to conduct undergraduate classes in the subject will bear witness. But two books have been available and neither was written with the class-room primarily in view. Each is the effort of a trained diplomatist and expert in international law. The arrangement of one upon a strictly topical basis makes it difficult to use where there is no assurance, as there usually is not, of a sufficient background of American political history on the part of the class. The other is sketchy, lacking in balance, and, while pleasantly written, omits many important episodes and includes others not of a diplomatic character; it is the work of an authority in diplomacy, of an amateur in history writing. The present volume, designed to be "comprehensive and balanced", suffers from another sort of limitations. It is the product of one trained in the teaching and writing of American history. As a narrative it carries the reader along with continuous interest. As a whole it is what it asserts itself to be, "a condensation of ascertained conclusions". It suffers from an overloading of incident and episode, so that it is not always easy to follow the various stages of what may be called the larger factors of American foreign policy. Such is apt to be the case when the chronological method is so closely followed as it is in the present volume. To

illustrate: the northwestern boundary controversy has certain fairly well-marked stages from 1792 to 1846. The various factors entering into the American position appeared for the most part successively. One finds "the first link in the chain of claims which was to bring Oregon to the United States" upon page 93, the second upon page 148, the third upon page 186, the fourth upon 195, the fifth upon 202, and the sixth upon 214, each so ticketed, to be sure, but with much matter intervening upon quite different topics. The really significant factor in the development of an American policy, namely the linking of the northwestern boundary question with our coast claims, is, however, not considered. In another connection the author departs from his usual chronological arrangement with an equally infelicitous result. Discussion of the northeastern boundary dispute is deferred until the Webster-Ashburton negotiation is reached. The reasons for the dispute grew out of the peace negotiations and might better have been indicated in that part of the narrative, as it was largely because of the ignorance of geographical conditions in 1782 that a line so potential of dispute was adopted. Where a specific foreign policy is determined by successive episodes Professor Fish is at his best. Thus the period from 1793 to 1815 (where the political history and the diplomatic history run in the same channel) and that of the Civil War are among the most satisfactory portions of the book. The part since 1898 is the least deserving of commendation, especially in those pages wherein reference is made to the problems of international law raised by the Great War. That we "ignored our international relations" from 1829 to 1898 (p. 4) is hardly substantiated by the space (little less than 200 pages out of 500) which is properly given to those seventy years.

Accuracy of statement is indeed the prime desideratum of a textbook. It is to be regretted that one finds, in this, so many careless statements, some of which are doubtless due to hasty proof-reading, the latter a matter which the reviewer might perhaps have overlooked, since all dwell in glass houses. But no mention of the line of Alexander VI. is to be found in the treaty of Tordesillas (p. 11), and to say that the treaty-line was "somewhat to the west" of the former one is unnecessarily vague. Nor was the treaty of Saint Germain the first after Tordesillas to refer to America (p. 13). While commissioners were appointed under the treaty of Utrecht to draw a boundary for the Hudson Bay country (p. 16), it would have dispelled uncertainty and an incorrect tradition to have added that these commissioners never agreed upon a line. Evidence that the Revolutionary diplomatists conceived of international arbitration as a "natural expedient" (p. 22) is certainly not quite obvious. That the draft of the treaty of amity with France, 1778, was largely the work of John Adams was worth noting, considering that the United States frequently used the same ideas, similarly phrased, in later treaties (p. 29). It is surely not quite correct to say (p. 43) that Vergennes incited Holland to enter

the war in December, 1780, or that Gardoqui limited Spain's claim to the Yazoo (p. 70). "The failure to give the government full control of aliens within the limits of the states" (p. 80) is not generally regarded as a constitutional limitation, but one that might be cured by Congressional action, as recommended by several Presidents. The British commissioners at Ghent have not usually been characterized as "well-chosen" or "representative", or indeed as "expert and skilful" (p. 180). In discussing the non-colonization clause of the Monroe Doctrine no mention is made of the important instruction of Adams to Middleton, July 22, 1823. Canning's position would have been made clearer had it been stated that Rush was not informed of France's disinclination to join against Spanish America (p. 213). More than three lines might with propriety have been given to the mission of Edmund Roberts, and Cushing's contribution to the doctrine of extra-territoriality certainly deserves mention, as does the work of Townsend Harris. Madison's proclamation of 1815 was not strictly one of neutrality (p. 207), and elsewhere there is an apparent confusion between executive proclamations requiring observance of the neutrality acts with proclamations of neutrality. During the Civil War the doctrine of continuous voyage was not "confined to the carrying of contraband" (p. 308), as recent controversy well attests. The statement that "the question of transfer of ownership [of merchant-vessels] in time of war has been regulated since 1910 by the Declaration of London, at least in the case of nations signing that declaration, of which the United States is one" (p. 312, n.), is not verified by recent events.

The author's discussion of the Panama episode is strangely twisted. Speaking of the Hay-Herran treaty he says: "after four months' debate [it] . . . was rejected by the Colombian senate in July, 1903" (p. 439). The Colombian congress met June 20 and the senate acted August 12. Proceeding, he says, President Roosevelt "ordered our minister to leave Bogotá and prepared a message proposing to Congress that we begin to dig the canal. He argued, or at least asserted, that Colombia, in rejecting a reasonable and generous offer, had violated the treaty of 1846. . . . An agreement, he believed, might be made with Panama" (p. 440). The Colombian government handed Minister Beaupré his passports November 14, 1903. If Mr. Roosevelt's draft is meant, this was prepared before October 31, when the Colombian congress adjourned and the possibility of ratification ended. In that draft the President was to recommend the purchase of the French company's claims. The argument referred to appears in the messages of the following December and January, after Panama had seceded, had been recognized, and had entered into a treaty with us. This treaty was signed November 18 and not December 7 (p. 442). However much the Panama affair may be justified because of "such unparalleled importance as to exempt it from the ordinary laws of morality and of nations" (p. 443), to suggest that Jefferson justified the pur-

chase of Louisiana upon similar grounds hardly does justice to the former negotiation. The Central American Court of Justice is at Cartago, and not at San José, Costa Rica (p. 451). Pan-American conferences have not been held every five years since 1901, nor was the last at "Santiago of Chili in 1911" (p. 451). The English colony of Dominica frequently appears where Santo Domingo is meant (p. 327 thrice, 330, 349) and the Tasmanian island of Bruni for the Bornean sultanate of Brunei (p. 286). Misprints of dates are too frequent for such a work: Gray's entrance into the Columbia was May 11, 1792, and not in 1791 (pp. 93 and 148); the treaty of 1842 and not that of 1846 regulated the navigation of the St. John's (p. 346); the mediation between Haiti and Santo Domingo was in 1911 and not in 1851 (p. 384) and the Payne-Aldrich Act was passed in 1909 (p. 470). To let "satisfactorially" (p. 466) and a "statute of Frederick the Great" (p. 467) pass into print may strike a responsive chord in the undergraduate's heart if it does not clear his mind.

There are a number of maps, some colored, some inserted in the text. The former are generally good. That showing the growth of the consular service might have given way to one adequately delineating the territorial acquisitions. The one illustrating the development of the diplomatic service is useful, but some of the dates need revision. The inset maps suffer from the faults of their class. They are not clear, particularly when boundary lines are sought to be shown.

Many of the errors pointed out can easily be corrected in a later edition, but that a clear conception of the development of American foreign policies can be secured by the narrative and chronological method is not demonstrated by the volume offered.

JESSE S. REEVES.

The Fighting Cheyennes. By GEORGE BIRD GRINNELL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1915. Pp. viii, 431.)

Of some twenty wild tribes formerly ranging the great Plains from Canada to the Mexican border, one of the most important, owing chiefly to their central position adjoining the overland trails, was that of the Cheyenne, or as they call themselves *Dzitsistas*, nearly equivalent to "kinsmen". Formerly of eastern Minnesota, they drifted across the Missouri; and for eighty years past have lived in two divisions, widely separated but keeping up a friendly intercourse, *viz.*, the northern, ranging chiefly along the North Platte in company with the Sioux and Northern Arapaho, and now gathered upon a reservation in Montana, and the southern, much the larger division, ranging south from the Arkansas, in company with the Kiowa, Comanche, and Southern Arapaho, and now residing with them in western Oklahoma. The whole tribe at its best may have numbered 3500 souls or perhaps 800 warriors. The latest census gives 1420 for the northern and 1860 for the southern division.

The author of this latest contribution to tribal history has a long and intimate acquaintance with the Northern Cheyenne, but his knowledge of the Southern and more important division is comparatively limited, and the difference is at once apparent as soon as he leads his readers south of the Arkansas. The bias of the work is indicated in its title. From frequent listening to their own narratives of old-time warlike deeds the visitor may unconsciously imbibe their own idea of their superior valor, but while the Cheyenne are truculent and hot-headed, and correspondingly hard to deal with, there is nothing in their history to show that they were better fighters than their neighbors. In 1837, matched against Indians, they were completely routed by the Kiowa, a smaller tribe, with the loss of every man of their best warrior company, 48 in all. In 1868, on Arikaree Fork in Colorado, Colonel Forsyth with 53 plainsmen, fighting on foot in the open, successfully held off some 500 picked and mounted warriors for eight days, inflicting considerable loss, until relieved. The Cheyenne speak of this engagement as a fairly even encounter. In the outbreak of 1874-1875 the Comanche took the initiative and were the last to surrender. In the Fort Kearney and Custer massacres the Sioux were the principals and the Indians outnumbered the soldiers fifteen to one.

The principal events in Cheyenne history for the last hundred years are sketched in interesting fashion, chiefly from Indian reminiscence, with occasional reference to other sources of information. All of these events are a part of the general history of the plains and have been repeatedly written up by Bourke, Mooney, Robinson, and others, as well as in published official reports. We get few new facts, but we get the Indian viewpoint and incidentally much valuable light upon Indian belief and custom. The story is simply told, with none of the exaggerated statement and impossible happenings common to Indian "best sellers". Of all these, probably the Forsyth fight has been most sensationalized, although the plain fact of 50 men against 500 would seem to be sufficiently heroic. The Chivington massacre by Colorado volunteers comes in again for deserved condemnation, and the Fort Robinson tragedy closes the story of resistance to inevitable fate.

In many places, particularly in the chapters dealing with events in the south, there is a looseness and vagueness of statement inseparable from a work based largely on the recollections of illiterate informants, but which could easily have been corrected from official and other published sources. Thus the Lone Wolf of 1837 is confused with his grandson of the outbreak of 1874, and it is stated that he died "not long ago", the actual date being 1879. It is stated that "a Comanche" brought the pipe, *i. e.*, the invitation for a general rising, to the Cheyenne, the author being apparently not aware that this was Quana Parker, half-breed chief of the Comanche, and the ablest and most famous character in the history of the confederated tribes. He commanded in person at Adobe Walls, where, as he stated to the reviewer,

he led 700 warriors, but—with a smile—"no use Indians fight adobe". In his account of the disposition of the Cheyenne prisoners after the surrender the author says that "about 25" were selected and sent to Florida, "where they were held five years". The official statement is 33, and they were held exactly three years. Of the Dull Knife flight from Fort Reno he says, "of the 300 Indians 60 or 70 were fighting men". The official *Record of Engagements* says 335 Indians, including 89 men.

The most notable instance of this defect is in the account of the great Medicine Lodge treaty of 1867, by which the southern tribes were assigned their final reservations. Speaking of the slowness of the Cheyenne, he adds, "apparently the Cheyennes did come in and sign, though definite information as to this is lacking". The Cheyenne, as one of the principal tribes concerned, certainly did come in and affix their signatures, and their coming, as described to the present reviewer by Senator Henderson, one of the commission, and Major Stouch, in charge of the escort of Seventh Infantry (not Seventh Cavalry) troops, was the dramatic event of the gathering. They came on full charge, several hundred naked painted warriors, yelling and firing their guns as they rode, every man with a belt of cartridges around his waist and a smaller bunch fastened at his wrist. "I confess", said the senator, "I thought we were in peril".

As a compendium of Indian reminiscence from the Indian standpoint, obtained directly from the actors concerned, the work has a peculiar interest, and it is of value for the sidelight it throws upon tribal belief and custom. As history it is lacking in exactness.

JAMES MOONEY.

The Life of Rutherford Birchard Hayes, Nineteenth President of the United States. By CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1914. Pp. xiv, 540; ix, 488.)

THE civil career of Rutherford B. Hayes is particularly distinguished for two reasons: first, because he was the only president whose election was gravely doubted and who came into office with a clouded title, and secondly, because of the pivotal importance of his administration in marking the re-establishment of civil rule after the gigantic struggle between the states. There was much else in his life of real historical interest. He was one of the best types of the American soldier. Entering the army with no knowledge of war, he fought bravely in more than two-score battles and after four years of fighting he had developed not indeed into a great general but into a resolute and disciplined officer, who would have done credit to any army. His service as a member of Congress and as a governor of Ohio proved him to be a public man with no tendency to the fervent oratory so characteristic of that time,

and with sound common sense, good judgment, and an honesty that could not be questioned. It was not the distinction of his career that won for him the presidential nomination but his availability as a candidate. He had carried the doubtful state of Ohio and when the unfortunate disclosures of the Mulligan letters deprived Blaine of the nomination which would have been surely his it was almost inevitable that the nomination should go to Hayes. There was no man of that day who had the hold upon the affections of the great mass of the voters of the Republican party that the brilliant qualities of Blaine had won for him; and, although the latter upon different ballots received the support of a majority of all the delegates in the Convention, the friends of the minor candidates found a safe solution of the situation in the selection of Hayes.

A strong reaction from the sweeping Republican victory of 1872 was inevitable. No man of that generation had been more formidable to the democracy than Mr. Greeley had been. He had opposed it in his growing newspaper when he was a member of the Whig party and he opposed it even more bitterly after the Republican party was formed and when his newspaper had become the greatest organ of public opinion in the country. The wonder is that with Horace Greeley as its candidate the Democratic party did not suffer an even worse defeat in 1872. But the forces of opposition to the Republican party that could not express themselves in that election still existed, and they were very much strengthened by the course of events during Grant's second term, and especially by the financial and industrial crisis which began in 1873, the force of which was not spent until well into Hayes's administration. It is probable that Hayes made as good a run as could have been made by any Republican against Tilden. Upon what was called the "face of the returns" Tilden carried a sufficient number of states to give him a majority of the electoral votes but the "face of the returns" was not conclusive in many election districts. In at least two states there was practically a complete suppression of the Republican vote in some of the parishes and the returning boards of not very savory memory proceeded to revise the returns so that that result should be shown which coincided with their own view of things. They sought by their decision to eliminate the results of fraud and suppression and to arrive at the vote as they believed it would have been if the voting had been free and the counting fair. When the electoral commission decided to accept the findings of the returning boards as conclusive and not to go behind the returns, they succeeded in evading some very embarrassing issues both of fact and of law. Under the ordinary laws governing elections the most favorable result that could have been reached for the Republicans would have been found in rejecting the votes of the disputed states and not in counting them for Hayes.

Public opinion would have been greatly shocked at the decision of the electoral commission had it not been for the discovery of the cypher

telegrams, which showed an attempt to purchase enough electoral votes to give the election to the Democrats. Mr. Tilden conducted himself at that trying time with true patriotism. A great multitude of the people, if not a majority of them, believed that he had been elected and a man of a more partizan and aggressive temper might easily have involved the country in civil war. There was no judicial tribunal under the Constitution to which the controversy could be referred. The Constitution provided that the President of the Senate should open the certificates in the presence of the two Houses and that the votes should then be counted. Obviously it was pure assumption to claim that the President of the Senate had the constitutional power to count the votes. Such however was the contention of many members of the Republican party to which the President of the Senate belonged. The Senate was Republican and the House Democratic, but under the joint rule which had been followed at three successive canvassings of the presidential vote the House in this instance would have had control and Tilden would have been seated. The Republican Senate had refused to renew the joint rule and the constitutional machinery established to settle the result was unable to work. The electoral commission afforded a striking instance of the inability of men in times of passionate party spirit to rise above partizanship. Of the fifteen members of the commission, composed of men among the most notable in our public life, every one took the view, both upon the law and upon the fact, that reflected his own party politics, and the same decision was arrived at in a proceeding judicial in its character as would have been reached if the court had been holding an election. And even after the action of the tribunal, its decision could not have received anything resembling legal sanction had it not been for the heroic conduct of Randall, who was then the Speaker of the House. Disregarding the bitter protests of his own side and overturning precedents in parliamentary procedure which he himself had helped to create, he forced the question before the House for action.

Entering upon office with a clouded title the President did much to secure public confidence by the creation of a Cabinet to which nearly every member brought a commanding reputation. In that respect the Hayes Cabinet is probably approached by none other within half a century, if we except the Cabinet of Lincoln.

The soldiers were withdrawn from the Southern capitals and the necessary work of establishing the currency of the country was bravely entered upon. Congress was hostile to the Resumption Act and was in favor of inflating the currency by the coinage of silver. The President courageously used the veto to prevent the repeal of the Resumption Act and also to prevent silver inflation. The affairs of the Treasury were admirably managed by John Sherman and as a result a sufficient gold reserve was procured and on the first of January, 1879, the greenback, for the first time since it was issued, was put upon a parity with gold,

where it has ever since remained. In view of the temper of the time and the importance of the operations that were carried on, the administration of the Treasury during Hayes's term of office was not surpassed in greatness of achievement by any administration in the history of the country. Effective beginnings were also made in establishing the civil service upon the merit system. Notwithstanding the lack of friendship toward Hayes on the part of Blaine, Conkling, and other great Republican leaders, the affairs of the government were efficiently conducted in almost every department and the Republican party increased its hold upon the country.

With the temporary settlement of the currency question business revived and the administration which began in a period of commercial and industrial disaster closed in an era of remarkable prosperity. That Hayes was not renominated by his party was due to his refusal to take a second term, and that a Republican was elected to succeed him was very largely due to the excellent administration that he had given the country.

If we keep in view the conditions under which he entered upon the presidency and the great difficulties which he greatly met and overcame, his administration easily takes rank with that of any other President with the exception of Washington and Lincoln.

This biography by Mr. Williams may be regarded as authoritative and final especially in the material which it presents. One cannot always accept his conclusions and he takes somewhat too strongly the view of President Hayes in his differences with the other Republican leaders.

Church and State in Early Canada. By MACK EASTMAN. (Edinburgh: University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 301.)

MORE has been written upon the relations of the Church and State than upon any other single topic in the history of French Canada. This is partly because so many Canadian historians have been churchmen, interested above all things in making us realize how much the Church did for the upbuilding of the colony in spite of stubborn governors and close-fisted councillors. But it is also due in part to the dramatic qualities of the theme itself. When the two authorities came to blows the echoes carried to the very frontiers. There was no place for a neutral, even in the wilderness; every one had to stand on one side or the other. These conflicts were sometimes tragic, as in the case of Mésy's encounter with Laval; sometimes they were merely ridiculous, as in the squabble over Molière's *Tartuffe*; but they were always picturesque. Parkman knew how to make the most of such episodes; and various other writers, with far less skill in the arts of portraiture, have been trailing after him. At any rate, we have had more than enough about these bickerings.

Dr. Eastman's book approaches the subject in a different spirit. He began his studies with a suspicion that the chronicling of quarrels had been overdone and that the authorities of Church and State, taking the history of New France as a whole, were not normally at each other's throats. His book proves this surmise to have been correct. The quarrels were mere episodes, frequent, it is true, and lively while they lasted; but never changing the general course of colonial policy in any marked degree. For the real political and economic well-being of the colony the Church did a great deal; for the best interests of the Church the civil authorities did almost as much. The team-play of both was well planned and effective in instances without number. Dr. Eastman has performed a useful service in bringing together the data which make all this as clear as day.

The arrangement of the volume is broadly chronological, but in each period there is a study of such special topics as the missions, the Indian trade, the liquor question, the progress of agriculture, and the tithes. Everything is based upon a careful examination of original materials, chiefly upon the great manuscript collection known as "Canada, Correspondance Générale", now housed in the Palais Soubise. There is intrinsic evidence of care and accuracy in every chapter, but the usefulness of the volume would have been greatly increased if the author had used his foot-notes to give us something more than the briefest citations. The dates of the *mémoires* and other documents to which he refers are seldom given, nor are we always told either their authorship, or to whom they were addressed, although all these things are highly important. Officials, seigneurs, traders, and others flit into and out of his pages, moreover, without a word of explanation as to who or what they were, and occasionally there is ground for the suspicion that the author is not quite sure himself. Thus "the Sieur Dubué" (p. 192) is probably Sidrac Dugué, Sieur de Bois Briant; "Romain" (p. 192) is undoubtedly François Chorel, Sieur de St. Romain, while even the initiated would scarcely recognize "La Prade" (p. 193) as Michel Pelletier, Sieur de la Prade et de Gentilly.

Despite this lack of finish, however, the volume is a solid and praiseworthy contribution to the historical literature of Canada; the author has done his work honestly, and where good judgment has been needed, it has usually been provided. The rhetoric in some places displays rather pronounced individuality, but the author will doubtless learn to use a file on his castings as he grows older. The book has no index—an unfortunate omission.

WILLIAM BENNETT MUNRO.

MINOR NOTICES

Troie: la Guerre de Troie et les Origines Préhistoriques de la Question d'Orient. Par Félix Sartiaux. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1915, pp. xi, 236.) The book is intended to spread in France among a wider

circle of readers the ideas developed by Leaf in his splendid work, *Troy, a Study in Homeric Geography*, of which I have already given an account, *American Historical Review*, XVIII. 563-564 (1913). To meet the needs of such readers Sartiaux has introduced other matters—a sketch of prehistoric conditions in and around the eastern Mediterranean, an outline of the Homeric question, and (upon the basis of Allen's article) a discussion of the Catalogue of the Greek forces. He has also a new illustration of the military and economic importance of the Dardanelles that has banished entirely the recollections of the Crimean War to which Leaf looked back. But for the serious student of the problem, acquainted with Leaf's book, the interest in the French publication must lie solely: first, in certain bibliographical information about more recent discussions of this and kindred problems; secondly, in the very clear though small reproductions of eighteen photographs of the ruins and of the surrounding country taken by the author.

In establishing the harmony between the *Iliad* and the facts revealed by geography and archaeology, Sartiaux differs at times from Leaf. The Scamander's ancient course coincided with the Kalifatli-Asmak; the ford had to be crossed; one of the springs has disappeared, or has not been discovered; there was a lower city. To the discussion of these topics he has added nothing, and I can see in such opinions only proof of his inability to interpret correctly the evidence. Others, no doubt, will employ them, as Rothe employed Gruhn, to discredit the main thesis.

For the purpose it is intended to serve the book is quite well done. Confusion is often found in allusions to the *Iliad*; for instance, page III, where Hecamede and Nestor's famous cup assist Achilles in welcoming the Embassy. Full justice is not done to Schliemann, and history will finally speak more kindly of Dörpfeld. These are matters of detail; the most serious defect of the book is that, while Leaf is often cited, its readers will not realize the originality, brilliance, and importance of his treatment of the subject.

GEORGE MELVILLE BOLLING.

Roman Cursive Writing. By Henry Bartlett Van Hoesen. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 268.) The student of ancient history who wishes to know the ordinary, every-day manner of writing, as distinguished from the book-hand, which was used in Latin countries during the first six centuries of our era, will find all the material available on the subject within the covers of Dr. Van Hoesen's book. The chief merit of the work lies in the material which it has brought together. The scholar who will give us an historical study of early Latin writing will find this work of great assistance. Although the illustrations in the book are based on tracings and free-hand drawings, and therefore cannot claim the accuracy of mechanical reproductions, they are executed with such care and exactness as to render

them a great aid in the dating of any cursive document with which a scholar might be confronted. After a discussion, all too brief, of the writings found on Pompeian graffiti, on lead tablets, on Pompeian, Dacian, and Egyptian wax tablets, the author devotes nearly the whole of his book (pp. 32-224) to cursive writing on papyri. He proceeds chronologically, starting with documents of the beginning of our era and ending with those of the seventh century. The method of treatment in the case of each document is the same: (1) general description, including literature; (2) list of ligatures; (3) list of abbreviations; (4) description of single letters; (5) discussion of the date. The last chapter contains a summary history of the Roman cursive alphabet. Here, as in the case of the single documents, each letter is discussed separately, and we miss the synthetic survey. The appendix containing the bibliography seems very complete and accurate. There are 123 illustrations in the text and 8 tables of selected alphabets inserted at the end of the book, but there are no facsimiles of actual documents.

E. A. LOEW.

Der Teufel in den Deutschen Geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit. Ein Beitrag zur Literatur-, Kultur-, und Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands von Dr. phil. Maximilian Josef Rudwin. [Hesperia: Schriften zur Germanischen Philologie herausgegeben von Hermann Collitz, Nr. 6.] (Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1915, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, pp. xi, 194.) An industrious study, after the systematic German sort, is this monograph of Dr. Rudwin, now a teacher of German at Purdue University. Its first half, on "the devil scenes in the medieval religious drama", appeared in 1913 as his thesis for the doctorate at Johns Hopkins. To this is now added a second part, on "the German devil in the Middle Ages", together with twenty pages of corrections and additions, a bibliography, and a list of the religious plays on which the work is based—for the second part, like the first, concerns itself with the devil only as he is portrayed in the German mystery and miracle plays. Within these limits the book is a mine of exact and exhaustive information. Not only are the rôles of the devil in the religious dramas dealt with one by one, but the medieval notions as to the hierarchy of the infernal realm, the relations of the fiends with each other (not forgetting those of the devil and his mother), their dwelling-places, their implements, their names, their occupations, their appearance, their food and drink, their songs and dances, their qualities, their relations with earth and heaven, their triumphs, and their fate. Readable a compend so statistical can hardly be called; but its learning and its thoroughness make it a most useful work of reference, and, though it lacks an index, an elaborately analytical table of contents answers much the same purpose.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Source Problems in English History. By Albert Beebe White, Professor of History, University of Minnesota, and Wallace Notestein, Associate Professor of History, University of Minnesota. With an Introduction by Professor Dana Carleton Munro. [Harper's Parallel Source Problems.] (New York and London, Harper and Brothers, 1915, pp. xv, 472.) The volume is the third in this series. Eight collections of source-material, which the editors frankly confess to be in most cases vertical rather than parallel in arrangement, are grouped under as many topics. For the four divisions falling in the medieval field Professor White is responsible, for the four in the modern period Professor Notestein. The themes chosen for illustration are well distributed. The list includes Alfred and the Danes, the origin of the jury, the antecedents of the House of Commons, the fourteenth-century labor problem, freedom of speech under Elizabeth and the Stuarts, the English parish and the New England town-meeting, the beginning of peace negotiations with America in 1782, and the Parliament act of 1911. Viewed with regard to the interest of the subject-matter, the selection is also judicious. The inclusion among the topics of two which have a direct bearing on American history is an acceptable feature. The fact that a majority have to do with the history of institutions of government tends to counteract a too prevalent tendency of text-books on English history to over-emphasize political narrative. Even if some of the matter presented should prove too heavy for third-year students in secondary schools, much of it will be found highly useful in instructing them. The process of making such students historically minded has been difficult and incidental. Books like this mark a notable step toward a more direct method. The value of the work and its entire apparatus in elementary college classes is obvious.

The tendency toward extended historical introductions has been successfully combatted. The work of the editors, furthermore, represents learning and breadth of view. Some of the matter on the jury is devoted to its Continental precursors. The introduction to the section on free speech gives an original interpretation of the earlier history of this parliamentary privilege which is worthy of the close scrutiny of the constitutional historian. The substitution of data to show jury procedure under the writ *de odio et atia* for some of the numerous and more ordinary instances of the employment of the trial jury in criminal cases would introduce a somewhat neglected phase of the subject. The expression "duke of the province of Somerset" (p. 26), borrowed from an old translation of Ethelwerd, is likely to be misleading to young students. The use of the *Annual Register* and the *London Times* as sources for the act of 1911 will perhaps call out a profitable classroom discussion of the conditions under which material in current newspapers and periodicals may be accepted as authoritative.

W. A. MORRIS.

Die Stellung des Königs von Sizilien nach den Assisen von Ariano (1140). Von Max Hofmann. (Münster i. W., Borgmeyer und Compagnie, 1915, pp. 193.) Against the famous dictum of Burckhardt that Frederick II. was the first modern ruler, Hofmann maintains that the real pioneer was Frederick's grandfather, Roger II., whose legislation and system of administration are now known to have been the basis of the later Sicilian state. This thesis is not particularly novel, but it is here worked out by an elaborate study of the so-called Vatican assizes, in the course of which the author strengthens, without fully establishing, Merkel's argument that they were issued at Ariano in 1140. The more startling assertion that Frederick II. was the first constitutional monarch (p. 176) is made without any serious attempt at proof. Whatever value Hofmann's work has lies in its analysis of the assizes from the point of view of royal power. He has not gone beyond the ordinary sources nor is he familiar with all the recent literature. Miss Jamison's valuable study of Norman administration in Apulia and Capua is unknown to him, as are also the recent studies which carry the *Catalogus Baronum* back to Roger's reign and thus afford additional evidence of his organizing and centralizing activity.

C. H. H.

Some New Sources for the Life of Blessed Agnes of Bohemia including a Fourteenth Century Latin Version and a Fifteenth Century German Version. By Walter W. Seton, M.A., D.Lit. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 176.) The importance of the study of the life of Blessed Agnes, princess of Bohemia, lies chiefly in the contribution which it makes to our knowledge of the intricate negotiations with the Holy See which led up to the final confirmation of the Rule of the Poor Clares by Innocent IV. in 1253. Much has been written on this subject recently but it would appear that the part played by Blessed Agnes in the Franciscan movement of the thirteenth century has been largely overlooked. Never before has her life been presented to English readers.

The present volume, as the title indicates, contains not so much a biography of Blessed Agnes as fresh materials for a biography. These comprise, besides a fourteenth-century Latin version and a fifteenth-century German version of the original Legend of Blessed Agnes which has not come down to us, a fourteenth-century German version of the four letters of St. Clare to the Bohemian princess and a German version of the "Blessing of St. Clare", of the fifteenth century. What gives special value to the documents in question is the fact that they are of much earlier date than those hitherto known to students of Franciscan sources.

Dr. Seton's well-proportioned and sympathetic introduction to these new sources is in all respects a model piece of work and his editing of

the texts themselves is so careful and complete as to command the warmest recognition. It is hardly likely that those unacquainted with the difficulties which the subject presents will realize the amount of research and, indeed, of scholarship involved in the preparation of this volume. Only one wonders why the author sometimes gives currency to the French name "Clarisses" instead of using the customary English form "Clares" throughout.

PASCHAL ROBINSON.

The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole. Edited by Margaret Deanesly. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXVI.] (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xxi, 284.) All scholars who are working either in the field of mysticism or of early English literature will welcome Margaret Deanesly's carefully edited edition of Richard Rolle's *Incendium Amoris*. One of our own American scholars, Miss Hope Allen of Radcliffe College, has done very fine critical work on the manuscripts which tradition ascribes to Rolle and it was Miss Allen's researches which first turned the editor of the book under review to take up her present task. Miss Deanesly is well equipped for the work she has undertaken and carried through. Her introduction and her notes on the text reveal an immense amount of painstaking research for which all scholars will be grateful to her. The editor points out that the influence which Horstman and others think that St. Bonaventura exerted on Rolle may quite probably be due to a textual confusion. Some scribe in copying St. Bonaventura's *De Triplici Via* incorporated in this work of the Italian mystic a passage from Rolle's *Incendium Amoris* and unless one had the insight to discover this fact it would naturally seem as though the later writer had been influenced by the earlier.

Richard Rolle of Hampole was born in the East Riding of Yorkshire about 1300. He revolted, as many another since has done, from the sterile scholasticism which he found at Oxford. "The great theologians, wrapped about in endless questionings", did not speak to his spiritual condition. Finally he came to himself and found his way of life through an experience which he calls in the Prologue of his *Incendium* the discovery of "the Fire of Love"; "I marvelled, when that flame first burst forth in my soul and I was in unwonted peace, through the unexpectedness of this abundance". And so he set to work to tell his generation, and those after it, the meaning of this inner flame, for it is not "those swollen with folded arguments" who can help the world to truth, but those who are "lovers of eternity", who are "taught by a doctor within their own souls", "those who seek to love God rather than to know many things". "Not by disputing", this early pragmatist insists, "but by doing is He known and by loving".

RUFUS M. JONES.

Is War Diminishing? A Study of the Prevalence of War in Europe from 1450 to the Present Day. By Frederick Adams Woods, M.D., Lecturer in Biology, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Alexander Baltzly, Adams Woods Fellow, Harvard University. (Boston and New York; Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. xi, 105.) To determine whether war is diminishing the volume in hand has undertaken a comparison of war and peace by ascertaining the years of war for each half-century and setting them against the years of peace.

After a superficial and not very pertinent introduction which smugly disposes of both pacifism and militarism for the purpose of urging honest, systematic research, there come chapters in which the war-years of Austria, Denmark, England, France, Holland, Poland, Prussia, Russia, Spain, Sweden, and Turkey are tabulated. In the appendix there are charts which show a decrease in war-years for all countries and indicate that war has fallen off less in the five great powers than in the other states; indeed Prussia shows a marked decline in war-years as against England, France, and Russia—a result which the author cannot quite accept and which leads him to remark that after all the time element is only one means of judging whether war is lessening.

Considering that the book opens with an insistence on scientific methods and speaks of "historiometry" or "quantitative historical interpretation" as a useful way of getting at things, it is something of a surprise to read that the author is "not certain that there is good proof that warfare is tending to disappear with the advance of ages".

The book is, in fact, not scientific. Time in history is not the important cohesive principle; the area and the population involved in a war are quite as important. Counting time alone furnishes no relative standard for war between a large and a small power, as against a war between two large powers. Thus, in this book, the Berlin riots of 1848 count as much for Germany as a half-year of the present war; this, incidentally, reveals that what constitutes a war needs careful definition. There is also a confusion of terms: Prussia is identified with the German Empire in 1871; England formerly fought against Scotland and subsequently fought together with Scotland against other nations, but the wars are in both cases tallied against England. Finally, the exhaustiveness of research in listing wars is obviously all-important. To use information more exhaustive for one nation than another would destroy the balance. In this instance reliance is placed on various secondary works, excellent in their place, among them Ploetz's *Epitome of Universal History*, than which, to quote, "for the nineteenth century nothing is more valuable".

EDWARD KREHBIEL.

Middlemen in English Business, particularly between 1660 and 1760. By Ray Bert Westerfield, Ph.D. [Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, vol. XIX., pp. 111-445.] (New Haven,

Conn., Yale University Press, 1915, pp. 111-445.) "The purpose of this book is to present an historical sketch of the origin and development of the middleman organization that served English business before the Industrial Revolution" (p. 113). So Dr. Westerfield states his aim in this study; in accordance with his title, however, his attention is especially centred on middlemen's activities between 1660 and 1760. With materials gleaned from a variety of sources including "tracts published as polemics, dissertations, complaints, and opinions on the contemporary questions that stirred the tongue and pen in the years of the past" (p. 113), "many thousands" of which were available to the author, he attempts the difficult story of middlemen in English business, explaining that middlemen include "the series of traders through whose hands commodities pass on their way from the maker or producer to the consumer" (pp. 119-120).

In four chapters Dr. Westerfield writes about middlemen operating in four representative English industries—corn and corn products, animals and animal products, mineral, and textile and textile products trades; a short chapter deals with contrasts and comparisons between the organizations of the different trades, and the work concludes with a long chapter on the Tradesman and the Merchant: the Commercial Population, describing "in a more general way the merchant and tradesman class as an economic, social, and political element of the population" (p. 126), and showing the interlacing complexities of commercial life.

Unfortunately this monograph is hard to read and use, principally for two reasons. In the first place the matter collected is probably too bulky and too intricate to be compressed into so brief a study. There is not enough connecting tissue to articulate properly the subjects handled; this is annoying, especially as the work is largely technical, and the treatment somewhat artificial with its categories. It is abrupt and uneasy, and in addition the reader is often forced to look backward or forward to discover relationships. Secondly, the organization is frequently faulty, and Dr. Westerfield sometimes selects his illustrative materials poorly. Why, for example, after carefully describing the wool production of England (p. 257 *et seq.*) should he tell us that English manufacturers got their wool from four sources, a brief description of which follows wherein the three least important, foreign, sources are set before the principal one—England itself? Why again, discussing certain legislation of 1552 and 1577 (p. 263 *et seq.*), should Dr. Westerfield select, out of "many" similar evidences, illustrations of stimulating forces provocative of such legislation from the years 1585 and 1697 (p. 263)? The treatment of the matter under "license" (p. 137 *et seq.*) is awkward also.

Withal, however, Dr. Westerfield has brought together a large and interesting mass of material throwing light on an important subject, and his study should prove serviceable to those interested in the history of English business.

PAUL U. B. JONES.

Life of Viscount Bolingbroke. By Arthur Hassall, M.A. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xiv, 224.) This is a reissue of the *Life of Bolingbroke* which Mr. Hassall wrote for the *Statesman* series in 1889. Owing to the new light which has been thrown on the period during the last twenty-five years the author announces that he has rewritten much of the work, a fact which is attested by occasional references to publications which have appeared during the interval, such as Sichel's *Bolingbroke*, Yorke's *Hardwicke*, and the *Stuart Papers*. Nevertheless, the criticisms made against the book when it first appeared will still hold. Although it is a painstaking little study, manifesting a certain measure of independence of thought, it is marked by little distinction of treatment. Moreover, in spite of a laudable effort to appraise fairly Walpole and the Whigs, the main thesis is untenable—that the exclusion of Bolingbroke from office during the reigns of the first two Hanoverians was a distinct loss to Great Britain. Granted that Bolingbroke, in concluding the treaty of Utrecht, initiated a policy of friendliness to France which the Whigs appropriated and continued to follow for a generation, and that he laid the foundations of the new Toryism of Pitt the Younger and of Disraeli, the fact still remains that the country gained more under the shrewd, unimaginative régime of Walpole than if it had been led by his brilliant, erratic opponent. A few particulars remain to be noted. The author states twice, in practically the same words (pp. 141 and 197), that the exclusion of the Whigs from power during the fifty years following 1783 was due to the coalition between Fox and North. Yet even if, like Lewis Carroll's Bellman, he had repeated this statement still a third time it would not be true, for the Whig eclipse was due to quite other causes. Again, there is a tendency, rather unfortunate in a popular work, of alluding to persons and events without adequate explanation. Bolingbroke, who wrote so elegantly himself, would, if alive, rub his eyes to find his biographer employing a split infinitive and various awkwardly placed clauses. Errors of detail seem to be comparatively few, though it is misleading to say (p. 9) that in 1697 the profligate John Wilmot, earl of Rochester, had recently died, when his riotous career had terminated in 1680, seventeen years before. All in all, however, there is much information about Bolingbroke and his times compressed in this brief volume.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

High Lights of the French Revolution. By Hilaire Belloc. (New York, the Century Company, 1915, pp. 301.) Mr. Belloc's volume includes studies of six of the critical incidents of the French Revolution. Except in one case the selection of these "High Lights" is not surprising. Whoever undertakes to describe the spectacular side of the Revolution will inevitably recount "The Royal Seance", "The Flight to Varennes", "The Storming of the Tuileries", and "The Death of

Louis XVI." But the inclusion of Lafayette's attempt to resist the victors of August 10 is less a matter of course. The chance of success was so slight that the incident hardly rises to the level of a crisis. Mr. Belloc has decided to describe it apparently in order to offer his interpretation of Lafayette's character. Perhaps one should say "impose" rather than "offer", for the author does not indulge in that weakness of scholars known as suspense of judgment. Being French by extraction, however, he is more favorable to Lafayette than most English writers. According to him Lafayette's fundamental fault was what some of his admirers have counted as a virtue, his consistent adherence to constitutional methods. This fault, if fault it was, was typically illustrated when instead of breaking camp and marching on Paris Lafayette put his army at the disposition of the civil authority of the department of the Ardennes. Mr. Belloc traces the defect of character back to the American Revolution in which Lafayette took part as a mere youth, with a plastic mind, open to intense impressions. The success of the venture, the tide of popular favor, the constant reiteration of the new political creed, "coming at such a moment in the development of a man, crystallizes him; and for fifty mortal years, from the achievement of American independence to his death in 1834, Lafayette remained Lafayette, without growth or change".

The free spirit in which Mr. Belloc deals with facts in these essays almost leads to the suspicion that he is attempting a new form of historical fiction. Apropos of the Federation of July 12, 1792, he speaks of "Federates from all the French departments" being present. He must be thinking of 1790, for in 1792 only 2557 came in from the outside departments. His assertion in the study entitled "Under the Mill of Valmy" that the Prussian charge was checked by "nothing more romantic than mud", a stretch of marshy soil on the slope two-thirds of the way from the Prussian to the French position, is almost ludicrous. More serious is his retention of Louis XVI. in the Tuileries on August 10 until after the first attack of the insurrectionists had failed. He also says that the attack was made by an unformed mob and that the Marseilles battalion had not yet reached the Place du Carrousel. The fact is that the Marseillais had been there three hours, and that they took part in the first fighting. Just how the opening shots happened to be fired is no mystery to Mr. Belloc, although it is a much disputed question among the students of the incident.

One of the most extraordinary assertions in the book accuses Necker of lying when he said that his project of a royal declaration in June, 1789, was distorted by the court party. Mr. Belloc adds: "Read Barentin's notes on these same two days, and you will have little doubt that Necker lied." But Barentin expressly says that several vital particulars of Necker's project were rejected by the king's council.

B.

Louis XVII: a Bibliography. By William W. Wight. (Boston, T. R. Marvin and Son, 1915, pp. 159.) It is difficult to see what historical importance attaches to-day to the question whether Louis XVII. died in the Temple or escaped; it is simply one of the curiosities of history. As one turns over the pages of this handsomely printed bibliography of nearly five hundred titles the wonder grows that an American, living in Milwaukee, should have been interested in such a subject, should have found the time to make so extensive a collection of material upon it, and should have been enthusiastic enough about his collection to publish the bibliography of it. The explanation is, doubtless, found in the fact that one of the "false dauphins", Eleazar Williams, an apostle to the North American Indians, lived in Wisconsin and created quite a stir in this country fifty years ago. Mr. Wight became interested in his claims and wrote a pamphlet refuting them. This was about twenty years ago, but he has evidently kept alive his interest in the subject, expanding his collection from about one hundred numbers to nearly five hundred. The material is of very unequal value, comprising poems, dramas, pamphlets, and newspaper articles, as well as sources and serious historical works. The bibliography could be much reduced in bulk without any great loss. Mr. Wight's editorial work will be of slight assistance to anyone desirous of using his collection. To be sure the titles are arranged alphabetically, but the editorial comment, as a rule, gives little hint as to the content of the volume, whether it contains new evidence, what feature of the problem it casts light upon, whether it is worth reading in part, as a whole, or not at all. Instead of such pertinent assistance, we are supplied with a large amount of information about the writer of the work, information having no connection with the subject of the bibliography.

In the Footsteps of Napoleon: his Life and its Famous Scenes. By James Morgan. (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 524.) The author has attempted to write a popular work on one of the world's great men. He has succeeded in cleverly describing many of the numerous incidents he relates in the career of Napoleon as well as the places in which they transpired. He has however, because of their evident interest, given to trivial incidents a great deal of space which might better have been devoted to important and essential matters. For the sake of interest he even has introduced material foreign to his subject. He has delighted in making comparisons and drawing contrasts.

The writer states: "Before writing this biography of Napoleon, I made a journey of nearly twenty thousand miles to the famous scenes in his life and along the line of his celebrated marches." The biographer in gathering his material indeed should follow in the footsteps of his hero. But as he moves along he must study the sources that tell of his actions and achievements. Guide-books, local traditions, a glance

at the landscape, a view of the remains of past human activities, a vivid imagination, the reading of a few memoirs and biographies, do not enable anyone to write good history and to add anything of value to the science. The author has used the sources of information uncritically. He has either overlooked or ignored controversial points and repeated the gossip statements of a Bourrienne and other memoir-writers, long ago discredited, with all the force of truth. The book contains many misstatements of fact.

The addition to the text of thirty-three pages of rather well-known illustrations, consisting almost wholly of cheap reproductions of likenesses of Napoleon and his immediate entourage, and the absence of maps and plans—which may properly be expected considering the title and subsequent explanations of the character of the book—and of bibliographical notes, fairly characterize the work.

CARL CHRISTOPHELSMEIER.

A Short History of Japan. By Ernest Wilson Clement. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1915, pp. x, 190.) Mr. Clement has made an attempt in one-tenth as many words as those contained in Brinkley's *History of the Japanese People* "to indicate in outline how both Old Japan and New Japan were constructed and evolved", a task which would have dismayed a master mind with a sense of intellectual responsibility. The author announces that "he has made use of all materials at hand"; indeed, a critical reader may readily see what materials the author had at hand and how he has used them. On the latter point a proof is afforded by the phrases he quotes with utmost crudity from writers, usually unnamed—quotations with which the whole work bristles. One would struggle in vain to get, through these pages, a glimpse of a continued view of Japanese history; for he is baffled at every turn by an unmeaning phrase cited from an unknown work, by gossip on unimportant incidents, or, more frequently, by indirection or silence. For this condition the author could not plead the lack of space and the popular nature of his undertaking, for it is not brevity or simplicity, but the very want of grasp of all the vital issues of history, the disregard of recently discovered facts, and the painful lack of sympathy with the subject, which the book reveals, that constitute its radical fault. While the author is religious in the sense of an Anglo-Saxon church-member and missionary, he does not manifest any of that teachable spiritual susceptibility without which no one may hope to enter into the inner life of a foreign nation. On the contrary, Mr. Clement displays toward Japanese religious and cultural matters an ironically playful spirit devoid of real humor or depth. His account of Buddhist sects (pp. 27-28, 37-38, 53-55) is unintelligible and worse than useless. His unsympathetic manner also incapacitates him to appraise historical characters. As for errors and inaccuracies, they are abundant; we can only point

at random to the following pages on which mistakes occur: pp. 6, 29, 30, 36, 37, 63, 89, 132, 140, 143. There is hardly any excuse for writing at this late date upon so difficult a subject as the general history of Japan with so light a heart and such irresponsibility. For the sake both of the reading public and of the author, whose previous work on Japanese chronology entitles him to a greater credit than this work will earn for him, it is to be regretted that the book has been published.

English Ancestral Homes of Noted Americans. By Anne Hollingsworth Wharton. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. 314.) This book has a commendable mission, to teach us that our history did not begin with the founding of Jamestown, and that English architecture, literature, and romance are an inseparable part of our inheritance. The chapter on the Penn family has much to say about Algernon and Philip Sidney, Saccharissa and Edmund Waller; that on Plymouth and Scrooby, England, tells us not merely of the lives of Brewster and Bradford, but of the deeds of Francis Drake. The story of Franklin is a chronicle of his kindly visits to relatives in and about Ecton. There are everywhere vivid contrasts in social surroundings, such as are brought out in the Washingtons, country gentlemen, and the Franklins, village blacksmiths; there are also varieties of religious surroundings that help us to understand the later conditions in the New World.

If one were to be ungraciously captious, one might say that Miss Wharton occasionally fails to fill in seemingly trivial details that might interest an antiquarian. Sometimes, but not often, she lingers to gather illuminating wisdom from local custodians, and she says frankly that her time was seriously limited by the schedule of trains. Some parts of the text are not wholly clear. In the Washington chapters, for example, the confusion could have been cleared only by tedious care, but a book of this kind seems to call for just this precision. The references to Sulgrave on pages 97 and 101 need harmonizing; that to *cousin* on page 120 should be reworded, and that to Cushman's sermon on page 51 is not strictly accurate as set down. Winthrop was of Groton (p. 55), but married a co-heiress of Edwardston; the Adams family were from Kingweston, Somersetshire (see *N. E. Register*, July, 1905; April, 1912), rather than from Devon (p. 290); the Emerson ancestors of the essayist were from Bishop's Stortford, Herts, not from Southwark (p. 267). Pitfalls indeed are difficult to avoid in genealogical statements.

The present war is frequently mentioned, since it affects every hamlet in England, and in this respect the book concerns to-day as well as the seventeenth century. We may well hope that the author will write a book on the Continental homes of more of our famous Americans—Lafayette, Kossuth, Agassiz, Carl Schurz, Ole Bull, and other natives of the Old World. We need these evidences of the continuity of history for all our races.

C. K. BOLTON.

Historic Virginia Homes and Churches. By Robert A. Lancaster, jr. (Philadelphia and London, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. xviii, 527.) Mr. Lancaster's volume is an important contribution to the literature of American architecture. Its particular value lies in the fact that its illustrations are not limited, as most of such productions are, to the "mansion houses" of a selected neighborhood. All who are interested in old-time Southern homes are already familiar with such places as Mount Vernon, Arlington, Westover, Upper Brandon, and others that have long been used to illustrate what is commonly, but inaccurately, called "Southern colonial architecture". All these are included in Mr. Lancaster's book, but they are liberally supplemented by photographs of the homes of people less distinguished, socially or otherwise, than the Washingtons, the Lees, the Byrds, and the Harrisons, although, perhaps, no less worthy. His use of the term "Historic Homes" is a little doubtful, inasmuch as many of the homes described have little or no history aside from that which naturally attaches to any house in which people have lived for several generations.

Aside from its more than three hundred illustrations, the book is somewhat disappointing from an architectural point of view. The text is almost entirely made up of genealogy and personal history, relieved by an occasional anecdote. The book opens with a brief statement of the early history of Jamestown. The remainder of its five hundred pages is devoted, in somewhat too much the manner and form of a guide-book, to comment on the individual structures and, more particularly, to comment on those who have occupied them. Except, perhaps, to Virginians who are interested in the various families because of knowledge of them or acquaintance with them, much of the text is more or less uninteresting.

Many of the illustrations are highly creditable and in entire keeping with the mechanical excellence of the volume. This is particularly true of the pictures of house and church interiors.

The Story of Dr. John Clark, the Founder of the First Free Commonwealth of the World on the Basis of Full Liberty in Religious Concernments. By Thomas W. Bicknell, A.M., LL.D. (Providence, R. I., published by the author, 1915, pp. 215.) To the world at large, the founder of Rhode Island, not alone as an asylum for persons distressed for conscience but as a civic community, is and ever will be Roger Williams. To say this is to say no more than that the world, having satisfied its mind as to the originator or leading exponent of an idea or a principle, gives there the credit, caring, as a rule, but little for persons concerned in getting the principle into practical effect.

Mr. Bicknell has written a careful and readable monograph on Dr. John Clark as the founder of Rhode Island as a civic community, claiming for him in this respect primacy over Roger Williams. Says Mr. Bicknell (p. 143): "It was given to a great body of men and women . . . setting small estimate on doctrinal polemics and erratic leadership

. . . to found a Colonial Commonwealth, dedicated to civil and soul liberty . . . the first state in the world [of this kind]", etc. And the point would seem to be well taken. Providence Plantations, the direct work of Roger Williams, exemplified the radicalism of Soul Liberty; and the Island of Rhode Island (Aquidneck), largely the work of Dr. Clark, exemplified its conservatism; that is to say, made Soul Liberty workable, realized it in practice and action.

Studies such as Mr. Bicknell's are well worth while in the interest of exact historical thinking, however true it may be that such thinking is not much to the general taste or patience.

The volume before us has its share of misprints, is of an inconvenient size, and is without an index.

I. B. R.

Maryland Records, Colonial, Revolutionary, County, and Church, from Original Sources. By Gaius Marcus Brumbaugh, M.S., M.D. Volume I. (Baltimore, Williams and Wilkins Company, 1915, pp. ix, 513.) In this large and well-printed octavo volume, provided with an extensive index of some eighty pages, Dr. Brumbaugh has made accessible some documents, which will prove useful to many students of American history. The contents of the book are of so miscellaneous a character that they must be epitomized, in order to give an idea of the scope of the work. We find here, printed in photographic facsimile, the pages of the census of 1776, for portions of Prince George's and Anne Arundel counties, and printed in ordinary type, the pages of that census which relates to a part of Frederick County. There is also printed a constable's census of Charles County, 1775-1778. Marriage licenses are found, issued in Prince George's County, 1777-1800, and in St. Mary's County, 1794-1864. The records of marriages and births in All Saints' Parish, Frederick, as well as the tombstone inscriptions from the old graveyard of that parish have been copied and are included in the book. The poll list of Frederick County at the presidential election of 1796 reveals the interesting fact that most of the members of the County Committee of Observation of twenty years before voted the Democratic-Republican ticket at this election. Finally, we find two short muster-rolls of militia from Prince George's County in 1799, giving dates of soldiers' births. Brief introductions precede some of the documents which are printed. In order to appeal to a wide public, the editor has included this varied assortment of lists and promises, in future volumes to continue the printing of the census of 1776 for other counties, as is quite desirable. The fact that the age and color of each person enumerated is given makes the list valuable, not only for genealogical but also for sociological students.

The Doctrine of Judicial Review: its Legal and Historical Basis, and other Essays. By Edward S. Corwin, Department of History and Poli-

tics, Princeton University. (Princeton, University Press, 1914, pp. 176.) We are indebted to Professor Corwin for one of those small volumes which have a value quite in excess of the tale of their pages. For the five kindred essays here brought together as the *Doctrine of Judicial Review* are not only timely contributions to American constitutional history but represent some of the author's most fruitful investigations. Three of the studies—"The Dred Scott Decision", "The Pelatiah Webster Myth", and "Some Possibilities of Treaty-Making"—are already more or less known to students, and the two new essays—"Marbury vs. Madison", and "We the People"—are of similar merit. All in all the volume is stimulating, scholarly, trenchant in style, and optimistic in tone.

The most important of the studies, aside from the valuable criticism of the Dred Scott Decision (already known to readers of the *American Historical Review*), is the similar criticism of *Marbury v. Madison*. This essay occupies practically half of the volume. In it Professor Corwin deals with the question, "What is the *exact legal basis* of the power of the Supreme Court to pass upon the constitutionality of acts of Congress?" This basis, he argues, was not Marshall's "partisan coup" (p. 9), for the decision against the validity of the *mandamus* provision in the Judiciary Act of 1787 was both uncalled for and erroneous. But judicial review rests upon a surer foundation, namely, the clear intention of the Constitution, which is implicit throughout, even if not formally expressed. For the makers of the Constitution embodied therein certain dominant ideas of the hour which made it the supreme *law* of the land and thus placed its binding exposition within the sphere of the judicial power. And judicial review thus sanctioned, as the author goes on to show, has been recognized and used regularly since 1787.

The general propositions of this study seem sound to the reviewer, who, working from an independent angle, has reached almost the same conclusions. (See the *American Political Science Review*, May, 1914, for points of disagreement.) With respect to its presentation, however, Professor Corwin's case is not above criticism. For instance, has not more been lost than gained by including in this essay the hurried historical summary of judicial control? For, despite some new evidence, given chiefly in the valuable supplementary notes, it has been, necessarily, a rethreshing of old straw. Moreover its inclusion has entailed not only increased bulk, but a general compression, sometimes at the expense of clarity and even of certain inaccuracies. Thus the account of debates in the First Congress is inadequate and misleading. Also, unless Professor Corwin has a yet larger purpose in mind, it is regrettable that he has not made the most here of his very significant criticism of the *Marbury v. Madison* decision.

F. E. MELVIN.

The Northern Confederacy according to the Plans of the "Essex Junto", 1796-1814. By Charles Raymond Brown. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1915, pp. 123.) Although much has been written in recent years on this subject, Dr. Brown is the first to bring out a monograph on the inner ring of Massachusetts Federalism and its disunion schemes. Unfortunately he has only scratched the surface. No new material has been brought to light; no manuscript sources, not even the Pickering Papers "in the Boston Historical Society" (p. 118), have been utilized. The files of the *Boston Repertory* and the *New-England Palladium*, for many years the Junto's particular organs, have not been used, and most of the important pamphlets by John Lowell have escaped the writer's notice. He has also ignored the material in S. G. Goodrich's *Recollections*; in this *Review* (IX. 96-104); in A. E. Morse's *Federalist Party in Massachusetts*; and in the reviewer's *Life of H. G. Otis*. Further acquaintance with the writings of Henry Adams would have saved him from the error of taking the "Henry plot" at its face value and from dismissing as unfounded the rumor that Madison purchased the documents for \$50,000.

The better known acts of the Essex Junto, such as their attempt to defeat John Adams in 1800, their secession plot of 1804, and Pickering's intrigues with George Rose are adequately described. But no mention is made of Pickering's plan of 1814, to form a new union of the original thirteen states. "The Hartford Convention was simply the crowning act of the Essex Junto" (p. 113), a disunion conspiracy pure and simple.

It is interesting to find John Quincy Adams's passionate conviction dragged forth again into the light, but one suspects that if Dr. Brown had pushed his researches a little further he would have hustled this venerable theory back to the limbo of played-out campaign material, where it has been reposing these fifty years. Nor can we pass over in silence his promotion of Caleb Strong "from Essex County" (p. 9, n.) and H. G. Otis (p. 51) to the Essex Junto, an honor which those worthies may have aspired to secretly, but which was certainly never theirs.

S. E. MORISON.

The Education of the Negro prior to 1861: a History of the Education of the Colored People of the United States from the Beginning of Slavery to the Civil War. By C. G. Woodson, Ph.D. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, pp. v, 454.) This book is the first which attempts to give a comprehensive account of the education of the negro before the Civil War. The field has been partially treated by M. B. Goodwin in the *Special Report of the U. S. Commissioner of Education*, 1871. Two books not mentioned or used should be noted, viz.: *L'Éducation des Nègres aux États-Unis*, by Kate Brousseau (Paris, 1904); and Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville, 1914). There are twelve chapters, some of the titles being, Religion with Letters, Education as a Right of Man, Actual Education,

Learning in Spite of Opposition, Higher Education, and Education at Public Expense. The main argument is to the effect that slaveholders who believed that slavery and enlightenment were incompatible, won the majority to their way of thinking and placed legal and other obstacles in the way of educating the negroes particularly in the period 1835-1861. Early instruction was largely religious, so that the negro might learn the principles of the Christian religion through a knowledge of the English language. The American Revolution was a favorable factor and influenced many leaders of thought, such as Otis, Mason, Washington, and Franklin, to favor education of the negro. The reaction came first as a result of the Industrial Revolution, then because of the great demand for slaves, and the belief that it was more profitable to work a slave out and buy another than to encourage a policy of enlightenment; secondly, because of the fear that increased intelligence would lead to further insurrections. As a result many states passed acts to prevent negroes from assembling and prohibited their instruction privately or in schools. Nevertheless education went on clandestinely, and even openly, in defiance of the laws. In the North special schools were instituted and in some states negroes were admitted to the public schools.

The discussion of the period since 1800 is better than that before this date. The most important source for early educational effort has not been used, *viz.*: the reports of the missionaries of the S. P. G. Much more also might have been said of the industrial education of negroes on plantations where they were taught trades. Neither the colonial newspapers nor plantation records have been used extensively. Dr. Woodson occasionally shows undue enthusiasm for the accomplishments of individuals of his own race, as in his account of Benjamin Banneker and Phyllis Wheatley (p. 90). There are a few errors, such as the assertion that a *law* was in operation declaring that the Christian negro could not be held as a slave (pp. 4, 24). Some sweeping generalizations should have been backed by more evidence, such as the assertion that in the latter part of the eighteenth century fifteen or twenty per cent. of the adult negroes could read (p. 85). On the whole, however, this book is excellent. It is a real contribution to the subject, based on a wide study of secondary and original sources, has a valuable appendix of documents; and an excellent bibliography and index. It is certainly the standard authority in its field.

MARCUS W. JERNEGAN.

New York's Part in History. By Sherman Williams. (New York and London, D. Appleton and Company, 1915, pp. x, 390.) From the title one might hope that this book was to furnish a study in the relations between local and national history. This is a fascinating field, and one as yet little worked. Its treatment involves on the one hand the contributions of state opinion and experience towards the formulation of national issues, and on the other the reactions between the currents

of national life and the conditions bred by local experiences and needs in determining a state's attitude towards national problems (*Nation*, XC. 349-350).

Mr. Williams, however, does not present New York history from this point of view. The volume seems rather to be an outgrowth of a sentiment of discontent with American historiography. The author feels that New York has not had its due share of "spotlight", especially in the drama afforded by the events of the American Revolution: "our history has too long been obscured and overshadowed by that of New England, especially by that of Massachusetts". This book is a contribution towards "arousing a greater interest in the proud history" of New York state (p. ix).

It is perhaps in deference to the assumed preferences of the general reader for "drum and trumpet history" that the account of New York's part in the American Revolution, occupying about one-fifth of the book, is wholly devoted to military events happening on the soil of the state. New York's part in history since 1783 is accounted for by comparatively brief chapters on Hamilton and the adoption of the Federal Constitution, R. R. Livingston and the Louisiana Purchase, Seward and the Alaska Purchase, the Erie Canal and New York's commercial supremacy, and A. S. Draper and the New York public school system. This must be a concession to the same general reader's appetite for the biographical aspect of history.

Treatment of the colonial period occupies nearly three-fifths of the book. Here is accumulated a great deal of material sure to be interesting to the New Yorker who is uninformed and who "wants to know". This material is drawn mainly from printed sources and good secondary authorities. To the reviewer it seems that firmer grasp in organizing the stages in the development of New York's provincial constitution and in the treatment of its peculiar problems is needed more than the abundance of detail in successive pictures furnished here. From this point of view the arrangement of chapters and the strictly chronological method of presentation within chapters seem not wholly successful. But one never knows beforehand what will arouse the general reader's intelligent curiosity and interest.

CHARLES WORTHEN SPENCER.

Old Roads from the Heart of New York: Journeys of To-day by Ways of Yesterday within Thirty Miles around the Battery. By Sarah Comstock. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1915, pp. xxiv, 401.) The subtitle of this book describes with sufficient exactness its contents. The volume belongs to the type of local guides with an historical and antiquarian flavor; the type of Hemstreet and Innes, already reviewed in this periodical. Its purpose may be defined as an elaboration of itineraries into the suburban regions of New York, so arranged that few places of literary or historic interest shall be omitted.

The author describes the earlier modes of travel by ferry, bridge, and turnpike, and then narrates in detail her routes to the four points of the compass, thirty miles from the city. On the way, or through short detours, the prominent buildings and scenes pass under examination.

Thus we are conducted to Jamaica and Hollis, and along the Jericho Turnpike; to Astoria and Flushing, where the old Bowne House—a headquarters of the Quakers—merits description; to Flatbush, where the historic Lefferts House claims attention; and beyond to Flatlands and the outlying Bergen House. Naturally the Battle of Long Island and Washington's retreat occupy many pages, and in fact the book becomes, to a certain extent, a résumé of Revolutionary anecdotes and proceedings. Less familiar ground is touched in the New Jersey hinterland near Atlantic Highlands, in such localities as quaint and little known Chapel Hill. In Staten Island, however, we are back on more wonted roads, with memories of Garibaldi, Vanderbilt, and the British officers in the Billopp House at Tottenville.

Westward the plan is similar: an account of sights worth while through Newark and Elizabeth to Plainfield; through Springfield to Morristown and along the Palisades, where the narrative is particularly good. And the circle is completed by tours into the André country, over the Boston Post Road, and through the intervening district of Westchester. Though the author's plan does not include a detailed journey through Manhattan, she has inserted stories of certain scenes and events, such as Smugglers' Cove, the Jumel Mansion, and the Battle of Harlem.

There are some omissions and a few errors. Quotations from Fiske are frequent, and the writer is apparently unaware of the works by Charles Francis Adams, Henry P. Johnston, or Trevelyan. No mention is made of the interesting old objects in Gravesend. The account of King's Highway on page 60 is confused. On page 159 the date 1834 should read 1824. The speed of Cornwallis's army from Alpine to Fort Lee (p. 222) is questionable, as the reviewer can testify from experience.

The volume is well illustrated, is provided with two maps, an index, and a fairly full but uncritical bibliography. An excellent feature is the condensed selection of itineraries at the end. It is a commendable descriptive work of its kind, and may serve as a useful companion in flights by motor or trolley to the outlying regions of New York.

EDMUND K. ALDEN.

Federal Land Grants to the States with Special Reference to Minnesota. By Matthias Nordberg Orfield, LL.B., Ph.D. [The University of Minnesota Studies in the Social Sciences, no. 2.] (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1915, pp. v, 279.) Of late years historians have been dividing up the rich field of the question of the administration of the public lands into sections for investigation. Dr. Orfield, in his volume on *Federal Land Grants to the States with Special Reference to Minnesota*, presents the results of his cultivation of a large and

important area of the subject. The book attempts to cover the colonial precedents of the federal land grants to the states, to trace their development, and to give an exposition of Minnesota's administration of her share. The first part deals with the colonial land grants for the maintenance of schools and colleges, for the ministry, for military purposes, and for the encouragement of industries. The second considers at length the federal land grants to the states for schools, agricultural colleges, universities, public buildings, internal improvements, and other public purposes. The third gives a detailed account of the appraisal, sale, and lease of Minnesota's lands and describes the frauds in connection with her forests and mines.

The study is based chiefly on colonial, federal, and state public documents, and its value lies in the collecting into one volume of a mass of material that would otherwise have to be obtained from many sources. The part dealing with Minnesota's disposition of her lands should be of service to other states in administering theirs. But the book is merely a compendium of facts, a detailed summary of the documents. Little attempt has been made at elucidation, interpretation, or conclusion. The individual chapters give a confusing mass of details and are poorly organized and written. The one on internal improvements is entirely inadequate. The subject of federal land grants for military purposes is omitted.

It is surprising to note that the bibliography contains no mention of Payson J. Treat's *The National Land System, 1785-1820*, nor of his articles in the *Cyclopedia of American Government* (I. 645-647; II. 306; III. 93-97, 99); which deal with the subject of this volume. Undue emphasis seems to have been laid in the introduction upon one or two minor errors of special writers, which might well have been confined to the foot-notes. An index increases the value of the work as a book of reference.

RAYNOR G. WELLINGTON.

The Hopi Indians. By Walter Hough. [Little Histories of North American Indians, no. 4.] (Cedar Rapids, Iowa, the Torch Press, 1915, pp. 265.) This volume, by far the longest and most original of the series to which it belongs, is a wholly popular, not a scientific, work, from the competent hand of the Curator of the Division of Ethnology in the United States National Museum. It well fulfills its purpose of describing in simple, untechnical language, and in an entertaining style, the country, towns, social and domestic life, arts and crafts, amusements, religious and other ceremonies, myths, traditions and history of the Hopi people. The affection and respect for this people, manifested by the author communicate themselves to the reader. The book should be widely used in schools, and should elsewhere serve to attract the uninitiated to the further study of the life and thought of the Pueblo Indians.

The Lopez Expeditions to Cuba, 1848-1851. By Robert Granville Caldwell, Assistant Professor of History, Rice Institute, Houston, Texas. (Princeton, University Press, 1915, pp. 138.) Somewhat less than half of Dr. Caldwell's thesis is devoted to a detailed account of the Lopez expeditions themselves. Their history was recorded in a number of contemporary sources, official and unofficial, which he has fully utilized, and the only criticism to be made of this portion of his study is that the book, as a whole, leaves perhaps an undue *informational* emphasis (doubtless unintentional) upon the military details of the expeditions. The style, also, though clear and direct, is quite devoid of spirit.

The expeditions are important solely in relation to contemporary factors of Cuban and American life and opinion, and of intersectional and international jealousies. The African slave-trade; Cuban racial problems; Spanish colonial policies and administration; American "manifest destiny"; pro-slavery diplomacy and domestic politics; international apprehensions that found persistent and powerful expression, were all elements in the Cuban problem of 1848-1851. To these broader aspects of his subject—the origins and significance of the Lopez expeditions—Dr. Caldwell devotes four chapters. But it seems not unfair to say that no very firm grasp is shown of their history and their relations.

The whole of the second chapter betrays the need of wider reading. For example, the liberalism of Puerto Principe and the education of Cuban youths in the United States (p. 20) had an interesting history. The first chapter is confused and inadequate. An examination with any care of the books of Ahumada, Sedano, Pezuela, Vazquez Queipo, and Sagra cited in the bibliography (the only two works of Sagra valuable for the author's purposes were not consulted), would have immensely improved this chapter. Nor are its faults solely of omission. The idea (p. 12) that there was any real change in Spanish "policy" following the cession of Florida is erroneous. The statement that Cuba was "developed" from the coffers of Mexico (p. 14) shows scant appreciation of a matter fundamentally important.

With the exception of Concha's *Memorias*, Sedano's *Estudios*, Torrente's *Bosquejo* (all of which are overmuch relied upon), and Vidal Morales's *Mártires*, most of the Spanish material consulted was apparently only superficially examined. The appraisals, in the bibliography, of Torrente, Sedano, and Zaragoza are decidedly uncritical. Authority is usually given for important statements (exceptions on pp. 10, 53, 87); but a weakness too often apparent is the citation of poor authority when much better is available, usually in the books listed in the bibliography (e. g., on pp. 21—Cuban slave code; p. 8, n. 9; p. 19, n. 1).

In short, although the thesis is an honest piece of work, it shows inadequate knowledge of the Spanish sources, and treats unsatisfactorily the broader aspects of the subject.

F. S. PHILBRICK.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The resignation of Professor George L. Burr from the Board of Editors, and the action of Professor Frederick J. Turner in declining to permit re-election, have deprived this journal of invaluable assistance, rendered during ten years in the one case and six in the other, for which no expressions of gratitude on the part of the Board can be too warm. Their places are taken respectively by Professors Ephraim Emerton of Harvard University and Claude H. Van Tyne of the University of Michigan.

The *General Index* to volumes XI.-XX. of this journal (1905-1915), for the preparation of which we are much indebted to Mr. David M. Matteson, has now been published in a volume of 219 pages. Paper-bound copies may be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, at the price of \$1.25; copies bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the regular bindings of the *Review*, may be had for \$1.75.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

It is important to make public the fact that there is no connection between the American Historical Association and an organization or commercial firm which calls itself "The American Historical Society, Inc.", and which, under the address 267 Broadway, New York, is apparently engaged in preparing an expensive biographical compilation entitled "The New York Cyclopaedia". Members of the American Historical Association should also be reminded, and the general public informed, that there is no connection between that body, incorporated by act of Congress and charged with definite governmental functions in respect to history, and the organization called the National Historical Society.

The Pacific Coast Branch held its twelfth annual meeting at Stanford University on November 26 and 27. Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California was chosen president, Professor Henry L. Cannon of Stanford University, vice-president. Aside from the papers specifically relating to the processes of teaching, there was one on Polk's Part in the Jackson Administration, by Professor Eugene I. McCormac; one on Cornelius Cole, by Professor Rockwell D. Hunt; and one on Rudolf Schleiden and the Visit to Richmond, April 25, 1861, by Professor Ralph H. Lutz. The proceedings of the joint meeting of the American Historical Association with the California History Teachers' Association, held at Berkeley on July 22, 1915 (see page 5, above) have been printed in a pamphlet of thirty-four pages.

The war in Europe has made it impossible for the time being to proceed with the Bibliography of Modern British History. Although the American members of the joint committee have completed their portion of the first volume, the English members will probably not finish theirs till the termination of the war. Under these circumstances, the American committee wishes to state that subscribers who have paid in advance may, if they desire, have their money returned by applying to Professor Arthur Lyon Cross, 705 South State Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

The Executive Council, while desirous of maintaining, even during war-times, the room which serves as its headquarters in the building of the Royal Historical Society, 22 Russell Square, London, found itself unable at its recent meetings to provide the rent for 1916 out of its ordinary budget, and left the same to be raised by subscription from members of the Association especially interested. This has since been achieved.

In the *Original Narratives* series Messrs. Charles Scribner's Sons published in February the volume entitled *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest, 1542-1706*, edited by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, and have composition well advanced on Miss Kellogg's *Narratives of the Early Northwest*.

PERSONAL

Edvard Holm, professor of history in the University of Copenhagen from 1865 to 1899, and since the latter date professor emeritus, died on May 18, 1915, aged eighty-two years. His earlier works dealt with topics in Roman imperial history, but his professorship compelled him to turn to modern history, especially that of his own country. His researches in the national archives yielded numerous volumes of which the major works are *Danmark-Norges Udenrigske Historie under den Franske Revolution og Napoleons Krige* (1875, 2 vols.); *Danmark-Norges Indre Historie, 1660-1720* (1885-1886, 2 vols.); and *Danmark-Norges Historie fra den Store Nordiske Krigs Slutning til Rigernes Adskillelse, 1720-1814* (1890 ff., 10 vols.; the concluding volume has not appeared).

Sir Clements Markham, who died in London on January 30, at the age of eighty-five, was chiefly famous as a geographer, for many years secretary, and then president, of the Royal Geographical Society. But he was also secretary of the Hakluyt Society from 1858 to 1887, and edited for it no fewer than twenty-two volumes of its publications, including the *Journal of Columbus*, the *Letters of Amerigo Vespucci*, the *Hawkins Voyages*, and Andagoya's *Narrative of Pedrarias Davila*.

Anson Daniel Morse, emeritus professor of history in Amherst College, died on March 13, at the age of sixty-nine. He had held a professorship in Amherst College since 1877 and was revered and beloved by a

multitude of students. Ill health, anxiety for perfection of knowledge and judgment, and excessively deliberate methods of composition, kept him from the completion and publication of the work on the history of American political parties upon which he had long been engaged; but the articles which he printed on the subject were marked by thorough knowledge, careful thinking, and sound judgment.

Count Lützow, author of many valuable works in Bohemian history, the last of which, *The Hussite Wars*, was reviewed in our July number, died in January. Born in 1849, he had served for a time in the diplomatic service and in the Austrian House of Representatives.

Dr. Ernesto Quesada, of Argentina, has been made professor of Latin-American history and economics in Harvard University for the year 1916-1917.

Professor R. B. Way of Beloit College has been teaching at Harvard University during the first half of the current academic year.

Dr. Annie H. Abel has been promoted from associate professor to professor of history in Smith College. Dr. Eloise Ellery has received a similar promotion in Vassar College, while Dr. Ida C. Thallon has been advanced from assistant professor to associate professor.

At the beginning of the year Mr. Victor H. Paltsits became chief of the Division of American History and Reserved Books in the New York Public Library, continuing also in charge of the Manuscript Division. Mr. Wilberforce Eames retires from the former position, and becomes Bibliographer of the library, with a view to the completion of Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America* and to other constructive work.

Professor Charles D. Hazen, at present residing in Washington, is lecturing, weekly, at the Johns Hopkins University on the Rise of Democracy in France.

Professor Carl Becker of the University of Kansas has accepted a call to a professorship of history in the University of Minnesota, where he will begin work in September next.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California teaches in the University of Michigan during its next summer session, Professor Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati in that of the University of California.

GENERAL

The first number of the new quarterly called *The Military Historian and Economist*, edited by Captain A. L. Conger, U. S. A., and Professor R. M. Johnston of Harvard University, and published at Cambridge, has two important historical articles: an admirable account of the Sources for the History of the Mexican War, by Professor Justin H. Smith, and an intelligent analysis and narrative of the operations at

Fort Donelson, by Captain Conger. The other three articles and the tactical and economic notes relate to present-day matters of military and naval policy, strategy, and tactics. There are several good reviews of books of military history, and a beginning is made of the publication of the interesting personal memoirs of Major-General D. S. Stanley. The new journal has begun well, and it is to be hoped that there is, among military men and others, sufficient interest in military history to sustain it permanently at its present level. The second number (April) is even better than the first. Its historical articles are one on Grant's Campaign of 1864, by Capt. Willey Howell, U. S. A., and Professor Ferguson's paper on Economic Causes of Wars in Ancient Greece, mentioned on a previous page (p. 445).

An undertaking which deserves a cordial welcome began in the publication, in January, of the first number of the *Journal of Negro History*, edited by Mr. Carter G. Woodson, and published at 2223 Twelfth Street, N. W., Washington, by the Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, formed at Chicago in September, 1915. The price is but \$1 per annum. The objects of the Association and of the journal are admirable—not the discussion of the "negro problem", which is sure, through other means, of discussion ample in quantity at least, but to exhibit the facts of negro history, to save and publish the records of the black race, to make known by competent articles and by documents what the negro has thought and felt and done. The first number makes an excellent beginning, with an article by the editor on the Negroes of Cincinnati prior to the Civil War; one by W. B. Hartgrove on the career of Maria Louise Moore and Fannie M. Richards, mother and daughter, pioneers in negro education in Virginia and Detroit; one by Monroe N. Work, on ancient African civilization; and one by A. O. Stafford, on negro proverbs. The reprinting of a group of articles on slavery in the *American Museum* of 1788 by "Othello", a negro, and of selections from the *Baptist Annual Register*, 1790-1802, respecting negro Baptist churches, gives useful aid toward better knowledge of the American negro at the end of the eighteenth century.

The most considerable article in the January number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* is American Revolutionary History in High School, by Professor C. E. Persinger, a discussion, in broad outline, of the Revolutionary movement. In this number of the *Magazine* is found also a reprint, from the Indiana University *Bulletin* of September, 1915, of Professor S. B. Harding's paper on the Nature and Method of History. In the February number Professor C. R. Fish discusses American Diplomatic History in High School (with a bibliography), and L. A. Chase describes "How Furs came down from the North Country". The articles in the March number relate largely to the teaching of recent history. They are: the Study of Recent American

History, by Professor F. L. Paxson; Recent American History through the Actors' Eyes, by Professor C. R. Lingley; Classroom Treatment of Recent Events in Europe and America, by Professor R. M. McElroy; Teaching Recent American History, by R. E. Phyle; Journalism as an Aid to History Teaching, by Dr. E. E. Slosson; the Use of Current Literature, by G. E. Boynton; and a Class in Current Events, by A. B. Kirk.

The thesis maintained by Professor Elliot Smith in his *Migrations of Early Culture* (Manchester University Publications, no. CII.) is that the culture of ancient Egypt travelled along the shores of Asia and across the Pacific to North and South America, where it may now be traced.

Volumes I. and II. of *East and West through Fifteen Centuries from B. C. 44 to A. D. 1453*, by Brig.-Gen. G. F. Young, have been published by Longmans, Green, and Company. The work is to consist of four volumes.

The Library of Congress publishes, in continuance of an annual series, a *List of Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1914* (pp. 157), prepared by Miss Alida M. Stephens, embracing all fields of study, and arranged alphabetically and by subjects.

Professor John L. Myres of Oxford, in a paper on *The Influence of Anthropology on the Course of Political Science* (*University of California Publications in History*, IV. 1, pp. 81), shows how, stage by stage since the Renaissance, the theorist in political science has been dependent on the anthropological data furnished him by contemporary travellers or observers.

The second edition of Dr. J. Neville Figgis's *The Divine Right of Kings* (Cambridge University Press, 1914, pp. xi, 406; for a review of the first edition see *American Historical Review*, II. 371) finds its justification in three new essays, relied on to correct in some points the views expressed in the older essays. The first of the additional chapters, "Aaron's Rod blossoming: Jus Divinum in 1646", develops as the essence of Presbyterianism the recognition of *two* kingdoms, Church and State, without recognizing the possibility of legitimate divisions in the Church. The second is on "Erastus and Erastianism". The last essay, "Bartolus and the Development of European Political Ideas", adds a survey of European thought to the more purely English studies of the earlier edition.

A greater historical interest attaches to *Comparative Free Government*, by Professor Jesse Macy and John W. Gannaway (Social Science Text-Books), than to most works in political science. Its purpose, as stated by the authors, is to present a comparative study, not of existing institutions, but rather of the processes by which free government is being attained. In the space devoted to the United States familiar ground

is covered but the study of the evolution of English, French, German, and Swiss institutions in part II. is not so easily accessible in text-book form, and the presentation of institutional processes in the countries of South America is a distinctly new and useful feature. The volume also contains an extensive bibliography and a handy list of cases in constitutional law.

The Royal Colonial Institute has published *A Select Bibliography of Publications on Foreign Colonization* by Winifred C. Hill. Careful and useful, it is however confined to publications contained in the Institute's library, which appears to contain little respecting the colonies of other powers than Great Britain.

The lectures given on the Barbour-Page Foundation at the University of Virginia, in February, were a series on the Origin and Formation of the Triple Alliance, by Professor Archibald C. Coolidge of Harvard University.

The Naval History Society has distributed to members a *Catalogue of the John S. Barnes Memorial Library*, recently presented to the society (New York, 1915, pp. 377). It is a valuable aid to naval bibliography, the collection being so remarkable a one, but it is marred by a great number of errors in the transcription of French and other foreign titles.

The January *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is mainly occupied with a list of works in the library relating to American inter-oceanic canals; that for February with a list of works on Buddhism.

The Paris law thesis of L. Jacob treats of *La Clause de Livraison des Archives Publiques dans les Traités d'Annexion* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1915, pp. 120).

Number 23 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1915, pp. xx, 236) presents many interesting documents and some valuable articles. Among the latter is an account, by Mr. William V. Byars, of the mercantile efforts of Barnard and Michael Gratz, trading from Philadelphia through the West, from 1754 to 1774, from the papers of these brothers; an article by Mr. Leon Hühner on some Jewish associates of John Brown in his Kansas struggles, and another on Jews interested in privateering in America during the eighteenth century; a paper by Mr. Lee M. Friedman on early Jewish residents in Massachusetts; and a report of the energetic committee on foreign archives, by its chairman, Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg. The documents relate to the Jews in Jamaica and Barbados, *temp.* William III., to early struggles for the removal of Jewish disabilities in Canada, to the wills of early Jewish settlers in New York, and similar matters.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its twenty-fourth annual meeting in Philadelphia on February 20 and 21. Papers were read by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim, upon points in the history of the

Jews in New York; by Rabbi Julius J. Price, on various matters in the history of the Jews in Canada; by Mr. Leon Hühner, on points of Jewish interest in American colonial and Revolutionary history; by Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, on the Mohelim in Curaçao and Surinam and on the Hazanim in eighteenth-century New York; by Mr. Albert M. Friedenberg, on the economic interpretation of American Jewish history; and by others.

In the series of pamphlets exhibiting its system of classification, the Library of Congress has now printed "as manuscript" its data for *Class C, Auxiliary Sciences of History* (pp. 176), which may be of use to many historical students.

Science for November 26 has for its main contents a valuable article by Dr. Frederick E. Erasch of Stanford University on the teaching of the history of science, with abundant data as to the present status of such teaching in America.

An English translation of Professors Gide and Rist's excellent *History of Economic Doctrine* has been published by Messrs. Heath. The translation is the work of R. Richards, lecturer in the University College of North Wales.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. P. Usher, *The Generalizations of Economic History* (*American Journal of Sociology*, January); J. E. G. de Montmorency, *The Psychology of Sumptuary Laws* (*Edinburgh Review*, January); C. D. Buck, *Language and the Sentiment of Nationality* (*American Political Science Review*, February).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, II. (*Revue Historique*, January).

M. Streck has published in the *Vorderasiatische Bibliothek* a monumental work on *Assurbanipal und die Letzten Assyrischen Könige bis zum Untergange Ninevehs* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915) in three parts: introduction, texts, and index.

A book valuable to all students of the Homeric age is *Homer and History* by Walter Leaf (Macmillan), though one may not agree with his estimate of the historic value of parts of Homer.

The first volume of an enlarged third edition of G. Dittenberger's *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1915) will be welcomed.

F. Preisigke has recently issued the fifth part, completing the first volume, of his valuable *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1913-1915).

A volume of *Weströmische Studien* (Berlin, Mayer and Müller, 1915, pp. 164, review by A. Rosenberg, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, October 30),

by J. Sundwall of the University of Helsingfors, deals with the western empire in the time of the barbarian invasions.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Asmussen, *Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan* (Memnon, VII. 4); Walter Lea, *On a History of Greek Commerce* (Journal of Hellenic Studies, XXXV. 2); M. N. Tod, *The Progress of Greek Epigraphy, 1914-1915* (*ibid.*); M. O. B. Caspari, *The Ionian Confederacy* (*ibid.*); U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Der Waffenstillstandsvertrag von 423 v. Chr.* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, XXXIX.); E. von Stern, *Kleomenes III. und Archidamos* (Hermes, L. 4); W. Soltau, *Die Ursachen eines Antiken Weltkrieges* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 7); K. J. Beloch, *Polybios' Quellen im Dritten Buche* (Hermes, L. 3); A. Klotz, *Zu den Quellen der Vierten und Fünften Dekade des Livius* (*ibid.*, 4); A. Klotz, *Der Helvetierzug: zur Glaubwürdigkeit von Cäsars Commentarii de Bello Gallico* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 10); F. Smith, *Die Schlacht bei Carrhä* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 2); F. Blumenthal, *Die Autobiographie des Augustus*, III. (Wiener Studien, XXXVI.); F. Kampers, *Die Geburtsurkunde der Abendländischen Kaiseridee* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: C. Guignebert, *Antiquités Chrésiennes* (Revue Historique, November).

The Book of the Popes (Liber Pontificalis), translated and edited by Dr. Louise R. Loomis, is soon to appear as the second volume of the series, *Records of Civilization*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. von Harnack, *Die Älteste Griechische Kircheninschrift* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, XLIII.); F. Loofs, *Das Bekenntnis Lucians, des Märtyrers* (*ibid.*, XXXVIII.); P. Corssen, *Begriff und Wesen des Märtyrers in der Alten Kirche* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 8).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

General review: A. Werminghoff, *Neuerscheinungen zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit* (Archiv für Religionswissenschaft, XVIII.).

Mr. George W. Robinson, secretary of the Harvard Graduate School, has prepared, with introduction and notes, the first English translation of *Willibald: the Life of Saint Boniface*, which may be had from the Harvard University Press.

Dr. Fritz Kern has continued his studies in the history of ideas in the Middle Ages in *Gottesgnadentum und Widerstandsrecht im Früheren Mittelalter, zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Monarchie* (Leipzig, Koehler, 1915, pp. xxxii, 444).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Wilmotte, *Une Nouvelle Théorie sur l'Origine des Chansons de Geste* (Revue Historique, November); G. B. Borino, *Per la Storia della Riforma della Chiesa nel Secolo XI.* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 3-4); L. Mirot, *Une Tentative d'Invasion en Angleterre pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans, 1385-1386* [conclusion] (Revue des Études Historiques, October); B. Bess, *Die Lehre vom Tyrannenmord auf dem Konstanzer Konzil* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXXVI. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Since publishing his study on Mercurino da Gattinara, chancellor of Charles V., Professor C. Bornate has discovered the autograph manuscript of the *Historia Vitae et Gestorum per Dominum Magnum Cancellarium, Mercurino Arborio da Gattinara*, and has published it (Turin, Artigianelli, 1915), with notes and illustrative documents. Another volume on the same reign is Häpke's *Die Regierung Karls V. und der Europäische Norden* (Lübeck, Schmidt, 1915).

The Hispanic Society of America has recently issued two facsimiles having much historical significance and superior artistic merit, both edited by Dr. Edward L. Stevenson, acting director of that society: the first, the portolan atlas "Joan Martines en Messina, 1582", with an introduction and a list of Martines's known cartographical productions; the second, the portolan atlas of Count Freducci Ottomano, 1537.

Volume LIX. of the *Publications* of the Scottish History Society contains *Papers relating to the Scots in Poland, 1576-1793* (Edinburgh, University Press, 1915, pp. xxxix, 362), edited by A. F. Steuart.

A. Battistella has made an excellent contribution to the history of Italy in the eighteenth century in his *La Guerra di Successione Polacca, desunta da Lettere Private del Tempo* (Venice, Ferrari, 1915).

Captain Louis Jouan has published under the direction of the French general staff *La Campagne de 1794-1795 dans les Pays-Bas*, of which the first volume deals with *La Conquête de la Belgique, Mai-Juillet, 1794* (Paris, Fournier, 1915, pp. 422). *La Victoire de l'An II.* (Paris, Alcan, 1915) is a volume of careful historical work by Professor Albert Mathiez of the University of Besançon, with a present-day patriotic interest.

A. E. Robert has collected and edited the *Traité et Conventions Diplomatiques entre la France et la Russie depuis 1814* (Paris, Rousseau, 1915, pp. viii, 208).

In *Belle-Alliance* (Berlin, Eisenschmidt, 1915, pp. xv, 296) Professor J. von Pflugk-Hartung has collected a number of narratives, mostly unpublished hitherto, recording the experiences of German troops in Wellington's army during the Waterloo campaign. A curious addition

to the Waterloo literature is Bleibtreu's *Englands Grosse Waterloo-Lüge* (Berlin, Bismarck Verlag, 1915).

E. Chapuisat has edited the *Journal de Jean Gabriel Eynard* (Paris, Plon, 1915) at the Congress of Vienna.

No. XVIII. of the *Oxford Pamphlets, 1914-1915*, consists of a volume of treaties compiled by R. B. Mowat to "illustrate the development of the modern state system".

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Schultze, *Terrorismus der Hauptstadt* (Neue Jahrbücher, XXXV. 8); N. Paulus, *Berühmte, doch Unechte Ablässe* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 3); I. Lubimenko, *Les Relations Diplomatiques de l'Angleterre avec la Russie au XVI^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, January); W. H. Mallock, *Early Romance of English Trade with Russia* (Dublin Review, October); R. Dollot, *Les Étapes de la Neutralité Belge de Richelieu à nos Jours* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); G. Lote, *La Rive Gauche du Rhin de 1792 à 1814* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November); G. Cassi, *Les Napoléons et l'Adriatique* (*ibid.*, January); G. Fagniez, *Le Littoral Oriental de l'Adriatique et le Duc de Raguse, 1806-1814* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 8); H. Freiherr von Egloffstein, *Carl Bertuchs Tagebuch vom Wiener Kongress* (Deutsche Rundschau, October, November, December, January); Selma Stern, *Juliane von Krüdener: eine Erinnerung an die Tage der Heiligen Allianz 1815* (*ibid.*, November); Baron Hennet de Goutel, *La Crise de 1815 à la Légation de France à Constantinople* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); J. Mathorez, *Les Réfugiés Politiques Espagnols dans l'Orne au XIX^e Siècle* (Bulletin Hispanique, October); A. Nélidow, *Souvenirs d'après la Guerre de 1877-1878*, III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 15); R. Eickhoff, *Die Interparlamentarische Union, 1889-1914* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 3); G. Kampffmeyer, *Die Grundlagen der Marokkofrage* (*ibid.*).

THE GREAT WAR

General reviews: C. Bastide, *La Littérature Anglaise et la Guerre* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, October); F. von Martitz, *Der Fall Lusitania [und der Unterseebootkrieg]* (Deutsche Literaturzeitung, January 1).

A Second List of Publications bearing on the War (London, 1915, pp. 39), prepared by Professor G. W. Prothero, has been published by the Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations.

International law in its relations to the maritime war is discussed in H. Steinuth, *England und der U-Boot-Krieg* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1915, pp. 91); C. Meurer, *Der Lusitania-Fall: eine Völkerrechtliche Studie* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915); and *Der Lusitania-Fall im Urteile von Deutschen Gelehrten* (Breslau, Kern, 1915). The question of *The Law of Contraband of War* (Oxford, Clarendon Press,

1915, pp. xl, 314) has been treated by H. R. Pyke, with a study of its historical development.

Additional periodical histories of the war are: *Der Grosse Krieg*, published in biweekly parts by the *Frankfurter Zeitung*; *La Guerra d'Italia* (Milan, Treves); *La Guerra Italiana, Cronistoria degli Avvenimenti*, edited by E. Mercatani (Milan, Scanzogno); and *Diario della Guerra d'Italia, Raccolta dei Bullettini Ufficiali e Altri Documenti* (Milan, Treves).

E. Bergmann has made a study of *Fichte der Ersieher zum Deutschtum* (Leipzig, Meiner, 1915, pp. 340). In *France et Allemagne* (Paris, Payot, 1915), E. Perrier traces the development of ideas from Gobineau to Ostwald. Professor C. Ardier has collected and translated a wealth of materials illustrative of the development of German national and racial ideas and ambitions in *Le Pangermanisme Continental sous Guillaume II., de 1883 à 1914* (Paris, Conard, 1915). Gustave Le Bon has produced a characteristic volume of *Enseignements Psychologiques de la Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915). The little volume of A. van Gennep, *Le Génie de l'Organisation: la Formule Française et Anglaise opposée à la Formule Allemande* (Paris, Payot, 1915, pp. 114), may be read as an antidote to *Händler und Helden, Patriotische Besinnungen* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. vi, 145) by Professor Werner Sombart. Contributions by Lamprecht, Haeckel, Eucken, Dernburg, and many others are included in *Die Vernichtung der Englischen Weltmacht und des Russischen Tsarismus durch den Dreibund und den Islam* (Berlin, Borngröber, 1915, pp. 235).

Economic Aspects of the War: Neutral Rights, Belligerent Claims, and American Commerce in the Years 1914-1915 (Yale University Press), by Professor Edwin J. Clapp, puts much of its emphasis on the British Orders in Council relative to the trade of neutrals with Germany.

Messrs. George Barrie's Sons, of Philadelphia, have begun the issue of an elaborate work in five or more volumes, entitled *The Great War*, in which three authors, Dr. George H. Allen of the University of Pennsylvania, Captain Herry C. Whitehead, U. S. A., and Rear-Admiral F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N. retired, will endeavor, so far as it can be done at the present time, to relate the history of the war, its origins, conduct, and results, with the fullest of information, and certainly with fairness of intention. The first volume is devoted to consideration of the events and conditions lying behind the war and of the motives that led toward it. This volume (pp. xxv, 337, with maps and other elaborate illustrations) has already been published. The second will review the mental and physical preparations for the war, the resources of the various nations, and the processes of mobilization. The third will begin a record of hostilities.

Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons have also, by the publication of the first volume, "The Genesis", begun the issue of a large work on the subject, *The History of the Great War*, by Briggs Davenport.

The following are among the more substantial or interesting attempts to describe the progress of the campaign on the west front: G. Babin, *La Bataille de la Marne* (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. 92, 9 maps); L. Lumet, *La Défense Nationale: un An de Guerre* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915), a collection of documents; F. Engerand, *L'Allemagne et le Fer: les Frontières Lorraines et la Force Allemande* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); Ian Malcolm, M. P., *War Pictures behind the Lines* (London, Smith, Elder, 1915, pp. xviii, 226); M. Barrès, *Une Visite à l'Armée Anglaise* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. 116); G. V. Williams, correspondent of the *Daily Mail*, *With our Army in Flanders* (London, Arnold, 1915, pp. xi, 347); and *With the First Canadian Contingent* (Toronto, Hodder and Stoughton, 1915, pp. 118), a collection of letters and photographs published in behalf of the Canadian Field Comforts Commission.

The official story of the Canadian expeditionary forces in the western theatre is begun by the issue of volume I. of *Canada in Flanders* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1916), by Sir William Maxwell Aitken, Canadian record officer. The same publishers have issued the first volume (pp. 315) of *A Military History of the War from the Declaration of War to the close of the Campaign of August, 1914*, by Captain Cecil Battine, military correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*.

In addition to the second volume of A. Masson, *L'Invasion des Barbares* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915), covering January to June, 1915, and the several periodical publications already cited, there have been some attempts to present a comprehensive view of the war. *La Guerre des Nations, Août-Décembre, 1914* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. xiv, 274), by Capt. Angelo Gatti, is based upon his admirable articles in the *Corriere della Sera* of critical comment on the military operations. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu has, in similar fashion, produced *La Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915, pp. 520) dealing with events through July, 1915. In Italian, A. Cabiati and F. Guidi have issued the first volume of *La Grande Guerra* (Milan, Sonzogno, 1915, pp. xii, 432).

Professor G. Jèze of Paris has written *Les Finances de Guerre de la France* (Paris, Giard and Brière, 1915), and a similar volume on England to which a supplement has later been added.

Records of personal experiences in the French army appear in H. d'Estre, *D'Oran à Arras: Impressions de Guerre d'un Officier d'Afrique* (Paris, Plon, 1916); G. Riou, *Journal d'un Simple Soldat, Guerre, Captivité, 1914-1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916); C. Mallet, *Étapes et Combats: Souvenirs d'un Cavalier devenu Fantassin, 1914-1915* (Paris, Plon, 1916); and L. de Grandmaison, *Impressions de Guerre de Prêtres Soldats* (*ibid.*).

Abbé Wetterlé, the former Alsatian deputy in the Reichstag, has published *L'Allemagne qu'on voyait et celle qu'on ne voyait pas* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1916); *Ce qu'était l'Alsace-Lorraine et ce qu'elle sera* (Paris, Floury, 1915); and two series of *Propos de Guerre* (Paris, Édition Française Illustrée, 1915). P. A. Helmer has published *France-Alsace* (*ibid.*, 1916); and an extensive illustrated work in which Welschinger, Pfister, Diehl, Wetterlé, and many others have co-operated, *L'Alsace et la Lorraine* (Paris, Sirven, 1916), is appearing in parts. The most notable recent discussion of the Alsatian question in France is *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. 132) by H. and A. Lichtenberger.

The political aspects of Italian participation in the war are recounted and discussed in W. O. Pitt, *Italy and the Unholy Alliance* (London, Melrose, 1915, pp. 227); Leopold, Freiherr von Chlumecký, *Die Agonie des Dreibundes: das Letzte Jahrzehnt Italienischer Untreue* (Vienna, Deuticke, 1915, pp. vii, 443); Severus, *Zehn Monate Italienischer Neutralität, was das Italienische Grünbuch sagt und verschweigt* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915); General Filareti, *La Conflagrazione Europea e l'Italia* (Lanciano, Carabba, 1915, pp. 248); J. Bainville, *La Guerre et l'Italie* (Paris, Fayard, 1916); C. de Saint-Cyr, *Pourquoi l'Italie est notre Alliée?* (Paris, Mignot, 1916). The peaceful penetration by Germany before the war is denounced in G. Preziosi, *La Germania alla Conquista dell'Italia* (Florence, Lib. della Voce, 1914). Italy's ambitions with regard to the Adriatic are discussed in C. Vellay, *La Question de l'Adriatique* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915); G. Cassi, *Il Mare Adriatico, sua Funzione attraverso il Tempo* (Milan, 1915, pp. xix, 532); and A. Tamaro, *Italiani e Slavi nell' Adriatico* (Rome, Athenaeum, 1915, pp. 360).

The sixth volume of the *Chronik des Deutschen Krieges nach Amtlichen Berichten und Zeitgenössischen Kundgebungen* (Munich, Beck, 1915), compiled by K., Freiherr von Lupin, covers events to July, 1915, and the fourth volume of C. H. Baer, *Der Völkerkrieg* (Stuttgart, Hoffmann, 1915), carries the narrative to February, 1915. *Der Grosse Krieg* (Stuttgart, Lutz, 1915), edited by E. Rosen, is in its third volume. The above works are compiled largely from journalistic materials and aside from the publication of documents are only valuable as attempts to meet the immediate demand for a compact and consecutive narrative of events. *In den Glutten des Weltbrandes* (Würzburg, Kabitzsch, 1915-1916, vols. I.-V.), edited by F. Heuler, is a perfervid, patriotic compilation, including some personal narratives. *Der Deutsche Krieg in Feldpostbriefen* (Munich, Müller, 1915, vols. I.-IV.), edited by J. Delbrück, and *Der Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Krieg in Feldpostbriefen* (*ibid.*, vols. I.-II.), edited by M. Winter, are better and more modest performances. Still better Austrian efforts are Hemberger, *Der Europäische Krieg und der Weltkrieg* (Vienna, Hartleben,

1915, vol. I.), and R. von Kralik, *Geschichte des Weltkrieges* (Vienna, Holzhausen, 1915, vol. I., pp. 362).

Besides the several pamphlet series noted in earlier issues, the Deutsche Vorderasienkomitee has issued no less than twelve numbers of a *Schriftsammlung* (Leipzig, Veit) for the publication of articles relating to Asiatic and especially Turkish questions. Sixteen numbers of *Deutsche Kriegsschriften* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber); twelve of *Tat-Flugschriften* (Jena, Diederichs); and fourteen of *Sammlung von Schriften zur Zeitgeschichte* (Jena, Fischer) show that the popular taste in Germany now demands, instead of political discussion, stirring narratives of personal experiences in the war.

The successive numbers of the *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* have been devoted almost entirely to articles on a single subject connected with the war. The August issue was entitled Die Deutschen Kolonien; September, Der Balkan; October, Deutschlands Zukunft; and November, Friedensziele.

German experiences in the war are narrated by W. Reinhardt, *Sechs Monate Westfront, Feldzugserlebnisse eines Artillerieoffiziers in Belgien, Flandern, und der Champagne* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, pp. 96); Professor George Wegener, "Kriegsberichterstatler", *Der Wall von Eisen und Feuer: ein Jahr an der Westfront* (Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1915, pp. 190); M. Lang, *Feldgrau, erste Kriegserlebnisse in Frankreich* (Stuttgart, Thienemann, 1915, pp. 142); A. Kutscher, *Kriegstagebuch* (Munich, Beck, 1915, pp. v, 264), a record of service on the west front; A. Leopold, *Im Schützengraben: Erlebnisse eines Schwäbischen Musketiers auf der Wacht und beim Angriff in Polen* (Stuttgart, Thienemann, 1915, pp. 114); Rifat Gozdovic Pasha, *Im Blutigen Karst: Erinnerungen eines Oesterreichischen Offiziers aus dem Kriegsjahr, 1914* (*ibid.*, pp. 168). A volume of Italian experiences, *Al Fronte, Maggio-Ottobre 1915* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. 429), is by L. Barziri.

The late Henri Davignon, Belgian minister of foreign affairs, just before his death published in English, in a quarto pamphlet, *Belgium and Germany* (London and New York, Thomas Nelson and Sons, pp. 132), a large number of documents relative to Germany's dealings with Belgium during the war, accompanied by facsimiles of proclamations, miscellaneous documents, and other illustrations.

Mr. Stanley Washburn has followed his early volume, *Field Notes from the Russian Front*, by a second, entitled *The Russian Campaign* (Scribners).

Mein Kriegstagebuch (Berlin, Fischer, 1915), by A. Madelung, is an account of the campaign in Galicia and the Carpathians by a Swedish correspondent of the *Berliner Tageblatt*. F. Wertheimer has continued his earlier work on Mackensen's winter campaign in Poland with *Von der Weichsel bis zum Dnjeestr* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt, 1915, pp. 111).

Ashmead-Bartlett's despatches from the Dardanelles appear under the title *An Epic of Heroism* (London, Newnes, 1915, pp. 164). *The Dardanelles* (Longmans, 1915, pp. viii, 60) by Norman Wilkinson is a volume of finely reproduced color sketches with scanty text. Of better sort for the historian is G. Domergue, *La Guerre en Orient, aux Dardanelles, et dans les Balkans* (Paris, Perrin, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Feist, *La Théorie de la Race et la Guerre* (Revue Politique Internationale, September); Count Julius Andrassy, *Entwicklung und Ziele Mitteleuropas* (Deutsche Rundschau, December); General Malleterre, *Les Opérations de la Guerre en 1914*, I. (Revue des Sciences Politiques, December); O. Schneider, *Die Kriegsfinanzen der Europäischen Grossmächte* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXXIX. 3); P. Zorn, *Streitfragen des Seekriegsrechts zwischen Deutschland, England, und Amerika* (Westermanns Monatshefte, October); R. Worms, *La Juridiction des Prises* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *Réflexions et Souvenirs* (Revue de Paris, November 15); E. Zavier, *Prisonniers de Guerre, Septembre 1914-Juillet 1915* (Mercure de France, October 1, November 1, December 1, January 1); Comte F. van den Steen de Jehay [Belgian minister to Luxemburg], *Comment s'est faite l'Invasion du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1); L. Lobbé, *Lettres d'un Instituteur de la Classe 14* (Revue de Paris, January 1); Commandant Davin, *Les Corsaires Allemands* (*ibid.*); "Un Français de Metz", *Choses vues à Metz pendant la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, December 18); J. W. Bienstock, *Varsovie aux Mains des Allemands: Récit d'un Témoin Oculaire* (Mercure de France, February 1); K. Friedrich, *Aus dem Befreiten Kurland* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); X., *Avec le Corps Expéditionnaire d'Orient* (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15); R. Moulin, *Le Maroc et la Guerre* (Revue Hebdomadaire, January 1); C. Stienon, *La Campagne Coloniale des Alliés en 1914 et 1915* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November 1, 15, December 1).

GREAT BRITAIN

Volume II., part I., of the *British Academy Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, edited by G. J. Turner and the Rev. H. E. Salter, is *The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book* (London, Humphrey Milford, pp. xliv, 377). Other works in preparation are: *A Feodary of the Templars, A. D. 1185*, edited by the late Marquis d'Albon and Rev. H. E. Salter; *A Terrier of Fleet, Lincolnshire*, edited by Dr. Nellie Neilson of Mount Holyoke College; *Documents illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw*, edited by Professor F. M. Stenton; and *A Book of Accounts of Bolton Abbey*, edited by Mr. R. J. Whitwell.

That the war has quickened the interest of the English in military history is well attested by the appearance of a number of studies of the

English army. Among others are: *History of the Royal and Indian Artillery in the Mutiny of 1857*, by Col. Julian R. J. Jocelyn; *The Story of the Royal Scots*, by L. Weaver; *The Royal Welsh Fusiliers*, by H. A. Tipping; *The Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire Light Infantry*, by Sir Henry Newbolt (the last three in the *Country Life* series).

Following Wagner's thesis (1904) on the religious history of the reign of Richard II., H. Junghanns has written a thesis *Zur Geschichte der Englischen Kirchenpolitik von 1399 bis 1413* (Strassburg, Caritas Druckerei, 1915, pp. xvi, 104).

Volume II. of *A Picture Book of British History*, compiled by S. C. Roberts, extends from 1485 to 1688 and illustrates a wide range of topics. While portraits of course predominate, such subjects as the renaissance of learning, early Tudor, Elizabethan, and Jacobean architecture, and the return of Charles II., are given ample space. Any teacher of history will find the book an illuminating aid.

An excellent volume on *Les Protestants Anglais Réfugiés à Genève au Temps de Calvin, 1555-1560* (Geneva, Jullien, 1915) is by Charles Martin.

The first volume of Professor Arnold O. Meyer's admirable book on the Catholics in Queen Elizabeth's time (*American Historical Review*, XVI. 807) has been issued by Messrs. Kegan Paul in an authorized translation by Father J. R. McKee, *England and the Catholic Church under Queen Elizabeth*.

The Baptist Historical Society, in commemoration of one of its early heroes closely related to the Pilgrim Fathers, has brought out in two volumes (Cambridge University Press) a Tercentenary Edition of the *Works* of John Smyth, with a biography by Mr. W. T. Whitley.

In *Elizabeth Hooton, first Quaker Woman Preacher, 1660-1672* (London, Herdley, 1914), the story is told by Mrs. Manners chiefly from the letters and papers of Mrs. Hooton.

Eighteenth Century Non-Conformity by the Rev. J. Hay Colligan (Longmans), though a small volume, bears evidence of careful investigation and much thought.

Mr. John Murray is soon to publish the private correspondence of Lord Granville Leveson Gower, afterward the first Earl Granville (1773-1846), a noted diplomat, father of the more celebrated second earl. The work, which is to appear in two volumes, is edited by his daughter-in-law, the Dowager Countess Granville.

The Life of Field-Marshal Sir George White, V. C., by Sir Mortimer Durand, has been published in two volumes by Messrs. Blackwood.

A good popular sketch of *Herbert Henry Asquith* (London, Newnes, 1915, pp. vii, 167) has been written by H. Spender. Similar volumes

have been issued by the same publisher dealing with several other prominent English statesmen of the day.

The issues of the Scottish History Society since its last general meeting consist of *The Scots in Poland*, elsewhere mentioned; vol. II. of *Selections from the Records of the Regality of Melrose*; the *Letter Book of Bailie John Stuart of Inverness*; *Rentals Dunkeldense*; and *Letters of the Earl of Seafield*. The next volumes to appear will be vol. III. of the *Records of the Regality of Melrose*, vol. II. of *Wariston's Diary*, and a *Bibliography of Topographical Works relating to Scotland*.

No. 43 of the series published by the London School of Economics is a painstaking study of *The Lands of the Scottish Kings in England* by Margaret F. Moore, Carnegie fellow in palaeography and early economic history in the University of Edinburgh (Allen and Unwin).

A *Calendar of the Gormanston Register*, from the original in the possession of Viscount Gormanston, prepared and edited by Messrs. James Mills and Michael J. McEnery, has been issued by the Dublin University Press (pp. 272). The Gormanston Register is an entry-book of the title-deeds of the Gormanston estates, compiled mainly during 1397 and 1398 for Sir Christopher de Preston, lord of that manor.

Richard C. Mills is the author of a volume entitled *The Colonization of Australia: the Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building, 1829-1842* (Sidgwick and Jackson), which studies with care that experiment in colonization. The volume contains an introduction by Graham Wallas.

British government publications: *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, vol. VI.; *Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain*, vol. XI., Edward VI. and Mary, 1553, ed. Royall Tyler; *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign*, Elizabeth, July 1583-July 1584, ed. S. C. Lomas; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, Anne, vol. I, 1702-1703, ed. R. P. Mahaffy.

Other documentary publications: *The Black Book of Southampton*, vol. III. (concluding volume), 1497-1620, ed. A. B. Wallis Chapman (Southampton Record Society); *York Memorandum Book*, vol. II., 1388-1493, ed. Maud Sellers (Surtees Society).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. A. Morris, *The Office of Sheriff in the Anglo-Saxon Period* (English Historical Review, January); W. E. Lunt, *Collectors' Accounts for the Clerical Tenth levied in England by Order of Nicholas IV.* (*ibid.*); Theodora Keith, *Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland prior to the Union* (Scottish Historical Review, January); K. Benrath, *Heinrich VIII. von England, Defensor Fidei* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 2); Mrs. Eric George, *Notes on the Origin of the Declared Account* (English Historical Review, January); A. Chevrillon, *L'Angleterre et la Guerre*, I-IV. (Revue de Paris, November 1, 15, December 15, January 1); H. Carré, *L'Effort Militaire Anglais* (Revue des Deux Mondes, January 15).

FRANCE

The Ministry of Public Instruction plans to issue before long, in the *Collection de Documents Inédits*, a body of *Commentaires* of the faculty of medicine in the University of Paris (1395-1515), edited by Dr. E. Wickersheimer, and the first volume of a *Recueil de Documents sur l'Histoire de l'Instruction Publique pendant la Période du Directoire*, ed. J. Guillaume; also additional volumes of M. Aulard's *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public* (XXIV.), of M. Caron's *Rapports des Agents du Ministre de l'Intérieur* (II.), and of M. Debidour's *Procès-verbaux et Arrêtés du Directoire Exécutif* (IV.).

In the third volume of his *Histoire de Charles V.* (Paris, Picard, 1916, pp. 571), R. Delachenal deals with the years 1364-1368.

Un Favori de Louis XI.: Boffille de Juge, Comte de Castres, Vice-Roi de Roussillon (Albi, Nougues, 1914, pp. xxxiv, 251) is an important study made from the documents by F. Pasquier, published as vol. X. of the *Archives Historiques de l'Albigeois*.

M. Louis Batiffol's volume on the period from 1483 to 1600 in M. Funk-Brentano's series, *Histoire de France racontée à tous*, has been brought out in an English translation, *The Century of the Renaissance*, by the firm of Heinemann.

Professor Henri Hauser published in January vol. IV., the volume for Henry IV., of his invaluable survey, *Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, 1494-1610*. The portions of the same general series relating to the period from 1715 to 1789, and to the period of the Revolution and the Empire, are announced as in course of preparation, the former by M. Maurice Tourneux, the latter by M. Pierre Caron.

Henri Bremond has undertaken an elaborate *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France depuis la Fin des Guerres de Religion jusqu'à nos Jours* and has issued the first volume, on *L'Humanisme Dévot, 1580-1666* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916). The three further volumes announced will only complete the work to 1700. Mention may be made in this connection of Dr. Léontine Zanta, *La Renaissance de Stoïcisme au XVI^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. ii, 367).

Maurice Pigallet has edited a *Mémoire de l'Intendant de Franche-Comté* (Paris, Champion, 1914, pp. 143) which dates from the close of the reign of Louis XIV.

That the war has not sufficed to stop entirely the publication of the *Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française* is fortunately proved by the appearance of the first volume of the *Cahiers de Doléances . . . de la Sénéchaussée Particulière d'Angers* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. cclxv, 418), edited by Professor A. Le Moy of the Lycée of Angers. The admirable introduction presents a wealth of information, gleaned with diligent care, on the or-

ganization and condition of the district in 1789, on the elections to the States General, and on the origins and adoption of the cahiers. The account of the muddle of the taxing system (pp. xx and ff.) is a clear and specific illustration of the utter failure of the old monarchy to grapple with the financial problem.

It appears that the author of the "*Life of Barnave*, by E. D. Bradby", reviewed in our last number (XXI. 348), is properly designated as Miss E. D. Bradby, not Mr., as the review mistakenly indicates.

J. Signorel, *Étude Historique sur la Législation Révolutionnaire relative aux Biens des Émigrés* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915, pp. xix, 198), and H. Moris, *Organisation du Département des Alpes-Maritimes 1793; Lettres des Représentants Grégoire et Jagot, chargés de cette Mission* (Paris, Plon, 1916), are notable monographs on the Revolutionary period.

A. Martinien has continued his familiar work for the Napoleonic period by *État Nominatif des Officiers tués et blessés de 1816 à 1911* (Paris, Fournier, 1915, pp. 508), published under the direction of the general staff of the army.

The fourth volume of the *Notices, Inventaires, et Documents* series is *Les Associations Ouvrières encouragées par la Deuxième République, Décret du 5 Juillet 1848, Documents inédits* (Paris, Rieder, 1915, pp. 196), edited by O. Festy.

Luise Schoeps has published a life of *Graf Vincent Benedetti* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915) as vol. VII. of Fester's *Historische Studien*.

A volume from the pen of C. de Freycinet on *La Guerre en Province pendant le Siège de Paris, 1870-1871* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1915) is obviously a work of uncommon interest.

Lucien Delabrousse has published the first of two volumes on *Joseph Magnin et son Temps, 1824-1910, d'après les Documents Officiels et Parlementaires et une Correspondance inédite* (Paris, Alcan, 1915). The most important episode in Magnin's long career, the provisioning of Paris during the siege in 1870-1871, is dealt with in the present volume.

L. Muel, *Tableau Synoptique de tous les Ministères de la Troisième République, 1870-1915* (Paris, Pedone, 1915) is a useful compilation. An elaborate, illustrated *Histoire de France Contemporaine, 1871-1913* (Paris, Larousse, 1916) which has been appearing in forty parts, has just been completed.

Thiers's *Notes et Souvenirs* of the period from 1870 to 1873, first published in Paris in 1901, has now appeared in an English translation by F. M. Atkinson, *Memoirs of M. Thiers, 1870-1873* (London, Allen and Unwin).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Vidal de la Blache, *La Formation de la France de l'Est* (Revue de Paris, December 1, 15); G. Beaume,

Maguelone, Unique Fief Pontifical en Terre de France (Revue des Études Historiques, October); F. Puaux, *Le Dépeuplement et l'Incendie des Hautes-Cévennes, Octobre-Décembre 1703* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, September); M. Marion, *Le Recouvrement des Impôts en 1790* (Revue Historique, January); D. Zolla, *La Crise des Subsistances sous la Révolution* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 1); A. Mathiez, *Le Cardinal Cambacérès Archevêque de Rouen* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, January); P. Gaffarel, *L'Esprit Public à Marseille de 1800 à 1814* (*ibid.*); G. Weill, *L'Alsace de 1815 à 1848* (Revue de Paris, January 15); L. Lévy-Bruhl, *Les Idées Sociales et Religieuses de Jean Jaurès* (*ibid.*); C. Jullian, *La Place de la Guerre Actuelle dans Notre Histoire Nationale* (Revue Bleue, January 15).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano, 1815-1915* (Rivista Storica Italiana, January)..

Among the latest documentary publications for Italy in the later Middle Ages are *Le Pergamene di Matelica, Regesto* (Ascoli Piceno, Cesari, 1915, vol. I., 1162-1275), edited by Grimaldi; *Statuti dei Laghi di Como, di Lugano del Sec. XIV.* (Rome, Loescher, 1915, vol. II.), edited by E. Anderloni and A. Lazzati; *Codice Diplomatico dell' Università di Pavia* (1441-1450, Pavia, Fusi, 1915, vol. II., no. 2); *Epistolario* (Venice, Tip. Emiliana, 1915, vol. I., pp. xx, 704) of the humanist Guarino of Verona, edited by R. Sabbadini; and *Cronaca di Anonimo Veronese, 1446-1488* (*ibid.*, pp. lxxxii, 655), edited by G. Soranzo.

Some light on Neapolitan history at the time of the Masaniello episode may be obtained from R. Cianci di Sanseverino, *Matteo Cristiano, Governatore Generale delle Armi della Serenissima Repubblica di Napoli, 1647-1648* (Naples, De Alteriis, 1914, pp. 110).

From the never-failing supply of books on the Risorgimento, the following may be mentioned as among the more notable new publications: M. Mazziotti, *Ricordi di Famiglia, 1780-1860* (Milan, Albrighi, 1915, pp. 236); M. Degli Alberti, *La Politica Estera del Piemonte sotto Carlo Alberto* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, vol. II., pp. 616); G. Sitti, *Il Risorgimento Italiano nelle Epigrafi Parmensi* (Parma, Fresching, 1915, pp. 435); R. Ciasca, *L'Origine del "Programma per l'Opinione Nazionale Italiana" del 1847-1848* (Milan, Albrighi, 1915, pp. 624); R. Della Torre, *La Evoluzione del Sentimento Nazionale in Toscana dal 27 Aprile 1859 al 15 Marzo 1860* (*ibid.*, pp. 514); A. Fontana, *Cavour e il Socialismo* (Milan, Antonini, 1916, pp. 48); and M. Mazziotti, *Il Conte di Cavour e il suo Confessore* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915, pp. viii, 143).

Albert Pingaud has written a new history of *L'Italie depuis 1870* (Paris, Delagrave, 1915, pp. xxix, 344).

The Italian government has entrusted to the Commissione della

Società per la Storia del Risorgimento the task of a systematic collecting of documentary material for the history of the war, especially of newspapers.

The *Historia de los Heterodoxos Españoles*, and the *Historia de la Poesía Castellana en la Edad Media* form the initial volumes of an edition of the complete works of the late Menéndez y Pelayo which will comprise nineteen volumes (Madrid, Suarez, 1915).

A recent publication of the Sociedad de Estudios Históricos Castellanos is an account of the famous constable of Castile under John II., *Don Alvaro de Luna según Testimonios inéditos de la Época* (Madrid, Montero, 1915, pp. 122), by León de Corral.

The *Vida Religiosa de los Moriscos* (Madrid, Imp. Ibérica, 1915, pp. lxxx, 319) by Pedro Longás is a publication of the Centro de Estudios Históricos. At the same time appears in Italy a *Storia della Tremenda Inquisizione di Spagna* (Florence, Salani, 1914, pp. 534), by V. de Fereal.

In año III., núm. 14, of the *Boletín del Centro de Estudios Americanistas de Sevilla*, Señor Serrano y Sanz finishes his contribution on Spain and the Cherokees and Choctaws in the middle of the eighteenth century. In núm. 15, the chief article is one by Professor Germán Latorre, in continuation of his studies of American colonial cartography—in this instance, of the early cartography of New Granada and Venezuela.

R. Velázquez Bosco has written an account of the famous *Monasterio de Nuestra Señora de la Rábida* (Madrid, Fortanet, 1914, pp. 146).

La Universidad de Salamanca y los Reyes is the subtitle of the first volume of a *Historia de la Universidad de Salamanca* (Salamanca, Núñez, 1914, pp. 120) by E. Esperabé Arteaga.

The third volume has appeared of the *Colección de Documentos Históricos inéditos del Arxiu Municipal de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Henrich, 1914, pp. 339).

A volume of *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Portugiesischen Historiographie des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915) by J. Albrecht is the sixth number of Fester's *Historische Studien*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Falco, *L'Amministrazione Papale nella Campagna e nella Marittima [750-1000]* (Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 3-4); G. Buzzi, *Ricerche per la Storia di Ravenna e di Roma dal 850 al 1118* (*ibid.*, 1); R. L. Poole, *The See of Maurienne and the Valley of Susa* (English Historical Review, January, 1916); M. Merore, *Die Venezianischen Salinen der Aelteren Zeit in ihrer Wirtschaftlichen und Sozialen Bedeutung* (Vierteljahrsschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XIII. 1); C. Huelsen, *Saggio di Bibliografia Ragionata delle Pianta Iconografiche e Prospettiche di Roma dal 1551 al 1748* (Archivio della R. Società Romana di Storia Patria, XXXVIII. 1, pp. 105); G. Natali, *La Co-*

scienza Nazionale Italiana avanti la Rivoluzione Francese (Nuova Antologia, December 16); A. Lambert, *Les Origines de l'Imprimerie à Saragosse, 1473-1485* (Revista de Archivos, Bibliotecas, y Museos, July).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

General reviews: M. Buchner, *Zur Neuesten Literatur über die Entstehung des Kurfürstenkollegs* [conclusion] (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXXVI. 2); E. Chapuisat, *La Suisse il y a Cent Ans* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, November).

The second volume (letters R-J) of the *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1915, pp. xi, 630), edited by J. Hoops, has been completed. It includes much material of value to the historian; especial mention should be made of the extended treatment of the topic "Handel".

In his *Geschichte des Deutschen Volkes vom Dreizehnten Jahrhundert bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters*, the Jesuit Father Emil Michael begins the treatment of the political history in the sixth volume (Freiburg, Herder, 1915, pp. xxii, 512), which deals with the period 1198-1227. The earlier volumes have dealt with the economic, religious, scientific, literary, and artistic history of the time.

For J. Kohler's *Die Carolina und ihre Vorgängerinnen*, J. Kohler and C. Koehne have edited *Wormser Recht und Wormser Reformation* (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1915) as the fourth volume.

A new biography of *Ulrich von Hutten* (Leipzig, Insel-Verlag, 1915) is by D. F. Strauss. H. J. Kirch has furnished an account of *Die Fugger und der Schmalkaldische Krieg* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915). The local history of the Reformation in the free cities has been studied in K. O. Müller, *Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Reformation in Ravensburg, 1523-1577* (Münster, Aschendorff, 1915); Ried, *Die Durchführung der Reformation in Weissenburg* (Freising, Datterer, 1915); and Bürckstümmer, *Geschichte der Reformation und Gegenreformation in Dinkelsbühl, 1524-1648* (Leipzig, Haupt, 1915).

Dr. M. Höhler has edited, with introduction and appendixes, the *Tagbuch* (Mainz, Kirchheim, 1915, pp. vii, 354) of H. A. Arnold, as representative of the Elector of Trier at the Ems conference in 1786 on the affairs of the Catholic church in Germany.

Professor Ferdinand Schevill, of the University of Chicago, has recently published, through Messrs. McClurg, *The Making of Modern Germany*, six lectures.

Scharnhorsts Briefe (Munich, Müller, 1915) has been edited by K. Linnebach.

Die Literatur über den Feldzug 1864 (Berlin, Bath, 1915) is the first part of a *Bibliographie der Neueren Deutschen Kriegsgeschichte*, compiled by A. Buddecke.

Du Moulin-Eckart, *Bismarck: der Mann und das Werk* (Stuttgart, Union, 1915); Matthias, *Bismarck: sein Leben und sein Werk* (Munich, Beck, 1915); A. Kohut, *Bismarcks Beziehungen zu Ungarn und zu Ungarns Staatsmännern* (Berlin, Hofmann, 1915); and Günther, Freiherr von Richthoven, *Die Politik Bismarcks und Manteuffels in den Jahren 1851-1858* (Borna-Leipzig, Noske, 1915) are further centenary contributions to the history of the Iron Chancellor.

The United Associations of Schleswigers of Denmark have published a *Manuel Historique de la Question du Slesvig*, and more recently *Le Slesvig du Nord, 1906-1914* (Copenhagen, 1915, pp. 166), which contains a series of articles dealing with the Danish-German relations and with local affairs of the region.

In English form, Antoine Guillard's *Modern Germany and her Historians* has just appeared from the press of McBride, Nast, and Company. The volume, which appeared in German several years ago, deals with Niebuhr, Ranke, Mommsen, Sybel, and Treitschke.

Die Hohenzollern und ihr Werk: Fünfhundert Jahre Vaterländischer Geschichte (Berlin, Parey, 1915, pp. xvi, 704) by O. Hintze is a work of genuine value, but *Fünf Jahrhunderte Hohenzollernherrschaft in Brandenburg-Preussen* (Berlin, Paetel, 1915, pp. 175) by B. Rogge is of lighter weight.

Among recent monographs on Brandenburg-Prussian history E. J. Siedler, *Märkischer Städtebau im Mittelalter* (Berlin, Springer, 1914, pp. 148) has, even apart from the text, real value because of the numerous views and plans of towns. Other contributions for the medieval period are Ruhe, *Die Magdeburgisch-Brandenburgischen Lehnbeziehungen im Mittelalter* (Halle, Gebauer-Schwetschke, 1915), and W. Grünberg, *Der Ausgang der Pommerschen Selbständigkeit* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915, pp. 143), which relates to the acquisition of the district by the Teutonic knights in the fourteenth century.

The later history of Brandenburg-Prussia is developed in F. Wolters, *Geschichte der Brandenburgischen Finanzen in der Zeit von 1640-1697: Darstellung und Akten* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, vol. I., pp. xxiv, 600) which initiates a series of *Urkunden und Aktenstücke zur Geschichte der Inneren Politik des Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg*; also in L. Tömpel, *Die Entstehung des Brandenburgisch-Preussischen Einheitsstaates im Zeitalter des Absolutismus, 1609-1806* (Breslau, Marcus, 1915, pp. xxii, 267); J. Ziekursch, *Hundert Jahre Schlesischer Agrargeschichte, vom Hubertsburger Frieden bis zum Abschluss der Bauernbefreiung* (Breslau, Hirt, 1915); H. Markgraf, *Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte Schlesiens und Breslaus* (Breslau, Morgenstern, 1915); H. Kunau, *Die Stellung der Preussischen Konservativen zur Aeusseren Politik während des Krimkrieges* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1915); and Yves Guyot, *La Province Rhénane et la Westphalie: Étude Économique* (Paris, Attinger, 1915).

The eighteenth volume of the *Hohenzollern Jahrbuch* (Berlin, Giesecke and Devrient, 1915, pp. xxi, 241) is edited by Paul Seidel, and contains articles by the late R. Koser on the Great Elector and Charles X. of Sweden, and by Schuster on the relations of the Hohenzollerns with Württemberg, and the concluding sections of the correspondence of Crown Prince Frederick William and Prince William with their cousin the Princess Frederika in 1813-1815, and of the letters of Queen Sophia Dorothea, as well as various other contributions.

The Scottish Friend of Frederic the Great: the Last Earl Marischall, by Mrs. Edith E. Cuthell (Stanley Paul, 2 vols.), is the story of a varied career, told in considerable part by letters.

G. Kentenich, in commemoration of the centenary of the incorporation of the city into Prussia, has published an elaborate *Geschichte der Stadt Trier von ihrer Gründung bis zur Gegenwart* (Trier, Lintz, 1915, pp. ix, 1035). The second volume of J. Baur, *Philipp von Sötern, Geistlicher Kurfürst zu Trier, und seine Politik während des Dreissigjährigen Krieges* (Speyer, Jäger, 1915) has appeared. A contribution to the history of the neighboring electorate of Mainz is *Mainz in seinen Beziehungen zu den Deutschen Königen und den Erzbischöfen der Stadt bis zum Untergang der Stadtfreiheit, 1462* (Mainz, Wilckens, 1915) by Schrohe.

H. Wahl has edited the *Briefwechsel des Herzogs-Grossherzogs Carl August mit Goethe* (Berlin, Mittler, 1915, vol. I., 1775-1806, pp. 447) as the fourth number of the *Darstellungen und Briefe zur Geschichte des Weimarer Fürstenhauses und Landes*, edited by Erich Marcks, in commemoration of the centenary of the grand duchy.

In *Elsässische Urkunden vornehmlich des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Strassburg, Trübner, 1915, pp. 74), A. Hessel has published 54 documents, mostly inedited, from the years 1212-1308, which he collected while editing the *Regesten* of the bishops of Strassburg. With the *Catalogue des Actes des Ducs de Lorraine de 1048 à 1139 et de 1176 à 1220* (Nancy, Crépin-Leblond, 1915, pp. 264), E. Duvernoy has supplemented and completed the work begun in the appendix to his volume on *Le Duc de Lorraine, Mathieu Ier, 1139-1176* (1904).

Among recent studies in the history of Bohemia are A. Naegle, *Kirchengeschichte Böhmens, quellenmässig und kritisch dargestellt* (Vienna, Braumüller, 1915), of which the first volume deals with the introduction of Christianity; A. Zycha, *Ueber den Ursprung der Städte in Böhmen und die Städtepolitik der Přemysliden* (Prag, Calve, 1914, pp. v, 233); and P. Kluckhohn, *Wenzels Jugendjahre bis zum Antritt seiner Regierung, 1378, im Rahmen der Politik seines Vaters Kaiser Karls IV.* (Halle, 1914, pp. 157).

Professor J. Hirn has published the first volume of *Erzherzog Maximilian, der Deutschmeister, Regent von Tirol* (Innsbruck, Vereinsbuchhandlung, 1915).

The third volume of *Zwingliana* is O. Farner, *Zwinglis Entwicklung zum Reformator nach seinem Erbfwechsel bis Ende 1522* (Zürich, Zürcher and Furrer, 1913-1915, review by A. Baur, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, December 4).

Les Cantons Suisses et Genève, 1477-1815 (Geneva, Jullien, 1915, pp. xxxi, 219), edited by V. van Berchem, contains among other articles, W. Oechsli, "Les Alliances de Genève avec les Cantons Suisses"; L. Gautier, "Les Efforts des Genevois pour être admis dans l'Alliance Générale des Ligues, 1548-1550"; E. Demolle, "Les Médailles rappelant les Anciennes Relations de Genève et les Cantons Suisses, 1584-1815"; and C. Borgeaud, "La Chute, la Restauration de la République de Genève, et son Entrée dans la Confédération Suisse, 1798-1815". The volume is the fourth in the series of *Mémoires et Documents* published by the Society of History and Archaeology of Geneva.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Joetze, *Die Ministerialität im Hochstifte Bamberg* (*Historisches Jahrbuch*, XXXVI. 3); G. Buchwald, *Die Leipziger Universitätspredigt in den Ersten Jahrzehnten des Bestehens der Universität* (*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXVI. 1); O. Hintze, *Das Werk der Hohenzollern: eine Jubiläumsbetrachtung* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, October); J. Buzek, *Die Organisation der Verwaltung und die Verwaltungsreformbewegung in Preussen* (*Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik, und Verwaltung*, XXIV. 1); F. Rachfahl, *Der Ursprung der Monarchischen Behördenorganisation Deutschlands in der Neuzeit* (*Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik*, October); E. Müsebeck, *Das Verhalten der Preussischen Regierung im Fichreschen Atheismusstreit* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXV. 2); E. Daudet, *Les Dernières Années de la Dictature de Bismarck, Notes et Souvenirs, 1887-1890*, I.-IV. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, September 1, October 15, November 15, December 15); A. Guillard, *Karl Lamprecht* (*Revue Historique*, January); Max Lenz, *Der Weltkrieg im Spiegel Bismarckscher Gedanken* (*Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, September); G. Schmoller, *Der Weltkrieg und die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX, 3); V. H. F., *La Presse Allemande pendant la Première Année de Guerre* (*Revue des Sciences Politiques*, October, December); E. Troeltsch, *Die Deutsche Sozialdemokratie* (*Schmollers Jahrbuch*, XXXIX. 3); V. H. F., *La Philosophie et la Littérature Classiques de l'Allemagne et les Doctrines Pangermanistes*, I. (*Revue de Métaphysique et de Morale*, November, 1914); R. Charmatz, *Radetzky* (*Velhagen und Klasings Monatshefte*, November); H. Bahr, *Böhmen* (*Neue Rundschau*, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: F. Fromme, *Neue Deutsche Schriften über Belgien* (*Deutsche Rundschau*, October).

S. A. Waller Zeper has furnished a thorough account of *Jan van Henegouwen, Heer van Beaumont, Bijdrage tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden in de 1^e Helft der 14^e Eeuw* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 541).

Dr. F. C. Wieder, after two months of very fruitful investigation in Spanish archives and libraries, has prepared a volume of 348 pages, *Nederlandsche Historisch-Geographische Documenten in Spanje*, which has been published by the Royal Dutch Geographica! Society of Amsterdam (Leiden, Brill). After an introductory account of his expedition and of the history of old Dutch cartography, Dr. Wieder gives copious data respecting a large variety of maps and some archival documents, relating to the Netherlands and their East Indian and American possessions. Parts of the report will be of use to students of American history.

The Oxford University Press has published, in a small illustrated volume, *Louvain: 891-1914*, a history of the famous and unfortunate university, by Dr. L. Noël, a professor in the philosophical faculty.

In *Histoire Belge du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. 82, review by A. Chuquet, *Revue Critique*, November 6), Pierre Nothomb has given an excellent sketch of the history of Luxembourg mainly since 1815, in which he argues the Belgian affinity of the little state.

In addition to the official publication, *L'Action de l'Armée Belge pour la Défense du Pays et le Respect de sa Neutralité, Rapport du Commandement de l'Armée, Période du 31 Juillet au 31 Décembre 1914* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915), the following are important volumes on the war in Belgium: Maurice des Ombiaux, *La Résistance de la Belgique Envahie* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1915); Henri Malo, *Le Drame des Flandres: un An de Guerre, 1^{er} Août 1914-1^{er} Août 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1915); H. E. Jacob, *Reise durch den Belgischen Krieg* (Berlin, Reiss, 1915); and *Die Flüchtlinge* (Jena, Fischer, 1915), a description of the Antwerp campaign, by Norbert Jacques, a Luxemburger of German sympathies who is correspondent of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*. The little volume *Charleroi* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1915), by the London *Times* correspondent, Fleury-Lamure, has proved one of the best sellers.

C. H. Huberich and A. Nicol-Speyer have issued two parts of *Deutsche Gesetzgebung für die Okkupierten Gebiete Belgiens* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 108, 165); and O. Kessler has compiled *Das Deutsche Belgien, Beiträge zur Geschichte, Volkswirtschaft, und zur Deutschen Verwaltung* (Berlin, Siegmund, 1915, pp. viii, 159).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. van Ouwerkerk, *Die Internationale Bedeutung der Flämischen Bewegung* (Neue Rundschau, October); F. Schotthöfer, *Das besetzte Belgien* (*ibid.*, September).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The period 1310-1544 is embraced in the first part of the eleventh volume of the *Diplomatarium Islandicum* (Reykjavík, Félagsprentsmidju, 1915, pp. 368).

A. Krarup and J. Lindbaek have completed the publication of the *Acta Pontificum Danica, Pavelige Aktstykker vedrørende Danmark, 1316-1536* (Copenhagen, Gad, 1915, pp. viii, 615) with a sixth volume for the years 1513 to 1536.

The publication of *Sveriges Traktater med Främmande Magter* has been extended through the years 1723-1739 (vol. VIII., 1, Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915), under the editorship of B. Boëthius.

Kong Christian Frederiks Døgbok fra hans Ophold i Norge, 1814 (Christiania, Grondahl, 1915, pp. 269) has been edited from the French original by A. Olafsen, with a translation into Norwegian by J. Raabe.

F. Lagerroth, *Frihetstidens Författning* (Stockholm, Bonnier, 1915, pp. xvi, 635), is a study in Swedish constitutional history.

Professor Harald Hjärne of Upsala has written *Osteuropas Kriser och Sveriges Försvar, Politiska Utkast, 1880-1914* (Upsala, Askerberg, 1915, pp. viii, 328). Another Swedish view of the European situation by A. Nyström has been translated into English under the title *Before, During, and After 1914* (London, Heinemann, 1915, pp. xvi, 368). F. Stieve has edited and translated a volume of *Schwedische Stimmen zum Weltkrieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1916, pp. 203).

The Russian government is bringing out, under the supervision of the Hydrographic Department of the Navy, a Russian translation of Professor Frank A. Golder's *Russian Expansion on the Pacific*, to be issued this spring. A large atlas, containing a number of original maps never heretofore printed, will accompany the text.

Antoni Potocki is the editor of *La Revue de Pologne* (Paris, 12 Rue de l'Université; foreign subscription, 6 francs), which completed its first volume in 1915. The review has now undertaken a *Bibliothèque de la Question Polonaise*, composed of monographs of which the first is an *Histoire de la Pologne* by H. Grappin.

A new volume in the *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* of Heeren and Ukert begins a *Neuere Geschichte Polens* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915) by E. Zivier. It covers the reigns of the last two Jagellon kings. A. D'Ancona, *Scipione Piattoli e la Polonia* (Florence, Barbèra, 1915, pp. ix, 368) throws much light on the reign of the last Polish king, Stanislas Poniatowski.

Mr. Herbert A. Gibbons is the author of *The Foundation of the Ottoman Empire: a History of the Osmanlis up to the Death of Bayezid I.* (1300-1403), which is published by the Clarendon Press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. F. Reddaway, *King Christian VII.* (English Historical Review, January); K. Leuthner, *Russischer Volksimperialismus* (Neue Rundschau, April, August); A. Brückner, *Die Leitenden Ideen der Polnischen Politik in den Jahren 1795-1863* (Zeitschrift für Politik, VIII. 3); B. Lauer, *Zum Polnisch-Jüdischen Problem, vom Standpunkt eines Polnischen Juden* (Preussische Jahrbücher, November); Kémal Hilmy, *Les Capitulations Ottomanes* (Revue Politique Internationale, November); P. Lebesgue, *L'Unité Serbo-Croate et le Principe des Nationalités: l'Oeuvre de Vouk Stephanovitch Karadjitch [1787-1864]* (Mercure de France, February 1); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *La Marine dans la Campagne des Balkans* (Revue des Deux Mondes, December 15); Yves Guyot, *La Question Bulgare* (Journal des Économistes, December 15); J. A. R. Marriott, *The Hellenic Factor in the Problem of the Near East* (Edinburgh Review, January); A. Mavroudis, *Eleutherios Venizelos: ses Origines, son Oeuvre* (Mercure de France, December 1).

THE FAR EAST

Father Rochemonteix has recited with pious detail the account of *Joseph Amiot et les Derniers Survivants de la Mission Française à Peking, 1750-1795* (Paris, Picard, 1915, pp. lxiii, 564).

Mr. Lionel B. Cholmondeley of St. Andrew's Mission, Tokio, illustrates an odd chapter in the history of the Pacific and of American adventure therein by *The History of the Bonin Islands from 1827 to 1876, and of Nathaniel Savory* (London, Constable, 1915, pp. 190). Savory was a citizen of the United States who lived on the main island almost from the time of its discovery till his death in 1874. A selection of his correspondence is included.

G. Demorgny, professor in the School of Political Sciences at Teheran, is the author of *La Question Persane et la Guerre: les Accords Anglo-Russo-Persans de 1907 et 1912, l'Influence Française et l'Effort Allemand en Perse* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

In *La Syrie de Demain* (Paris, Plon, 1916), Nadra Moutran has described the political condition and significance of Syria and explained French interests in Syria as a sphere of influence. The recent periodical literature on the question is cited by N. Y. Bitar in an article *La Vraie Syrie Française* in the *Mercure de France* of January 16, 1916.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Prehn-von Dewitz, *Yuan Schi Kai* (Deutsche Rundschau, January); J. O. P. Bland, *The Restoration of Monarchy in China* (Edinburgh Review, January); Scié-Ton-Fa, *La Chine et le Japon: la Thèse Chinoise* (Revue Politique Internationale, September).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington expects to publish before the end of the present month Professor Faust's *Guide to Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*. Professor Hill's volume on the "Papeles procedentes de Cuba" in the Archives of the Indies at Seville is expected to appear during the summer.

The *Report* of the Librarian of Congress for 1915 describes large additions to the Library's Chinese collection, including more than 2000 volumes on history and epigraphy; a body of about a thousand books and periodicals relating to the social revolutionary movements in Europe since the beginning of the nineteenth century, collected by Dr. Vladimir G. Simkhovitch; in the Division of Manuscripts, the papers of Edward L. Plumb; a deposit of papers of George Mason; the Jones papers, a large collection of family papers, Virginian and Kentuckian, ranging from 1694 to 1861, and useful to economic history; and the diaries of Edmund Ruffin and Benjamin Moran. The Library has completed for the present its invaluable series of transcripts from British archives, numbering about 175,000 folios, and is proceeding with similar copying in Paris and Seville. It expects before long to issue a *Guide to the Law and Legal Literature of Latin America*, by Mr. Edwin M. Borchard, law librarian, and a descriptive list of maps of California and views of San Francisco, by Mr. P. Lee Phillips, chief of the Map Division. The Document Division has expanded into a very important collection its series of the official gazettes of foreign governments.

More recent accessions of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress include: contemporary official copies of correspondence between the British and Spanish authorities relating to the colonies in America and the West Indies, 1722-1733 (6 vols.); a body of notes on native languages, bibliographical lists, and cartography of South America, with sundry maps (additions to the Schuller collection); letter-books, order-books, despatch-books, etc., of General P. G. T. Beauregard, 1844-1883 (51 vols.); a body of papers of Robert Carter Nicholas relating to the settlement of the estate of Lord Botetourt; orderly books kept by adjutants Terrey and Bailey of the second Massachusetts regiment, 1777-1783 (24 vols.); and a body of papers (1791-1808) of Thomas Tudor Tucker of South Carolina.

An account of the Uniforms of the American Army, by Col. Asa Bird Gardiner, U. S. A., in the August-September number of the *Magazine of History*, is reprinted from scattering volumes of the *Magazine of American History*. Among the documents are: a letter from La Jonquière, governor of French Canada, to Sir William Pepperrell, March 7, 1751; a letter of Dr. John Hart, October 4, 1780, relative to the execution of Major André (reprinted from the *New Eng-*

land Historical and Genealogical Register, July, 1915); a letter of John Adams to Dr. Tufts of Boston, March 29, 1776, relative to the fortification of Boston harbor; and two letters from John Paul Jones to Count Bernstorff, the Danish prime minister, March 24 and March 30, 1788. The October number prints some letters of 1866 and 1867, regarding purchase of the Danish West Indies, from the papers of the late Senator J. R. Doolittle of Wisconsin.

The December number of *Americana* contains, among other continuations, the fourth of A. W. H. Eaton's Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia, this being a chapter on Sir John Wentworth and the Duke of Kent.

The January number of the *Catholic Historical Review* includes a valuable Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy in the United States, by Right Rev. Dr. O. B. Corrigan; the Preservation of Ecclesiastical Documents, by Mr. John C. Fitzpatrick of the manuscripts division of the Library of Congress; the Right Rev. Richard Luke Concanen, O. P., the First Bishop of New York (1747-1810), by V. F. O'Daniel, O. P.; the Rise of National Catholic Churches in the United States, by Dr. N. A. Weber, S. M.; and Archbishop Maréchal's account of the diocese of Baltimore sent to the Propaganda October 16, 1818. Excellent suggestions as to further work in American Catholic history abound in the editorial portions of the journal.

The contents of the December number of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society* include a biographical account of Don Agustín de Iturbide, liberator and emperor of Mexico, by Agustín de Iturbide; an Epistle or Diary of the Reverend Father Marie Joseph Durand, relating to the mission which he founded in Louisiana and the country of Illinois since 1805 (written in 1823), translated from the French by Ella M. E. Flick; and an anniversary historical address delivered by the Rev. Dr. Morgan M. Sheedy at St. Mary's Church, Lancaster, Pennsylvania, Sunday, March 26, 1911.

Houghton Mifflin Company has just published *The Federal Executive*, by John Philip Hill. The book treats comprehensively the creation, development, organization, and functions of the federal executive.

American Civilization and the Negro: the Afro-American in Relation to National Progress, by C. V. Roman, is from the press of F. A. Davis Company, Philadelphia.

A study of *Los Vascos en América* (Buenos Aires, Lib. La Facultad, 1915, pp. 205) has been done by F. Ortiz y San Pelayo.

The *American Year Book* for 1915 (Appleton, pp. xviii, 862), has just appeared.

The Department of Economics and Sociology of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has published, in two volumes (Washington, pp. xv, 363, ix, 398), a *History of Domestic and Foreign Commerce of*

the United States, by Professor Emory R. Johnson, T. W. Van Metre, G. G. Huebner, and D. S. Hanchett. In respect to foreign commerce, the dividing date of the two volumes is 1789.

The Century Company announce for early publication *The Foreign Relations of the United States*, by Professor Willis F. Johnson.

The United States Navy from the Revolution to Date, by F. J. Reynolds, with an introduction by Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, comes from the press of P. F. Collier and Sons.

Quaint and Historic Forts of North America, by J. M. Hammond, gathers together information concerning forts widely scattered both in place and time on the American continent (Lippincott).

It is announced that G. P. Putnam's Sons will presently bring out *American Debate: a Critical History of Political Controversy in the United States, with Digests of Notable Debates*, in two volumes, by M. M. Miller.

A new and revised edition of Mr. Louis C. Elson's *History of American Music* has been published (Macmillan).

The American Baptist Historical Society (Philadelphia) has completed the arranging of more than 25,000 minutes of Baptist state conventions and district associations.

The Boycott in America: Trade Unions (Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, series XXXIV., no. 1, pp. 148), by Dr. Leo Wolman, contains a chapter on the history of the boycott, as well as discussions of its nature, mechanism, and applications, and of the relation of the boycott to the law.

The Torch Press has brought out a reprint of the *Proceedings of the Librarians' Convention held in New York City, September 15, 16, 17, 1853*.

The February *Bulletin* of the Minnesota Historical Society has an article by General William G. Le Duc on the Genesis of the Type-writer, and especially on his part in its invention.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Richard Biddle's *Memoir of Sebastian Cabot*, published in 1831, has been reproduced, with a little explanatory matter (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1915, pp. xiv, v, 327).

The volume of *Travels in the American Colonies* edited by Dr. N. D. Mereness, which has been prepared under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Families of America, will be published by the Macmillan Company this month, in a style uniform with the Pitt, Lee, and Shirley volumes previously issued by the society. It will contain some eighteen journals of travel, ranging from Cuthbert Potter's narra-

tive of a journey from Virginia to New England in 1690 to Colonel William Fleming's journals of travels in Kentucky in 1779-1780 and 1783. Among them are narratives of travels among the southern Indians and up and down the Mississippi River, by both French and English officers, narratives of the travels of Moravian pioneers and bishops, and the journal of an anonymous officer's travels through America in 1764-1765, which proves to be by Lord Adam Gordon. Almost all are narratives of which no part has hitherto been published.

French Memories of Eighteenth-Century America (1775-1800), by Charles H. Sherrill, is a picture of life in America during the last quarter of the eighteenth century as drawn from the memoirs and other observations of distinguished French men and women who visited this country during the period (Scribner).

The Houghton Mifflin Company will publish shortly the memorandum written by William Rotch in the eightieth year of his age, giving an account of his effort at the outbreak of the Revolution to keep the island of Nantucket neutral and also an account of a subsequent journey to England and France on a quasi-diplomatic mission.

Scipio's Reflections on Hancock's View of the Conduct of the Executive, etc. (Boston, 1798), is reprinted as the *Magazine of History*, extra no. 38 (Tarrytown, Abbatt).

Hon. DeAlva S. Alexander, who for fourteen years was a member of the House of Representatives, and whose *Political History of the State of New York* is well known, is about to publish a volume on the *History and Procedure of the House of Representatives* (Houghton Mifflin).

Professor John S. Bassett's standard *Life of Andrew Jackson* has been brought out by the Macmillan Company in a new edition, in one volume (pp. xvi, 766) with the same pagination as that of the original edition of two volumes. Slight amendments have been made here and there in the text. It will be an embarrassment to some readers that the "front matter" of volume II has not been consolidated with that of volume I.

Messrs. Putnam have published in two volumes the *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brewster*, edited, with an introduction, by Mr. George S. Hellman, embracing a considerable number of epistles not printed in Irving's *Life and Letters*.

The address of Hon. Armistead C. Gordon, *John Tyler, Tenth President of the United States*, delivered at the dedication, October 12, 1915, of the monument erected by Congress in Hollywood cemetery, Richmond, Virginia, in memory of President Tyler, has been privately printed (pp. 44). Mr. Gordon vigorously defends Tyler's course as president.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for publication in April *Abraham Lincoln: Lawyer-Statecman*, by John T. Richards. It is understood that Mr. Richards has searched extensively the records of courts in which Lincoln practised and has brought forth a large amount of new and valuable material concerning his life as a lawyer.

Houghton Mifflin Company announces for publication in April a new volume of *Union Portraits*, by Gamaliel Bradford, which will include studies of McClellan, Hooker, Meade, Thomas, Sherman, Stanton, Seward, Sumner, and Samuel Bowles.

The second number of the *Smith College Studies in History* embodies four chapters of a study, by Laura Josephine Webster, of the *Operations of the Freedmen's Bureau in South Carolina* (pp. 67-118). The first chapter is devoted to the "Preliminaries", tentative measures undertaken from 1861 to the passage of the Freedmen's Bureau Act in March, 1865; the second to legislation and organization; the third to distribution and restoration of land; and the fourth to labor, justice, and marriage relations.

Blaine, Conkling, and Garfield: a Reminiscence and a Character Study (pp. 36), by Johnson Brigham, has been privately printed in Des Moines.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *Charles Francis Adams: an Autobiography*, with a memorial address by Senator Lodge.

Professor John W. Burgess of Columbia University has just issued (New York, Scribner) a volume on the *Administration of President Hayes*.

Houghton Mifflin Company will publish within a few days *The Life of William McKinley*, by Charles S. Olcott. The biographer has had at his disposal the materials in the possession of George B. Cortelyou, the President's secretary, Justice William R. Day, the secretary of state during the Spanish War, and Charles G. Dawes, comptroller of the currency, including not only confidential and personal letters but also the personal diaries of Mr. Cortelyou and Mr. Dawes.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Logic of his Career, by Charles G. Washburn, a close personal friend, has recently been published by Houghton Mifflin Company.

It is understood that an authorized biography of Major-General William R. Shafter, who was in command of the expedition against Santiago, is being prepared by Charles A. Weissert, a member of the Michigan house of representatives.

Reminiscences of the Spanish-American War in Cuba and the Philippines, by Charles F. Gauvreau, a private in Company G, 21st Infantry, is put forth by the Authors Publishing Company, Rouses Point, New York.

The *Life of W J McGee* [1853-1912] with *Extracts from Addresses and Writings* (pp. 240), by his sister, Miss Emma R. McGee, has been privately printed in Farley, Iowa. Although he was christened William John, in accordance with his own usage his name appears throughout this book as W J, without periods. Beginning with private surveys in Iowa, from 1883 to 1893 he was attached to the United States Geological Survey, for the next ten years to the Bureau of American Ethnology, while from 1903 to 1907 he was first in charge of the department of anthropology of the St. Louis Exposition and afterward director of the St. Louis Public Museum. From 1907 until his death he was vice-chairman and secretary of the Inland Waterways Commission. The bibliography of his articles and monographs comprises some 110 titles. Extracts from his writings occupy something more than two-thirds of the volume. The biographical record is meagre.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Probate Records of the Province of New Hampshire, vol. III. (1741-1749), edited by H. H. Metcalf, assisted by O. G. Hammond, has been issued by the state.

A History of Waterbury, Vermont, 1763-1915, compiled and edited by T. G. Lewis, has been brought out in Waterbury by Harry C. Whitehill.

The report for 1915 of Mr. Henry E. Woods as commissioner of public records in Massachusetts mentions the printing during the year of the vital records, to 1850, of the towns of Amesbury, Cambridge (vol. I.), Chelmsford, Heath, Rochester (vols. I. and II.), and Tyngsborough.

To the November serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society Mr. Samuel E. Morison contributes some notes and documents on Victor Du Pont, Talleyrand, and the French Spoliations. The serial contains also a number of interesting letters: one from Joseph Hawley to the senate of Massachusetts (October 28, 1780), four from Rufus King (1784-1786), one from C. Savage to his father (January 23, 1809), relating to the embargo, and one from Earl Granville to Sir Cecil Spring Rice (1887), touching the attitude of the British cabinet in 1862 toward recognizing the Southern Confederacy. The noteworthy item in the December issue is a series of letters of unusual interest from Goldwin Smith to Charles Eliot Norton, 1863-1872 (pp. 106-160). Another paper of interest is the *Experiences of an Irish Immigrant, 1681*, contributed by Mr. C. P. Greenough.

Volumes XV. and XVI. of the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, which may appear before the close of 1916, will contain the records of the corporation of Harvard College from the beginning to 1750, replete with interesting material. Volume XVII., a volume of proceedings, is already published.

Old Marblehead Sea Captains, and the Ships in which they Sailed, compiled by Benjamin J. Lindsey for the Marblehead Historical Society, is a valuable contribution to the history of the American merchant marine. The book makes some record of 600 vessels owned in Marblehead or commanded by Marblehead captains, gives short biographies of many of these sea-captains, and contains reproductions of documents and numerous illustrations.

A History of the Town of Princeton, in the County of Worcester and Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1759-1915, in two volumes, by F. E. Blake, is published by the town.

Mr. Howard M. Chapin, librarian of the Rhode Island Historical Society, has prepared a *Documentary History of Rhode Island*, comprising the history of the towns of Providence and Warwick to the year 1649 and the history of the colony to the year 1647. The book is illustrated with documents, maps, views, etc. (Providence, Preston and Rounds Company). Mr. Chapin's studies of Rhode Island maps, previously mentioned in these pages, have been assembled by him in a small pamphlet entitled *Cartography of Rhode Island*.

The New York Genealogical and Biographical Society has taken up the work of copying old church records of New York state. Four copies are made: one is placed in the Library of Congress, one in the New York State Library, one in that of the New York Historical Society, and one in the society's own library.

In an address delivered before the Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York and published by that society, Professor Charles W. Spencer of Princeton University discusses the relations between *Colonial Wars and Constitutional Development in New York*.

Out of a fund contributed by Mrs. Louis Pennington and others, the New Jersey Historical Society has purchased some 200 volumes, 500 pamphlets, and 1000 manuscripts from the collection of the late William Nelson.

The Vineland Historical and Antiquarian Society of Vineland, New Jersey, has inaugurated the publication of a quarterly bearing the title *The Vineland Historical Magazine*. The first number (January, 1916) contains an installment of a journal kept by Charles K. Landis, the promoter of Vineland, an account of the Early Settlers of Vineland, West of Malaga Road, by Mrs. Mary E. Schley (to be continued), and Owners and Residents of the Vineland Tract before its Settlement in 1861, by Marcus Fry.

Thirty sacks of early petitions found in the Pennsylvania State Library were saved from destruction recently only in consequence of a general order of the superintendent of public grounds and buildings that all papers should be submitted to the state librarian before being discarded.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired recently 61 Macpherson manuscripts, relating to the Fries rebellion, 1799; 26 Wistar manuscripts, 1741-1793; and 264 additions to the Gratz papers.

The October number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* includes, besides continued articles, James Morrell's Account of a Trip to Ballston and Saratoga Springs in August, 1813; a Missionary's Tour to Shamokin and the West Branch of the Susquehanna, 1753 (the journal of Rev. Bernard A. Grube); some correspondence between Caesar A. Rodney and Thomas McKean, 1813 and 1814, relative to Caesar Rodney's ride, July, 1776, to vote on the resolution for independence; early documents of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1733-1734; excerpts from the waste books of the Sun Inn at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1760-1799; a letter of Dr. Thomas Graeme to Thomas Penn, 1750; and "Four Gossipy Letters" (two from Charles Norris to James Wright, 1753; one from John Cox to Hannah Pemberton, 1781; and one from Hannah Pemberton to Sally Pemberton, 1782).

The Proceedings and Collections of the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society for the year 1915 (vol. XIV.), edited by Rev. Horace Edwin Hayden, M.A., corresponding secretary and librarian (Wilkes-Barré, Pennsylvania, the Society, 1915, pp. 287), includes for its principal content the Reminiscences of Charles Miner (1780-1865), newspaper editor at Wilkes-Barré, at Philadelphia, and at West Chester, and from 1825 to 1829 member of Congress from Pennsylvania. In 1845 he published a *History of Wyoming*. These reminiscences, edited by Dr. C. F. Richardson, include, besides many extracts from his own writings, letters and extracts from letters of Nicholas Biddle, James Buchanan, Henry Clay, John Marshall, John Quincy Adams, Richard Rush, Daniel Webster, Edward Everett, William H. Seward, and Gideon Welles. The volume contains also a brief paper by Thomas L. Montgomery, state librarian of Pennsylvania, on the Development of Interest in Historical Societies, a continuation of the Parish Register of St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church, Wilkes-Barré, and a register of marriages, 1822-1866.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* for January contains the Journal of the Committee of Observation of the Middle District of Frederick County, Maryland, September 12, 1775, to October 24, 1776; additional Carroll papers (1760-1761), a continuation of Uria Brown's Journal, and a brief paper, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, relative to some Disturbances concerning the Delaware Boundary in June, 1774.

The Virginia State Library has recently obtained a body of some 200 letters and papers relating in the main to the services of Virginia soldiers in the War of 1812 and a number of muster-rolls of that war. Those who may have seen newspaper statements reporting a disastrous fire in this library on February 21 will be glad to know that, though a small fire broke out, no damage was done to anything of value.

Three numbers of the library's *Bulletin* are combined in the printing of *A Bibliography of Virginia* (pp. 31-767) by Earl G. Swem, assistant librarian, a book invaluable to the historical student, embracing some 7000 titles of books in the library relating to Virginia and Virginians or written by Virginians or printed in Virginia, but exclusive of official publications, of which a bibliography may be printed later.

The *Virginia Magazine of History* prints in the January number an installment of the Report of the Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel from Bern, Switzerland, to Virginia, October 2, 1701, to December 1, 1702, translated and edited by Professor William J. Hinke. The story of the voyage and of things seen and heard in Virginia is of more than ordinary interest. The manuscript of this journey, together with other Michel documents, is in the Bern Library. In the series of papers by David I. Bushnell, jr., concerning the Virginia Frontier in History, the paper in this number treats of events leading to the treaty of Fort Pitt. Of the continued series, the Minutes of the Council and General Court are of the years 1622-1629, and the Council Papers of the years 1698-1701.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* prints in the January number some letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., from the camp at Ashland and Richmond, Virginia, 1861, and also some letters of James Rumsey, inventor of the steamboat. Other letters of Major Rowland, when he was a cadet at West Point (1859-1861), appeared in recent numbers of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Washington and the French, 1753-1754, is a contribution by David I. Bushnell, jr.

The *John P. Branch Historical Papers* of Randolph-Macon College, vol. IV., no. 3 (June 1915), contains a biographical sketch of Col. William Preston of Virginia (1729-1783), by R. B. Marston, and a body of Preston Papers (1774-1783), chiefly Preston's correspondence relative to Virginia defenses and other military matters.

Mr. W. G. Stanard has brought out a second, enlarged edition of *Some Emigrants to Virginia*, published in 1911 (Richmond, Bel.).

The North Carolina Division of the United Confederate Veterans has raised a fund of \$25,000 to be expended under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Commission in the preparation of a history of North Carolina in the Civil War. The commission hopes to be permitted to entrust the work to President Daniel H. Hill.

The *Proceedings* of the sixteenth annual session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, November 8 and 9, 1915 (*Publications* of the North Carolina Historical Commission, Bulletin no. 20), includes a number of historical papers and addresses. These are: Social and Economic Legislation in North Carolina during the Civil War, by Professor E. W. Sikes; Union Sentiment in North Carolina during the Civil War, by Mary Shannon Smith; the Southern

Policy of Andrew Johnson, by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton; and Thomas Jordan Jarvis and the Rebuilding of North Carolina, by Judge Henry G. Connor.

The Town Builders (Winston-Salem, N. C., 1915, pp. 19), by Miss Adelaide L. Fries, archivist of the Moravian Church for the Southern Department, is an account of the foundation and earliest days of Salem (1766), and of the brethren concerned in its first establishment.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* is printing, from the originals in the possession of Arthur M. Rutledge, of Louisville, Kentucky, a series of letters to General Greene and others. The letters which appear in the July issue of the *Magazine* are from Gen. Thomas Sumter, Baron Steuben, Gen. Andrew Pickens, Col. Isaac Shelby, Liéut.-Col. William Washington, Governor John Rutledge, Gen. Francis Marion, and Col. William Harding. All of these are to General Greene and all are of the year 1781. In the letter of Col. Isaac Shelby "Wattango" should of course be "Wattauga". The other articles in this number are continuations.

To collect, preserve, and publish historical data and documents relating to the old Baton Rouge parishes, the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge was formed on March 11. Gen. John McGrath was chosen president, Professor M. L. Bonham, secretary and treasurer.

The December number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a valuable article by Professor St. George L. Sioussat on Tennessee, the Compromise of 1850, and the Nashville Convention; one by Mr. William E. Dunn on the Spanish Reaction against the French Advance toward New Mexico, 1717-1727; and a comprehensive survey of historical activities in the Trans-Mississippi Northwest, by Mr. Dan E. Clark. The documents printed are papers of Henry Dearborn, of 1812 and 1813. In the March number, Professor Wilbur H. Siebert has an article on the Loyalists in West Florida and the Natchez District; Mr. H. N. Sherwood recounts Early Negro Deportation Projects; Dr. Asa E. Martin gives a history of the Pioneer Anti-Slavery Press; and Professor Walter L. Fleming surveys Recent Historical Activities in the Trans-Mississippi Southwest.

The October number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* contains a record of the thirteenth annual meeting of the society in May, together with sundry reports; some comment, by Gen. Robert P. Kennedy, on Hull's Trace or Trail, the rough passageway cut through the timber from Ohio to the Canadian border for the passage of General Hull's army; and an account of the bequests to the society and the city of Columbus by Col. and Mrs. Webb C. Hayes. The articles in the January number all pertain to educational history. They are: the Higher Education of Women in the Ohio Valley previous to 1840, by Jane Sherzer; European Influence on Early Western Education,

by Willis L. Gard; Pioneer Schools and School Masters, by D. C. Shilling; the Rise of the Denominational College, by Russell M. Storey; Land Grants for Education in the Ohio Valley States, by Clement L. Martzloff; Samuel Lewis, Progressive Educator in the Early History of Ohio, by Alston Ellis; Colonel Dick Johnson's Choctaw Academy, a Forgotten Educational Experiment, by Shelley D. Rouse; and Secondary Education in Ohio previous to the Year 1840, by W. W. Boyd.

The Indiana Historical Commission is planning for the issue of two volumes embracing the messages of the governors of Indiana from territorial times to 1851, under the general editorship of Professor S. B. Harding; of a volume on early travels in Indiana, edited by Professor Harlow Lindley; and a volume on the history of constitution-making in the state by Charles B. Kettleborough. It is hoped that these volumes can be produced before the close of 1916, in commemoration of the centennial of the state's admission into the Union.

The December number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* contains some Reminiscences of the Burning of Columbia, South Carolina, by M. C. Garber, jr.; an account of the election of 1852 in Indiana, by Dale Beeler; a paper by Ellmore Barce on Governor Harrison and the Treaty of Fort Wayne, 1809; one by Professor James A. Woodburn concerning the Indiana Historical Commission and Plans for the Centennial; and the journal of George W. Julian, January 3 to April 27, 1865, wherein are found expressions of the radical hostility toward Lincoln, even the view that "the universal feeling among radical men here is that his death is a godsend".

Volume XI. of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, bearing the subtitle "British Series, Vol. 2, The New Régime, 1765-1767", and containing much interesting material bearing upon the colonial situation in general as well as upon the Illinois country in particular, is expected to be brought out shortly before the issue of these present pages.

In the July number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* appears an address, by President John W. Cook of the Northern Illinois State Normal School, on the Life and Labors of Hon. Adlai Ewing Stevenson. Mr. Henry E. Rankin, author of a forthcoming volume of *Personal Recollections of Abraham Lincoln*, offers some Notes and Corrections upon Leonard W. Volk's article in the *Century Magazine* for December, 1881, "The Lincoln Life-Mask and how it was made" (which is reprinted in this number of the *Journal*). From the pen of the same writer is "The First American: Abraham Lincoln", an appeal to the citizens of Illinois to mark the important sites connected with Lincoln's life in Illinois. Mr. Charles A. Kent contributes a paper on the Northwest Territory, and Mr. Herbert S. Salisbury some notes on the Mormon War in Hancock County.

The Chicago Historical Society has recently purchased a collection of

some 3000 papers originally belonging to the Law family of Green Bay, Wis., and relating to the fur-trade in the Northwest.

Mr. Howard G. Brownson's *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870*, in its record of twenty years, covers the early development of the charter lines and makes a large contribution to the economic history of Illinois in those years by its data respecting land-grants, traffic, and finances.

The December issue of the *Tennessee Historical Magazine* contains three articles and two groups of documents. Dr. Asa E. Martin presents a study of the Anti-Slavery Societies of Tennessee, which date back to 1814, if not earlier. Mr. Albert V. Goodpasture writes an appreciative biographical sketch of Dr. James White, Pioneer, Politician, Lawyer, grandfather of Chief Justice White of the United States Supreme Court. Mr. Goodpasture points out in particular the confusion as exemplified especially in the *Biographical Congressional Directory* of Dr. James White with Col. James White, the founder of Knoxville and the father of Hugh Lawson White. Mr. Wallace McClure makes a study of the Development of the Tennessee Constitution through its three stages, 1776, 1834, and 1870, and calls attention to the need of further adjustment of the constitution to present conditions. Of the documents, which are edited by Professor W. O. Scroggs, both groups relate to William Walker the filibuster. Of more than ordinary interest are the Reminiscences of Elleanore (Callaghan) Ratterman, who went to Nicaragua as an emigrant about the time of Walker's election to the presidency and was a witness to most of his operations from that time. The other group comprises papers of Major John P. Heiss, who for a time acted as chargé d'affaires for Nicaragua in Washington. The March number of the same journal has useful articles on the Public School System of Tennessee, 1834-1860, by Mr. A. P. Whitaker, and on the Topographical Beginnings of Nashville, by Mr. Park Marshall, followed by diaries, 1840, 1843, of Samuel H. Laughlin, prominent as an editor and politician in Tennessee in the period of Jackson and Polk.

The Michigan Historical Commission has in preparation for publication a large volume on the economic and social beginnings of Michigan by Dr. George N. Fuller; one on the Michigan fur-trade by Dr. Ida A. Johnson; one on the historical geography of Detroit by Dr. Almond E. Perkins; and biographies of Governor Stevens T. Mason by Lawton T. Hemans and of Zachariah Chandler by Dr. Wilmer C. Harris.

The pages of the *Minnesota History Bulletin*, vol. I., no. 4 (November), are chiefly occupied with a biographical sketch, by Theodore C. Blegen, of James W. Taylor (1819-1893), of the acquisition of whose papers mention was made in our October number.

In the January number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* is an extended paper by Ruth A. Gallaher, on the Indian Agent in the

United States before 1350, the first of a series of four papers which will appear in the *Journal*, dealing with one phase of the administration of Indian affairs in the United States with special reference to Iowa. A history of the Removal of the Capital from Iowa City to Des Moines is contributed by John E. Briggs. An account of the Captivity of a Party of Frenchmen among Indians in the Iowa Country, 1728-1729, is a translation of Pierre Boucher's narrative, reprinted from the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, vol. XVII., with notes by Jacob Van der Zee.

The State Historical Society of Iowa has now brought out vols. III. and IV. of Dr. Clarence R. Aurner's *History of Education in Iowa* and has nearly ready for distribution Dr. Fred E. Haynes's *Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with special Reference to Iowa*.

In the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* for January two of the articles relate to the Confederacy, namely, a second installment of L. R. Garrison's investigations of the Administrative Problems of the Confederate Post-Office Department and a study, by R. G. Cleland, of Jefferson Davis and the Confederate Congress. Two articles are concerned with the fur-trade of the southwest, St. Vrain's Expedition to the Gila in 1826, by T. R. Marshall, and a Glimpse of the Texas Fur-Trade in 1832, a letter of Francis Smith written from Tenoxtitlan, March 11, 1832, contributed, with an introduction, by Professor Eugene C. Barker. Other articles are: Difficulties of Maintaining the Department of San Blas, 1775-1777, by C. E. Chapman; and a sketch of Maj.-Gen. John A. Wharton (1828-1865), by W. W. Groce.

Mr. William E. Dunn, instructor in Spanish American history at the University of Texas, has been, since August, 1915, directing a corps of copyists in the archives of Seville. Down to December 30, he had obtained 4500 pages of transcripts, dealing chiefly with the history of Texas, New Mexico, and California in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The work is carried on by the co-operation of the University of Texas, the Library of Congress, and University of California, each of which retains copies of the transcripts.

In the *Texas History Teachers' Bulletin* of November 15 (vol. IV., no. 1) appears the second contribution by Professor Eugene C. Barker of Source Readings in Texas History. The selections are from *A Visit to Texas* (second ed., 1836) and relate to life in the early colonies, dangers of travel, and conditions around Galveston Bay.

In the *Quarterly Journal of the University of North Dakota* for January A. T. Vollweiler gives glimpses of Life in Congress, 1850-1861, "as seen through episodes in the career of Benjamin Franklin Wade". A paper by O. G. Libby, One Hundred Years of Peace, is essentially an argument against the adoption of a policy of preparation for war.

The S. J. Clarke Publishing Company has issued, in five volumes (Chicago, 1915), a work on South Dakota consisting of a *History of*

Dakota Territory, by George W. Kingsbury, in two volumes; *South Dakota: its History and its People*, edited by George M. Smith, one volume; and two volumes of bibliographical sketches.

The Nebraska Historical Society is planning for the celebration of Nebraska's semi-centennial on March 1, 1917. It is also surveying and marking the California trail through the entire length of the state.

Volume XIII. of the *Collections* of the Kansas State Historical Society (Topeka, 1915, pp. x, 602) is edited by the new secretary, Mr. W. E. Connelley. The chief articles, besides biographical sketches and the reminiscences of missionaries and other pioneers, are one by E. A. Austin on the supreme court of the state of Kansas, some notes on the territorial history of Kansas by Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, an account of the Quantrill Raid by A. R. Greene, and papers on the Bohemians and Germans in central Kansas. The largest mass of documentary material is the record of the "Executive Committee of Kansas Territory", 1855-1857. An interesting and appreciative notice of the late George W. Martin, secretary of the society since 1899, begins the volume.

The Department of Archaeology of Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, has undertaken the excavation of the pueblo at Pecos, New Mexico, under the immediate direction of A. B. Kidder of the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. The first season's work had to be largely devoted to the old Spanish church, but excavation in the rooms of the pueblo proper was begun.

Mr. C. F. Heartman issues as number 10 in his historical series a *Journal of a Tour on the North-West Coast of America in the year 1829*, by Jonathan S. Green. Number 9 was a *Check-List of Printers in the United States*, from Stephen Daye to 1783, with a list of places in which printing was done.

In the January number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* M. Orion Monroe presents a Critical Discussion of the Site of Camp Washington, the spot upon which Governor Isaac I. Stevens and his exploring and surveying parties camped in October, 1853; C. L. Andrews gives an account of Marine Disasters of the Alaska Route (1792-1915); and J. E. Ayer sketches the career of George Bush, the negro who is said to have led the first colony of settlers to the shores of Puget Sound. The *Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, 1833*, edited by Clarence B. Bagley, is continued.

Under the title *Governors of Washington Territory and State* (Seattle, University of Washington, 1915, pp. 114), Professor Edmond S. Meany has published a series of 21 biographical sketches, with portraits. Professor Meany has also assembled in separate form, as a pamphlet of 43 pages, the installments, published by him in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, of *A New Vancouver Journal on the*

Discovery of Puget Sound, by a member of the crew of the *Chatham*, perhaps Edward Bell, the clerk.

In the September number of the *Oregon Historical Quarterly* Harrison C. Dale presents an investigation of the Organization of the Oregon Emigrating Companies, Leslie M. Scott writes a history of the Yaquina Railroad, and Lewis A. McArthur an account of the Pacific Coast Survey of 1849-1850. There is also printed a body of correspondence of the Rev. Ezra Fisher, pioneer Baptist missionary in Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Oregon, seven letters, February, 1846, to April, 1847. This correspondence is continued in the December number, in which are also printed articles by Professor Robert C. Clark on the Last Step in the Formation of a Provisional Government for Oregon in 1845, by C. A. Barrett on Early Farming in Umatilla County, and by the late James O'Meara on Captain Joseph R. Walker, founder of Independence, Mo., lieutenant of Bonneville, and discoverer of Walker's Pass through the Sierra Nevada; also (but without date) a congressional speech of Eli Thayer on the admission of Oregon as a state.

The *Mémoires de la Société Royale du Canada*, série III., vol. IX., section I. (June, 1915), includes two articles of historical interest: Le Problème des Races au Canada, by Archbishop Bruchési, and La Mort de Champlain, by Benjamin Sulte. The English section (*Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, series III., vol. IX., section II.) contains two historical papers, the one by James White on the treaty of 1825: Correspondence respecting the Boundary between Russian America (Alaska) and British North America, accompanied by a number of letters from Sir Charles Bagot, British ambassador at St. Petersburg, to George Canning, October, 1823, to August, 1824; the other by Professor Wilbur H. Siebert on the Loyalists and the Six Nation Indians in the Niagara Peninsula.

Ten volumes have recently been added to the series *Chronicles of Canada* (Glasgow, Brook and Company). These are: *The Founder of New France*, by C. W. Colby; *The Great Fortress*, and *The War with the United States*, by Colonel William Wood; *The War Chief of the Ottawas*, by T. G. Marquis; *Tecumseh*, by Ethel T. Raymond; *The Red River Colony*, by Louis A. Wood; *Pioneers of the Pacific Coast*, by Agnes C. Laut; *The Family Compact*, by W. Stewart Wallace; *The Tribune of Nova Scotia*, by W. L. Grant; *The Day of Sir John Macdonald*, by Sir Joseph Pope.

Pioneer Life among the Loyalists, by W. S. Harrington, president of the Ontario Historical Society, deals with the trials of the United Empire Loyalists who settled along the north shore of Lake Ontario (Toronto, Macmillan).

Adventures in Mexico: from Vera Cruz to Chihuahua in the Days of the Mexican War, by G. F. A. Ruxton, edited by Horace Kephart,

has some interest for its side-lights on the war (Outing Publishing Company).

An Introduction to the Study of the Maya Hieroglyphs (Bulletin 57 of the Bureau of American Ethnology), by Sylvanus G. Morley, is designed as a primary text-book for the study of Maya hieroglyphs, the existing literature of the study being widely scattered, and for the most part written for specialists. The Maya, who inhabited southern Mexico and northern Central America, developed between the second and sixth centuries of the Christian era a civilization which surpassed in some respects that of any other of the aboriginal races of the Western Hemisphere. Something of their history has come down to us (chiefly through the Books of Chilán Balam, copied or compiled at a much later time from older manuscripts now lost), but the decipherment of the surviving hieroglyphic writings has proceeded little beyond the chronological notation. By way of introduction to his work the author presents a summary account of the history of the Maya, as well as of their manners, customs, and religion. The book contains specimen texts of hieroglyphs and other illustrative materials.

The Macmillan Company has in press, for publication this spring, an historical volume called *Filibusters and Financiers*, by Professor William O. Scroggs of Louisiana State University—a careful study of the filibustering movement, grouped about the life and personality of William Walker.

A company, formed for the purpose, entitled the Historical Publishing Company, of Washington, D. C., is publishing a *History of the Panama Canal: its Construction and Builders*, by Mr. Ira E. Bennett of the *Washington Post*, assisted by various contributors who have had special relations to the events, such as Colonel Roosevelt, Mr. Shonts, Mr. Wallace, Mr. Stevens, and the like. The volume is elaborately illustrated and contains, in an appendix, treaties between the United States and foreign powers relating to interoceanic communications, acts of Congress relating to the Panama Canal, and important executive orders.

Students interested in Cuban history will warmly welcome the new bimonthly journal, the *Revista de Historia Cubana y Americana*, issued by Señor Luis M. Pérez, librarian of the Cuban House of Representatives, and Señor Federico Córdova as editors (the address is Apartado 764, Habana, the price of annual subscription \$3). The first number, for January-February, is mainly composed of documentary materials relating to the modern revolutionary period, but begins with a reprint of the chapter on Cuba and Sir Henry Morgan's attack in 1668 from the Spanish translation of Exquemelin. This is followed by a proclamation of the Cuban junta of New York, 1849, a letter of J. A. Echeverría, from Madrid to the Junta de Información, 1867, both from the Library of Congress in Washington, a journal, 1883-1884, of the

Cuban revolutionary club of Kingston, Jamaica, a circular of José Martí, 1892, to the presidents of the various such clubs, and a letter of José Maceo, June 7, 1895. Several of these documents are from the archives of the Pérez family; all are edited with intelligence and scholarship. A bibliographical list of recent publications in Cuban and other Spanish-American history, with comments, concludes the number (pp. 48).

The Cuban *Boletín del Archivo Nacional* for January-February contains some documentary material from the correspondence of the *intendentes generales de hacienda* with the Spanish government, 1752-1753, but mainly consists of material respecting the conspiracy "of la Cadena", Puerto Principe, 1823.

The Macmillan Company expects before long to issue *The Early History of Cuba* by Miss Irene A. Wright, the fruit of much research in Cuba and in the Archives of the Indies.

After the death of Bolívar his secretary, Daniel O'Leary, who had served under him in various capacities since 1818, gathered together a large and valuable documentary collection, which was edited by his son, and published, from 1879 to 1888, under the direction of the Venezuelan government. Two of the 31 volumes of this collection consisted of O'Leary's own narrative, a narrative of especial value because of the human picture of Bolívar which the author was able to give. This narrative is now republished under the direction of Don Rufino Blanco-Fombona as *Bolívar y la Emancipación de Sur-América: Memorias del General O'Leary* (Madrid, Sociedad Española de Librería). A third volume, a documentary appendix to this narrative, was suppressed by the government. This volume, but lately found, has been published by the Venezuelan government with a note explaining the circumstances of its publication.

The *Lettres de Bolívar, 1799-1822* (Paris, Michaud, 1914, pp. 459) have been edited by Blanco-Fombona and E. Rodo.

Dr. Vicente Lecuna, a zealous student of Bolívar, has printed, as a complimentary offering to the recent Pan-American Scientific Congress, a small pamphlet entitled *Simón Bolívar, un Pensamiento sobre el Congreso de Panamá*, containing in Spanish and English translation some interesting unpublished views of Bolívar in 1826. Of this he has presented certain copies to the American Historical Association for distribution to members interested in Latin-American history.

V. F. López has prepared a *Manual de la Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires, A. V. López, 1915, pp. 954).

A former official of the Chilean foreign office, A. Alvarez, has written *La Grande Guerre Européenne et la Neutralité du Chili* (Paris, Pedone, 1915).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. M. Chittenden, *Manifest Destiny in America* (Atlantic Monthly, January); E. A. B., *A Propos de la Neutralité Américaine* (Revue de Paris, November 1); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); E. W. Knight, *The Evolution of Public Education in Virginia* (Sewanee Review, January); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in Virginia* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. G. Randall, *The Virginia Debt Controversy* (Political Science Quarterly, December); W. K. Boyd, *The North Carolina Fund for Internal Improvements* (South Atlantic Quarterly, January); J. A. Robertson, *The Evolution of Representation in the Philippine Islands* (Journal of Race Development, October); M. Boucher de Labruère, *Sir Louis-Hippolyte La Fontaine, son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837-1838*, I., II. (Revue Canadienne, January, February); George Bryce, *The Real Strathcona*, VIII., IX. (Canadian Magazine, January, February, March); D. R. Fox, *Foundations of West India Policy* (Political Science Quarterly, December); J. M. Knight, *The Wrecking System of the Bahamas* (*ibid.*); J. M. Cabarrocas, *Cuba y los Estados Unidos, las Notas Norteamericanas* (Cuba Contemporánea, June).

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS

To the list of doctoral dissertations in progress, printed in our January number, the following may now be added.

- Ellen A. Baldwin, A.B. Cornell 1913. Billaud-Varenne in the French Revolution. *Cornell*.
- G. K. Osterhus, S.B. Columbia 1914, A.M. 1915. The Zollverein: a Study of the Prussian State and the Economic Revolution. *Minnesota*.
- H. E. Brown, S.B. New York 1910, A.M. 1912. The Development of the Office of Public Prosecutor in the Colony and State of New York. *New York*.
- E. Nielsen, A.B. New York 1910, A.M. 1911. The Development of the Government of Westchester County from 1683 to the Present. *New York*.
- J. P. O'Mahoney, A.B. College of the City of New York 1908; A.M. New York 1912. History of the Rise of the Assembly to Predominant Political Power in the Province of New York. *New York*.

It is also necessary to make the following somewhat numerous additions to the List of Doctoral Dissertations printed since December, 1914, which was published in the last number of the *American Historical Review*, pages 439-440, since these items are found in the general *List of American Doctoral Dissertations printed in 1914*, just issued by the Library of Congress, though not found in the lists supplied by the university professors to whom our application was made in the autumn. Several of the books named have been reviewed in this journal, but their status as dissertations was not known to the editor. Also, in several cases mentioned in our previous list, the title as there printed differs considerably from that which is given in the Library of Congress list and reproduced below; this is probably due to the habit of using in satisfaction of the requirements for the degree a portion of a monograph of which the whole is subsequently published.

- C. R. Aurner, *History of Township Government in Iowa* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914).
- R. P. Brooks, *The Agrarian Revolution in Georgia, 1865-1912* (Madison, 1914, Bulletin of University of Wisconsin, no. 639, history series, vol. III., no. 3).
- Hazel Louise Brown, *Extemporary Speech in Antiquity* (Menasha, Wisconsin, George Banta, 1914).

- Howard G. Brownson, *History of the Illinois Central Railroad to 1870* (Champaign, Ill., 1915, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. IV., no. 304).
- Shao-Kwan Chen, *The System of Taxation in China in the Tsing Dynasty, 1644-1911* (New York, 1914, Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LIX., no. 2, whole no. 143).
- P. H. Clements, *An Outline of the Politics and Diplomacy of China and the Powers, 1894-1902* (New York, 1914).
- M. P. Cushing, *Baron d'Holbach: a Study of Eighteenth Century Radicalism in France* (New York, 1914).
- J. B. Earnest, *The Religious Development of the Negro in Virginia* (Charlottesville, Va., Michie Company, 1914).
- L. Esarey, *Internal Improvements in Early Indiana* (Indianapolis, 1912, Indiana Historical Society Publications, vol. V., no. 2).
- A. O. Fonkalsrud, *Scandinavians as a Social Force in America* (Brooklyn, Heiberg Printery, 1914).
- H. S. Gehman, *The Interpreters of Foreign Languages among the Ancients: a Study based on Greek and Latin Sources* (Lancaster, Intelligencer Printing Co., 1914).
- R. M. Haig, *A History of the General Property Tax in Illinois* (Champaign, Ill., 1914, University of Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences, vol. III., no. 1 and 2).
- A. J. Hall, *Religious Education in the Public Schools of the State and City of New York: a Historical Study* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1914).
- Cornelia G. Harcum, *Roman Cooks* (Baltimore, J. A. Furst, 1914).
- L. T. Jones, *The Quakers of Iowa* (Iowa City, Iowa, 1914).
- Samuel Joseph, *Jewish Immigration to the United States from 1881 to 1910* (New York, 1914, Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LIX., no. 4, whole no. 145).
- C. C. Kohl, *Claims as a Cause of the Mexican War* (New York, 1914, N. Y. University Series of Graduate School Studies, no. 2).
- M. W. Lampe, *The Limitations upon the Power of the Hebrew Kings: a Study in Hebrew Democracy* (Philadelphia, 1914).
- H. L. MacNeill, *The Christology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, including its Relation to the Developing Christology of the Primitive Church* (Chicago, Chicago University Press, 1914).
- Anna B. Miller, *Roman Etiquette of the Late Republic as revealed by the Correspondence of Cicero* (Lancaster, New Era Printing Company, 1914).
- Robert Moses, *The Civil Service of Great Britain* (New York, 1914, Columbia Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, vol. LVII., no. 7, whole no. 139).
- W. M. Nesbit, *Sumerian Records from Drehem* (New York, 1914, Columbia University, Oriental Studies, vol. VIII.).

- E. M. North, *Early Methodist Philanthropy* (New York, Methodist Book Concern, 1914).
- E. W. Parsons, *A Historical Examination of some non-Markan Elements in Luke* (Chicago, 1912).
- J. F. Scott, *Historical Essays on Apprenticeship and Vocational Education* (Ann Arbor, Ann Arbor Press, 1914).
- H. E. Smith, *The United States Federal Internal Tax History from 1861 to 1871* (Cambridge, Riverside Press, 1914).

The
American Historical Review

RACE MIXTURE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THERE is one surprise that the historian usually experiences upon his first visit to Rome. It may be at the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican or at the Lateran Museum, but, if not elsewhere, it can hardly escape him upon his first walk up the Appian Way. As he stops to decipher the names upon the old tombs that line the road, hoping to chance upon one familiar to him from his Cicero or Livy, he finds praenomen and nomen promising enough, but the cognomina all seem awry. L. Lucretius *Pamphilus*, A. Aemilius *Alexa*, M. Clodius *Philostorgus* do not smack of freshman Latin. And he will not readily find in the Roman writers now extant an answer to the questions that these inscriptions invariably raise. Do these names imply that the Roman stock was completely changed after Cicero's day, and was the satirist recording a fact when he wailed that the Tiber had captured the waters of the Syrian Orontes? If so, are these foreigners ordinary immigrants, or did Rome become a nation of ex-slaves and their offspring? Or does the abundance of Greek cognomina mean that, to a certain extent, a foreign nomenclature has gained respect, so that a Roman dignitary might, so to speak, sign a name like C. Julius Abascantus on the hotel register without any misgivings about the accommodations?

Unfortunately, most of the sociological and political data of the empire are provided by satirists. When Tacitus informs us that in Nero's day a great many of Rome's senators and knights were descendants of slaves and that the native stock had dwindled to surprisingly small proportions, we are not sure whether we are not to take it as an exaggerated thrust by an indignant Roman of the old stock. At any rate, this, like similar remarks equally indirect, receives totally different evaluation in the discussion of those who have treated of Rome's society, like Friedländer, Dill, Mommsen, Wallon,

and Marquardt. To discover some new light upon these fundamental questions of Roman history, I have tried to gather such fragmentary data as the corpus of inscriptions might afford. This evidence is never decisive in its purport, and it is always, by the very nature of the material, partial in its scope, but at any rate it may help us to interpret our literary sources to some extent. It has at least convinced me that Juvenal and Tacitus were not exaggerating. It is probable that when these men wrote a very small percentage of the free plebeians on the streets of Rome could prove unmixed Italian descent. By far the larger part—perhaps ninety per cent.—had Oriental blood in their veins.

My first quest was for information about the stock of the ordinary citizen of Rome during the empire. In the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*¹ the editors, after publishing the honorary and sepulchral inscriptions of the nobles and military classes, followed by those of the slaves and humble classes which occur in the *columbaria*, gave the rest of the city's sepulchral inscriptions (19,260) in alphabetical order.² Of these I read the 13,900 contained in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, which, despite the occurrence of some slaves as well as of some persons of wealth, represent on the whole the ordinary type of urban plebeians. A mere classification of all these names into lists of natives on the one hand and slaves and foreigners on the other would be of little service, since, obviously, transient foreigners are of little importance in estimating the stock of the permanent population of Rome, and we must face the question at once whether or not the slave and freedman stock permanently merged into the civil population. Furthermore, such lists will be at everyone's hand as soon as the index of the sixth volume of *CIL.* is published. In reckoning up the foreign stock, therefore, I have counted only those who, according to the inscriptions, were presumably born at Rome. A somewhat arbitrary definition of limits was necessary since we are seldom given definite information about the place of birth, but as I have used the same classification for the free-born as for the slave-born the results are valid for our purposes. For instance, in getting statistics of birth, I have included all children under ten years of age, assuming that slave children under that age would rarely be brought in from abroad; and if slaves of this class are counted, the free-born of the same class must also be reckoned with. I have also included slave and free-born children who appear to be with father, mother, brother, or sister at Rome, since presumably they would have been sundered from their family if they had

¹ *CIL.*, vol. VI., parts 2, 3, 4.

² Vol. VI., part 4², published in 1902, contains 2572 additional inscriptions of this class.

been brought in from the foreign market; and again, in order to reach fair results, the corresponding persons of free birth are counted. For reasons which will presently appear I have accepted the Greek cognomen as a true indication of recent foreign extraction, and, since citizens of native stock did not as a rule unite in marriage with *liberti*, a Greek cognomen in a child or one parent is sufficient evidence of status. As is well known, certain Latin cognomina, e.g., *Salvius*, *Hilarus*, *Fortunatus*, were so frequently borne by slaves and freedmen that they were apt to be avoided by the better classes. Nevertheless, since no definite rule is attainable in the matter, I have credited the bearers of all Latin names to the native stock in all cases of doubt.³

Classifying in this way the names of the aforesaid 13,900 inscriptions of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, we find that of the 4485 persons apparently born at Rome, 3723 (eighty-three per cent.) fall into the list which by our criteria represents foreign extraction. This figure is probably not far from correct, but I think it would be raised somewhat if it were possible to decide what proportion of Latin cognomina conceals slaves and *liberti*. For instance, a name like *Q. Manlius Restitutus* (VI. 22015) would usually pass with little suspicion. But the inscription also names his father, mother, wife, and two sons, all of whom have Greek cognomina. Because of his parentage I have classed him as of foreign stock, but there are scores of brief inscriptions in which the necessary facts are not provided. In these the subject had to be classed, however erroneously, as Latin.

In order to reckon if possible the margin of error in cases like

³ In epigraphical discussions one constantly meets with the statement that freedmen were compelled to indicate their status by the designation *lib.* or *l.* and that therefore the occurrence of the *tria nomina* without such designation is proof of free birth. Unfortunately, this rule, if indeed it was one, was so frequently broken, that it must be employed with caution. There are hundreds of obvious exceptions where *tria nomina* of respectable appearance impose upon the reader until at the end of the inscription the dedicant's designation of *patronus* or *contubernalis* or *conlibertus* betrays the real status, e. g., VI. 7849, 14550, 16203, 17562, 20675, 20682, 22299, 22606, 23927, 23989. Again, numerous bearers of faultless *tria nomina* fall under strong presumption of being freedmen because of some official title like *sevir* or because their sons prove to belong to one of the city tribes; cf. X. 690, 4620, 6677; VI. 12431, 14045, 20079. Finally, there are many instances like 14018. Here a man gives the name of a large family (all with *tria nomina*) including children and a grandchild, but only the youngest, *Caesonia M. F. Prima*, a child of seven months, bears the *F* which definitely indicates free birth. Apparently the other members of the family were not entitled to the designation. Compare also 20123, 20339, 23813. Since in cases of doubt I have been compelled to credit bearers of Latin *tria nomina* to the native stock, it will appear that this group has more than received full credit in the accompanying lists.

this, I have attempted to test the respectability of Latin cognomina, but with rather unsatisfactory results. I counted all the names of slaves and freedmen in the indexes of volumes V., IX., XIV., and over a thousand in volume VI., in order to get a group of five thousand bearing the prevalent slave-names. More than half (2374) have Greek names, the most popular of these being Eros (58 times), Pamphilus (36), Antiochus (34), Hermes (30), Alexander (28), Philomusus (26), Onesimus (22), Philargyrus (21), names, most of which were also very popular among free Greeks and Asiatics. Two thousand one hundred and twenty-six have Latin names, some of which occur with remarkable frequency, *e.g.*, Felix (97), Hilarus -a (64-53), Faustus -a (58-33), Salvius -a (38-18), Fortunatus -a (29-15), Primus -a (51-47), Securus -a (25-34), Tertius -a (18-18), Auctus -a (22-15), Vitalis (35), Januarius -a (22-6). Now, if we compare these Latin names with those borne by better-class Roman plebeians, by the pretorian guards, for instance (though many descendants of slaves served even in the pretorian guards), we find, despite a certain overlapping, quite a striking difference. Apparently some names had acquired such sordid associations that they were in general avoided by ordinary plebeians. The favorite names on the pretorian lists are Maximus, Proculus, Severus, Verus, Capito, Justus, Celer, Marcellus, Clemens, Victor, and the like. We may not say that any Latin name was confined wholly to slaves, nor would it be possible to give any usable list of relative percentages, but we may at least say that the Romans recognized such names as Salvius, Hilarus, Fortunatus, Optatus, Auctus, Vitalis, Januarius, as being peculiarly appropriate to slaves; and Felix, Faustus, Primus, Primitivus, and a few others must have cast some suspicion upon the bearer. After reviewing in this light the seventeen per cent. of possible claimants of Latin origin in the alphabetical list of inscriptions in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, I have little doubt that a third of these would, with fuller evidence, be shifted into the class of non-Latins.

On the other hand, the question has been raised whether a man with a Greek cognomen must invariably be of foreign stock. Could it not be that Greek names became so popular that, like Biblical and classical names to-day, they were accepted by Romans of native stock? In the last days of the empire this may have been the case;⁴

⁴ There are not enough datable inscriptions available to show whether the Greek cognomen gained or lost respectability with time. Obviously it may in general be assumed that most of the freedmen who bore the gentile name of Aelius and Aurelius belong to a later date than the general group of those named Julius and Claudius. If we may use this fact as a criterion we may decide that there was little difference between the first and the second century in this matter, since the proportion of Greek cognomina is about the same in the two groups.

but the inscriptions prove that the Greek cognomen was not in good repute. I have tested this matter by classifying all the instances in the 13,900 inscriptions (there are 1347) where the names of both father and son appear.⁵ From this it appears that fathers with Greek names are very prone to give Latin names to their children, whereas the reverse is not true. The statistics are as follows:

Father	Greek cognomen 859		Latin cognomen 488	
	Greek	Latin	Greek	Latin
Son	460	399	53	435

This means that in one generation Greek names diminish from sixty-four per cent. to thirty-eight per cent., or that forty-six per cent. of the fathers with Greek names give their sons Latin names, while only eleven per cent. of the Latin fathers give their sons Greek names. And this eleven per cent. dwindles upon examination into a negligible quantity. For instance, in seventeen of the fifty-three cases the mother's name is Greek, which betrays the true status of the family; and in ten other instances the son's gentile name differs from that of the "father", who is, therefore, probably a stepfather. In almost all of the other twenty-six instances, the inscription is too brief to furnish a fair criterion for judging. Clearly the Greek name was considered as a sign of dubious origin among the Roman plebeians, and the freedman family that rose to any social ambitions made short shrift of it. For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the presence of a Greek name in the immediate family is good evidence that the subject of the inscription is of servile or foreign stock. The conclusion of our pros and cons must be that nearly ninety per cent. of the Roman-born folk represented in the above-mentioned sepulchral inscriptions of *CIL.*, volume VI., parts 2 and 3, are of foreign extraction.

Who are these Romans of the new type and whence do they come? How many are immigrants, and how many are of servile extraction? Of what race are they? Seneca happens to make a remark which is often quoted as proof of extensive immigration to Rome. He writes to his mother in derision of Rome:

Of this crowd the greater part have no country; from their own free towns and colonies, in a word, from the whole globe, they are congregated. Some are brought by ambition, some by the call of public duty,

⁵ It is difficult to secure usable statistics in the case of women, since their cognomina may come from almost any relative or near friend. However, an examination of the indexes of names will show that the Greek cognomen was relatively no more popular among the women than among the men.

born foreigners among the skilled laborers of the city. In regard to shop-keepers, merchants, and traders we may refer to a careful discussion by Pärvan.¹⁰ He has convincingly shown that the retail trade was carried on at Rome, not by foreigners but by Romans of the lower classes, mostly slaves and freedmen, and that while the provincials of Asia and Egypt continued throughout the empire to carry most of the imports of the East to Rome, the Roman houses had charge of the wholesale trade in the city. The free-born foreigner did not make any inroad upon this field. However, in various arts and crafts, such as those mentioned by Juvenal, the free immigrant could gain a livelihood at Rome. Some of the teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics, some of the doctors, sculptors, architects, painters, and the like, were citizens of the provincial cities who went to Rome for greater remuneration. But even most of these professions were in the hands of slaves and freedmen who had been given a specialized education by their masters. In volume VI., part 2, which contains the sepulchral inscriptions classified according to arts and crafts, there is very little trace of the free-born foreigner. Among the fifty inscriptions of *medici*, for instance, only two, 9563, 9597, contain sure instances of such foreigners. Among the *grammatici*, *rhetores*, *argentarii*, *structores*, and *pictores*, where they might well be expected, I find no clear case. It is evident then that the sweeping statements of men like Juvenal and Seneca should not be made the basis for assuming a considerable free-born immigration that permanently altered the citizen-body of Rome. These writers apparently did not attempt to discriminate between the various classes that were speaking foreign jargons on the streets of Rome. As a matter of fact, this foreign-speaking population had, for the most part, it seems, learned the languages they used within the city itself from slaves and freedman parents of foreign birth.

If now this great crowd of the city was not of immigrant stock, but rather of servile extraction, the family life of the slaves must have been far more conducive to the propagation of that stock than is usually assumed, and, furthermore, manumission must have been practised so liberally that the slave-stock could readily merge into the citizen-body. On the latter question our sources are satisfactory; on the former, they have little to say. From Varro (II. i. 26 and x. 6) and Columella (I. 8, 19) it has been well known that slaves on farms and pasture-lands were expected to marry and have offspring. The Romans considered this good economy, both because the stock of slaves increased thereby and because the slaves

¹⁰ *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im Römischen Kaiserreich* (1929).

themselves remained better satisfied with their condition. However, partly because there exists no corresponding statement regarding slaves in the city, partly because of a reckless remark made by Plutarch that Cato restricted the cohabitation of his slaves, partly, too, because service in the city household is supposed to have been very exacting, the prevalent opinion seems to be that the marriage of slaves in the urban *familia* was unusual. Hence the statement is frequently made that slavery died perforce when the *pax Romana* of the empire put an end to capture by warfare.

Fortunately the *columbaria* of several Roman households provide a fairly reliable record regarding the prevalence of marriage among city slaves. In *CIL.*, VI. 2, some 4500 brief inscriptions are given, mainly from the rude funeral urns of slaves and poor freedmen of the first century of the empire. About one-third of these are from the *columbaria* of the Livii, Urusi, Marcelli, Statilii, and Volusii, aristocratic households where, presumably, service would be as exacting as anywhere, discipline as strict, and concern for profits from the birth of *vernae* as inconsiderable as anywhere. Furthermore, these inscriptions date from a time when slaves were plentiful and the dearth of captives generally assumed for a later day cannot be posited. Nevertheless, I believe that anyone who will studiously compare the record of offspring in this group of inscriptions with that in ordinary plebeian inscriptions will reach the conclusion that even in these households the slave doorkeepers and cooks and hairdressers and scullery-maids customarily married and had children. The volume is full of interesting instances: Livia's *sarcinatrix* married her *mentor* (VI. 3988), Octavia's *ornatrix* was the wife of her keeper of the plate (5539), Statilius's courier courted the spinning-maid of the household (6342). In the lists of husbands and wives one finds a chef (7458), a *vesiarius* (9963), a *vestifica* (5206), an *unctor* (6381), a slave-maid serving as secretary (*a manu*, 9540), the keeper of my lady's mirrors (7297), of her hand-bag (7368), of her wardrobe (4043), of her jewels (7296), and what not. Now, these inscriptions are all extremely brief. There are a great many like 4478, *Domitia Sex. l. Artemisia, Tertius, Viator.*, where the word *coniunx* or *contubernalis* is probably, though not necessarily, understood. Furthermore, the record of children is not as complete as it would be in inscriptions of the better classes. A slave-child is, of course, not always honored with a record of its brief existence. Moreover, slave families, not being recognized in formal law, were sometimes broken up, so that some of the names fail to appear with the rest of the family. Nevertheless, the proportion of marriages and of offspring recorded by these very inscriptions, brief and in-

complete as they are, is remarkably large. In the thousand inscriptions of the *columbaria* of the Livii, Drusi, Marcelli, and the first eighty of the Volusii (to make the even 1000) I find,

151	inscriptions recording offspring.
99	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
152	additional inscriptions (like 4478 quoted above) probably recording marriage.
<hr/> 402	

Now this is not, of course, as large a proportion as is found in the main body of normal inscriptions. For comparison I give the proportions of 14,000 of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, reduced to the ratio of 1000:

Per 1000	Total	
280	3923	inscriptions recording offspring.
184	2577	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
39	548	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
<hr/> 503		

Here, as we should expect, the proportion of children is larger, and the long list of inscriptions bearing names of a man and a woman whose relationship is not defined yields in favor of a record of *conjuges*. But, as has been said, the slave inscriptions are far briefer and less complete than the others.

To discover whether the lower proportion in the first list might be due to the brevity of the inscriptions, I compared it with the list of 460 inscriptions of greater length, edited in volume VI., part 2, 8639 ff., as being *ex familia Augusta*. These inscriptions are longer, to be sure, because the persons designated had reached some degree of prosperity and could afford a few feet of sod with a separate stone. But even these slaves and freedmen were generally required to furnish close and persistent attention to their service. I have again given the numbers in the proportion of 1000 for the sake of comparison.

Per 1000	Total	
290	133	inscriptions recording offspring.
220	101	additional inscriptions recording marriages.
78	36	additional inscriptions probably recording marriages.
<hr/> 588		

From this list, if we may draw any conclusions from such small numbers, it would appear that the imperial slaves and freedmen were more productive than the ordinary citizens of Rome. And I see no reason for doubting that the proportions in the households of the Livii, Drusi, etc., would be nearly as large if the inscriptions were

full lapidary ones, instead of the short notices that were painted or cut upon the small space of an urn.

Finally, for the sake of getting a fuller record regarding the poorer classes, I read 3000 inscriptions of the miscellaneous *columbaria* that follow those of the aristocratic households. These are nos. 4881-7881 of volume VI., part 2. A very few of these inscriptions contain names of poor free-born citizens who associated with—in fact were probably related to—slaves and ex-slaves, but the proportion is so small that we may safely use this group for our present purpose. Three thousand inscriptions from miscellaneous *columbaria*:

Per 1000	Total	
154	462	inscriptions recording offspring.
111	332	additional inscriptions recording marriage
73	220	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
<u>338</u>		

This group, consisting of the very briefest inscriptions, set up by the poorest of Rome's menial slaves, shows, as we might expect, the smallest birth and marriage rate. But when we compare it with that of the corresponding class engaged in the aristocratic and imperial households, the ratios fall only in proportion to the brevity and inadequacy of the record.

To sum up, then, it would seem that not only were the slaves of the *familia rustica* permitted and encouraged to marry, as Varro and Columella indicate, but—what the literary sources fail to tell—that slaves and freedmen in the *familia urbana* did not differ from country slaves in this respect. And, considering the poverty of those who raised these humble memorials, the brevity of the records, and the ease with which members of such families were separated, the ratio of offspring is strikingly large. We cannot be far from wrong if we infer that the slaves and freedmen¹¹ of the city were nearly as prolific as the free-born population.

But however numerous the offspring of the servile classes, unless the Romans had been liberal in the practice of manumission, these people would not have merged with the civil population. Now, literary and legal records present abundant evidence of an unusual liberality in this practice at Rome, and the facts need not be repeated after the full discussions of Wallon, Buckland, Friedländer, Dill,

¹¹ We cannot suppose that most of the children belong to the period subsequent to the liberation of the parents. Very many of the *liberti* recorded were emancipated in old age, and throughout the empire manumission of slaves under 30 years of age was discouraged (Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery*, p. 542). In a large number of instances the form and contents of the inscriptions show that slave-fathers after emancipation paid the price for children and wife.

Lemonnier, and Cicotti. If there were any doubt that the laws passed in the early empire for the partial restriction of manumission did not seriously check the practice, the statistics given at the beginning of the paper would allay it. When from eighty to ninety per cent. of the urban-born population proves to have been of servile extraction, we can only conclude that manumission was not seriously restricted. I may add that a count of all the slaves and freedmen in the *familiae* of the aristocratic households mentioned above showed that almost a half were *liberti*. It is difficult to believe that this proportion represents the usual practice, however, and, in fact, the figures must be used with caution. On the one hand, they may be too high, for many who served as slaves all their lives were manumitted only in old age, and it must also be recognized that slaves were less apt to be recorded than *liberti*. On the other hand, the figures may in some respects be too low, since there can be little doubt that the designation *liberti* was at times omitted on the simple urns, even though the subject had won his freedom. However, as far as the inscriptions furnish definite evidence, they tell the same tale as the writers of Rome, namely, that slaves were at all times emancipated in great numbers.

When we consider whence these slaves came and of what stock they actually were, we may derive some aid from an essay by Bang, *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven*. Bang has collected all the inscriptions like *Damas, natione Syrus*, and *C. Ducenius C. lib. natus in Syria*, which reveal the provenance of slaves. Of course, the number of inscriptions giving such information is relatively small, a few hundred in all. It should also be noticed that when a slave gives his nationality he shows a certain pride in it, which, in some cases at least, implies that he is not a normal slave of the mart, born in servitude, but rather a man of free birth who may have come into the trade by capture, abduction, or some other special way. However, with this word of caution we may use Bang's statistics for what they are worth.

A very large proportion in his list (seven-eighths of those dating in our era) came from within the boundaries of the empire. From this we may possibly infer that war-captives were comparatively rare during the empire, and that, though abduction and kidnapping supplied some of the trade, the large bulk of the slaves were actually reared from slave-parents. Doubtless slaves were reared with a view to profit in Greece and the Orient, as well as in Italy, and I see no reason for supposing that the situation there differed much from that of our Southern States where—for obvious economic reasons—the birth-rate of slaves was higher between 1800 and 1860 than the

birth-rate of their free descendants has been since then. An examination of the names in Bang's list with reference to the provenance of the bearer will do something toward giving a criterion for judging the source of Italian slaves not otherwise specified. In a very few cases a name appears which is not Greek or Latin but Semitic, Celtic, etc., according to the birthplace of the slave, as, for instance, Malchio, Zizas, Belatusa. Such names are rare and never cause any difficulty. Somewhat more numerous, and equally clear of interpretation, are the generic names that explicitly give the race of the bearer, like Syrus, Cappadox, Gallus, etc. In general, however, slaves have Greek or Latin names, and here difficulties arise, for it has by no means been certain whether or not these names had so distinctively servile a connotation that they might be applied indiscriminately to captives from the North and West, as well as to the slaves of Italy and the East. Nevertheless, there seems to be a fairly uniform practice which differentiated between Greek and Latin names during the empire. Slaves from Greece, from Syria, from Asia Minor, including the province of Asia, Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia—that is, from regions where Greek was the language of commerce, regularly bore Greek, rather than Latin, names. Slaves from the North—from Germany to Dacia—as a rule bore Latin names. Presumably their own barbaric names were difficult to pronounce and Greek ones seemed inappropriate. Slaves from Spain and Gaul bore Latin and Greek names in about equal numbers. But here we must apparently discriminate. These provinces were old and commerce had brought into them many Oriental slaves from the market. It may be that the Greek names were applied mostly to slaves of Eastern extraction. This I should judge to be the case at least with the following: Ephesia (Bang, p. 239), Corinthus, Hyginus, Phoebus (his father's name is Greek), Eros (a *Sevir Aug.*), and Philocyrius (p. 240, Hübner reads Philo, Cyprius). In general we may apply these criteria in trying in some measure to decide the provenance of slaves in Italy whose nativity is not specified: bearers of Greek names are in general from the East or descendants of Eastern slaves who have been in the West; bearers of Latin names are partly captives of the North and West, partly, as we have seen from our Roman lists, Easterners and descendants of Easterners who have received Latin names from their masters.

Therefore, when the urban inscriptions show that seventy per cent. of the city slaves and freedmen bear Greek names and that a large proportion of the children who have Latin names have parents of Greek names, this at once implies that the East was the source of

most of them, and with that inference Bang's conclusions entirely agree. In his list of slaves that specify their origin as being outside of Italy (during the empire), by far the larger portion came from the Orient, especially from Syria and the provinces of Asia Minor, with some from Egypt and Africa (which for racial classification may be taken with the Orient). Some are from Spain and Gaul, but a considerable proportion of these came originally from the East. Very few slaves are recorded from the Alpine and Danube provinces, while Germans rarely appear, except among the imperial bodyguard. Bang remarks that Europeans were of greater service to the empire as soldiers than as servants. This is largely true, but, as Strack has commented,¹² the more robust European war-captives were apt to be chosen for the gruelling work in the mines and in industry, and consequently they have largely vanished from the records. Such slaves were probably also the least productive of the class; and this, in turn, helps to explain the strikingly Oriental aspect of the new population.

Up to this point we have dealt mainly with the inscriptions of the city. But they, of course, do not represent the state of affairs in the empire at large. Unfortunately, it is difficult to secure large enough groups of sepulchral inscriptions for other cities and districts to yield reliable average on the points just discussed. However, since the urban inscriptions have presented a general point of view regarding the prolificness of slaves and the significance of the Greek cognomen, it will suffice to record the proportion of servile and Oriental names found in some typical district outside of the city. The proportion of Greek names to Latin among the slaves and *liberti* of the city was, in the inscriptions I recorded, seventy per cent. versus thirty per cent. This is of course very high. In *CIL.*, volume XIV. (Latium outside of Rome), the index of cognomina gives 571 to 315, that is, about sixty-four per cent. to thirty-six per cent.; volume IX. (Calabria to Picenum), 810 to 714, *i.e.*, fifty-three to forty-seven per cent.; volume V. (Cisalpine Gaul), 701 to 831, *i.e.*, forty-six to fifty-four per cent. This, in fact, is the only part of Italy where the majority of slaves and freedmen recorded did not bear Greek names. As is to be expected, northern slaves, who generally received Latin names, were probably found in larger numbers here; but again it should not be forgotten that a great many of the Latin-named slaves were of Eastern extraction.

In order to get more specific evidence regarding the nature of the population in the West, free as well as servile, we may read the sepulchral inscriptions of some typical towns¹³ and districts. I have

¹² *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 9.

¹³ In this list I have omitted imperial officials and soldiers, since they are not likely to be natives of the place.

listed them in four groups: (1) slaves and freedmen bearing Latin names; (2) slaves and freedmen bearing Greek names; (3) free-born citizens with Latin cognomen; (4) free-born citizens with Greek cognomen. Under 3 and 4, I have, except when explicit evidence proved the contrary, credited the *tria nomina* as indication of free birth, but wish again to call attention to the caution contained in note 3. In cases of doubt the absence of the gentile name has been taken as an indication of servile station if the name given is Greek or Latin and not Barbarian.

	1	2	3	4	Sum
Marsi and Vestini, Italy	201	119	234	53	612
Beneventum, Italy	141	129	297	57	624
Milan and Patavium, North Italy..	182	135	400	93	810
Narbo, Gaul	257	160	332	95	844
Gades, Corduba } Spain	129	101	305	90	625
Hispalis, Emerita }					
	916	644	1568	393	3515

When the indexes of *CIL.* are nearer completion such details will be more readily available and the tedious work of getting full statistics may be undertaken with the hope of reaching some degree of finality. However, the trend is evident in what we have given, and the figures are, I think, fairly representative of the whole. In these towns, as at Rome, the proportion of non-Latin folk is strikingly large. Slaves, freedmen, and citizens of Greek name make up more than half the population, despite the fact that in the nature of the case these are presumably the people least likely to be adequately represented in inscriptions. Furthermore, if the Latin names of freedmen in half the instances conceal persons of Oriental parentage, as they do in the city, the Easterner would be represented by classes 2 and 4, half of class 1, and a part of class 3. How strikingly un-Latin these places must have appeared to those who saw the great crowd of humble slaves, who were buried without ceremony or record in nameless trenches! Yet here are the Marsi, proverbially the hardest native stock of the Italian mountains; Beneventum, one of Rome's old frontier colonies; Milan and Padua, that drew Latins and Romanized Celts from the richest agricultural districts of the Po valley; the old colony of Narbo, the home of Caesar's famous Tenth Legion—the city that Cicero called *specula populi Romani*; and four cities at the western end of the empire. If we may, as I think fair, infer for these towns what we found to be true at Rome, namely, that slaves were quite as prolific as the civil population, that they merged into the latter, and that Greek names betokened Oriental stock, it is evident that the whole empire

was a melting-pot and that the Oriental was always and everywhere a very large part of the ore.

There are other questions that enter into the problem of change of race at Rome, for the solution of which it is even more difficult to obtain statistics. For instance, one asks, without hope of a sufficient answer, why the native stock did not better hold its own. Yet there are at hand not a few reasons. We know for instance that when Italy had been devastated by Hannibal and a large part of its population put to the sword, immense bodies of slaves were bought up in the East to fill the void; and that during the second century, when the plantation system with its slave service was coming into vogue, the natives were pushed out of the small farms and many disappeared to the provinces of the ever-expanding empire. Thus, during the thirty years before Tiberius Gracchus, the census statistics show no increase. During the first century B.C., the importation of captives and slaves continued, while the free-born citizens were being wasted in the social, Sullan, and civil wars. Augustus affirms that he had had half a million citizens under arms, one-eighth of Rome's citizens, and that the most vigorous part. During the early empire, twenty to thirty legions, drawn of course from the best free stock, spent their twenty years of vigor in garrison duty, while the slaves, exempt from such services, lived at home and increased in number. In other words, the native stock was supported by less than a normal birth-rate, whereas the stock of foreign extraction had not only a fairly normal birth-rate but a liberal quota of manumissions to its advantage. Various other factors, more difficult to estimate, enter into the problem of the gradual attrition of the native stock. It seems clear, for instance, that the old Indo-Germanic custom of "exposing" children never quite disappeared from Rome. Law early restrained the practice and in the empire it was not permitted to expose normal males, and at least the first female must be reared. It is impossible, however, to form any clear judgment from the literary sources as to the extent of this practice during the empire. I thought that a count of the offspring in a large number of inscriptions might throw light upon the question, and found that of the 5063 children noted in the 19,000 inscriptions read, 3155, or about 62.3 per cent., were males. Perhaps this reflects the operation of the law in question, and shows that the *expositio* of females was actually practised to some extent. But here too we must remember that the evidence is, by its very nature, of little worth. Boys naturally had a better chance than girls to gain some little distinction and were therefore more apt to leave a sepulchral record. At any rate, if *expositio* was practised, the inscriptions show little difference in

this respect between the children of slaves and freedmen and the children of the ordinary city populace.¹⁴

But the existence of other forms of "race suicide", so freely gossiped about by writers of the empire, also enters into this question, and here the inscriptions quite fail us. The importance of this consideration must, nevertheless, be kept in mind. Doubtless, as Fustel de Coulanges (*La Cité Antique*) has remarked, it could have been of little importance in the society of the republic so long as the old orthodox faith in ancestral spirits survived, for the happiness of the *manes* depended upon the survival of the family, and this religious incentive probably played the same rôle in the propagation of the race as the Mosaic injunctions among the Hebrews, which so impressed Tacitus in a more degenerate day of Rome. But religious considerations and customs—which in this matter emanate from the fundamental instincts that continue the race—were questioned as all else was questioned before Augustus's day. Then the process of diminution began. The significance of this whole question lies in the fact that "race suicide" then, as now, curtailed the stock of the more sophisticated, that is, of the aristocracy and the rich, who were, to a large extent, the native stock. Juvenal, satirist though he is, may be giving a fact of some social importance when he writes that the poor bore all the burdens of family life, while the rich remained childless:

jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
Quae steriles facit.¹⁵

There may lie here—rare phenomenon—an historic parallel of some meaning. The race of the human animal survives by means of instincts that shaped themselves for that purpose long before rational control came into play. Before our day it has only been at Greece and Rome that these impulses have had to face the obstacle of sophistication. There at least the instinct was beaten, and the race went under. The legislation of Augustus and his successors, while aimed at preserving the native stock, was of the myopic kind so usual in social law-making, and, failing to reckon with the real nature of the problem involved, it utterly missed the mark. By combining epigraphical and literary references, a fairly full history of the noble families can be procured, and this reveals a startling inability of such families to perpetuate themselves. We know, for

¹⁴ I have compared the respective ratios of the girls and boys of the Julii and the Claudii with those of the Aelii and the Aurelii (who would in general date about a century later) but found no appreciable difference in the percentage. A chronological test seems to be unattainable.

¹⁵ VI. 594-596.

instance, in Caesar's day of forty-five patricians, only one of whom is represented by posterity when Hadrian came to power.¹⁶ The Aemilii, Fabii, Claudii, Manlii, Valerii, and all the rest, with the exception of the Cornelii, have disappeared. Augustus and Claudius raised twenty-five families to the patriciate, and all but six of them disappear before Nerva's reign. Of the families of nearly four hundred senators recorded in 65 A.D. under Nero, all trace of a half is lost by Nerva's day, a generation later. And the records are so full that these statistics may be assumed to represent with a fair degree of accuracy the disappearance of the male stock of the families in question. Of course members of the aristocracy were the chief sufferers from the tyranny of the first century, but this havoc was not all wrought by *delatores* and assassins. The voluntary choice of childlessness accounts largely for the unparalleled condition. This is as far as the records help upon this problem, which, despite the silence, is probably the most important phase of the whole question of the change of race. Be the causes what they may, the rapid decrease of the old aristocracy and the native stock was clearly concomitant with a twofold increase from below: by a more normal birth-rate of the poor, and the constant manumission of slaves.

This Orientalizing of Rome's populace has a more important bearing than is usually accorded it upon the larger question of why the spirit and acts of imperial Rome are totally different from those of the republic, if indeed racial characteristics are not wholly a myth. There is to-day a healthy activity in the study of the economic factors—unscientific finance, fiscal agriculture, inadequate support of industry and commerce, etc.—that contributed to Rome's decline. But what lay behind and constantly reacted upon all such causes of Rome's disintegration was, after all, to a considerable extent, the fact that the people who built Rome had given way to a different race. The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina, all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities. It would be wholly unfair to pass judgment upon the native qualities of the Orientals without a further study, or to accept the self-complacent slurs of the Romans, who, ignoring certain imaginative and artistic qualities, chose only to see in them unprincipled and servile egoists. We may even admit that had the new races had time to amalgamate and attain a political consciousness, a more brilliant and versatile civilization might have come to birth. That,

¹⁶ Stech, in *Klio*, Beiheft X.

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however, is not the question. It is apparent that at least the political and moral qualities which counted most in the building of the Italian federation, the army organization, the provincial administrative system of the republic, were the qualities most needed in holding the empire together. And however brilliant the endowment of the new citizens, these qualities they lacked. The Trimalchios of the empire were often shrewd and daring business men, but their first and obvious task apparently was to climb by the ladder of quick profits to a social position in which their children with Romanized names could comfortably proceed to forget their forebears. The possession of wealth did not, as in the republic, suggest certain duties toward the commonwealth. Narcissus and Pallas might be sagacious politicians, but they were not expected to be statesmen concerned with the continuity of the *mos majorum*. And when, on reading Tacitus, we are amazed at the new servility of Scipios and Messalas, we must recall that these scattered inheritors of the old aristocratic ideals had at their back only an alien rabble of ex-slaves, to whom they would have appealed in vain for a return to ancestral ideas of law and order. They had little choice between servility and suicide, and not a few chose the latter.

It would be illuminating by way of illustration of this change to study the spread of the mystery religions. Cumont seems to think that these cults won many converts among all classes in the West. Toutain, skeptical on this point, assigns not a little of the new religious activity to the rather formal influence of the court at Rome. Dobschütz, a more orthodox churchman, seems to see in the spread of these cults the pervasion of a new and deeper religious spirit, which, in some mystical way, was preparing the old world for Christianity. But is not the success of the cults in great measure an expression of the religious feelings of the new people themselves? And if it is, may it not be that Occidentals who are actually of Oriental extraction, men of more emotional nature, are simply finding in these cults the satisfaction that, after long deprivation, their temperaments naturally required? When a senator, dignified by the name of M. Aurelius Victor, is found among the votaries of Mithras in the later empire, it may well be that he is the great-grandson of some child kidnapped in Parthia and sold on the block at Rome. Toutain has proved, I think, that in the northern and western provinces the only Oriental cult that took root at all among the real natives was that of Magna Mater, and this goddess, whose cult was directed by the urban priestly board, had had the advantage of centuries of a rather accidental recognition by the Roman state. In the western provinces, the Syrian and Egyptian gods were wor-

shipped chiefly by people who seem not to be native to the soil. The Mithraic worshippers in these provinces were, for the most part, soldiers recruited or formerly stationed in the East, and Orientals who, by way of commerce or the slave-market, had come to live in the West. From the centres where such people lived the cult spread but very slowly.

It would hardly be worth while to attempt any conclusion for the city of Rome, since, as we have seen, the whole stock there had so changed that fair comparisons would be well-nigh unattainable; but the Po valley, that is Cisalpine Gaul, which preserved its Occidental aspect better than any other part of Italy, might yield usable data. For this region nearly one hundred devotees of Oriental gods are recorded in the fifth volume of *CIL.*, and, as soldiers and Roman officers are not numerous there, the worshippers may be assumed to represent a normal average for the community. Among them I find only twelve who are actually recorded as slaves or freedmen, but upon examination of the names, more than four-fifths seem, after all, to belong to foreign stock. Nearly half have Greek names. Several are *seviri Augustales*, and, therefore, probably *liberti*; and names like Publicius, Verna, Veronius (at Verona), tell the same tale. Finally, there are several imperial gentile names—Claudius, Flavius, Ulpus, Aelius, etc.—which, when found among such people, suggest that the Roman nomenclature is a recent acquisition. There is a residue of only some twelve names the antecedents of which remain undefined. This seems to me to be a fairly typical situation, and not without significance. In short, the mystery cults permeated the city, Italy, and the western provinces only to such an extent as the city and Italy and the provinces were permeated by the stock that had created those religions.

At Rome, Magna Mater was introduced for political reasons during the Punic War, when the city was still Italian. The rites proved to be shocking to the unemotional westerner, who worshipped the staid patrician called Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and were locked in behind a wall. As the urban populace began to change, however, new rites clamored for admittance, for, as a senator in Nero's days says,¹⁷ "Nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra." And as the populace enforced their demands upon the emperor for *panem et circenses*, so they also secured recognition for their *externa sacra*. One after another of the emperors gained popularity with the rabble by erecting a shrine to some foreign Baal, or a statue to Isis in his chapel, in much the same way that our cities are lining their park drives with tributes to Garibaldi, Pulaski, and

¹⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, XIV. 44.

who knows what -vitch. Finally, in the third and fourth centuries, when even the aristocracy at Rome was almost completely foreign, these Eastern cults, rather than those of old Rome, became the centres of "patrician" opposition to Christianity. In other words, the western invasion of the mystery cults is hardly a miraculous conversion of the even-tempered, practical-minded Indo-European to an orgiastic emotionalism, foreign to his nature. These religions came with their peoples, and in so far as they gained new converts, they attracted for the most part people of Oriental extraction who had temporarily fallen away from native ways in the western world. Christianity, which contained enough Oriental mysticism to appeal to the vast herd of Easterners in the West, and enough Hellenic sanity to captivate the rationalistic Westerner, found, even if one reckons only with social forces, the most congenial soil for growth in the conglomeration of Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans that filled the western Roman Empire in the second century.

This is but one illustration. But it is offered in the hope that a more thorough study of the race question may be made in conjunction with economic and political questions before any attempt is made finally to estimate the factors at work in the change of temper of imperial Rome.

TENNEY FRANK.

A MISSING CHAPTER OF FRANCO-AMERICAN HISTORY¹

If the question were asked, Who has been our greatest American diplomatist? the answer would undoubtedly be Benjamin Franklin. Measured by any standard he would be found deserving of the first place. True it is that at the very height of his usefulness in France there was a cabal formed in Congress to force his recall, which in certain periods of our national history would undoubtedly have proved successful. As it was, Franklin was allowed to remain, and the incalculable value of his services to his country has since been universally recognized. He won for the struggling colonies the aid that was needed to establish their independence; and, for this, next to Washington, Franklin deserves the gratitude of all Americans.

What is truly surprising is the estimate that was placed upon him in France for the service he rendered to France, to Europe, and to all humanity. It was simply astonishing what a flood of eulogies was poured out upon him. In some manner he came to be regarded in France as the creator of a new era in the history of the world. To read the whole anthology of praise—if anyone were disposed to collect all that was said of him—would lead to the conviction that Franklin was either a person of almost supernatural powers, or that he was a charlatan of the first magnitude who had succeeded in imposing upon the greatest minds among his contemporaries. Believing that he was neither, the problem is before us, how to account for the superlative laudation that was lavished upon him in France at the time of his death, in 1790, five years after he had returned to Philadelphia.

First of all, it is of importance to realize to what extent, and from what quarter, Franklin was made an object of encomium. In 1790 there were in France three distinct political groups: the Royalists, the Constitutionalists, and the Democrats who drew their inspiration from Rousseau. It was the Constitutionalists, without exception, who publicly mourned for Franklin. Witness the splendid oration of Mirabeau, pronounced before the National Assembly, beginning: "Franklin is dead. He has returned to the bosom of the

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the American Historical Association in Washington, December 30, 1925.

divinity, the genius who liberated America and poured upon Europe torrents of light."²

The Assembly, which was then engaged in the act of giving to France a constitution inspired by the American example, voted to wear mourning for three days in honor of Franklin's memory, and through its president sent condolences to the President of the United States. The Marquis de Condorcet, before the Academy of Sciences, expressed the satisfaction with which that body saw "one of its members unite the glory of liberating two worlds, of enlightening America and giving to Europe the example of liberty".³ The Abbé Fauchet, in the name of the municipality of Paris, pronounced a discourse in which he spoke of Franklin as an "instructor" to whom it was due that France should "eternalize its gratitude".⁴ And Vicq d' Azyr, before the Academy of Medicine, introducing his discourse with the words, "A man is dead and two worlds are in mourning", eulogized the illustrious diplomatist as "a legislator for the nations".⁵

Such honors had never been anywhere accorded to a diplomatic representative of any country; and, in truth, it was not to Franklin as an American minister that these honors were offered. It was to him as the creator of constitutionalism in Europe; and, in fact, there was only one group of men who accorded them, the party of professed Constitutionalists. The Royalist and Democratic groups presented an attitude of positive coolness. The Royalist journal, *L'Ami du Roi*, referring to Mirabeau's discourse, politely observed, as became such a journal, "This eulogy was doubtless deserved, but in tracing it the orator raised his hero to such a height that he rendered it impossible for anyone to recognize in him the Franklin whom we knew."⁶ The extreme Democratic journals were more openly critical in referring to the claims of Franklin.⁷

The reason for this indifference to Franklin's memory is made clear by the observations of Luciet.

This republican philosopher [he says] has enlightened the protagonists of liberty. Before him the majority of publicists had reasoned like slaves overheard by their masters; or had employed their ingenuity, as Montesquieu did, to justify that which is, and gloss over our institutions

² Mirabeau, *Œuvres* (ed. Vernorel), II. 131.

³ Condorcet, *Éloge de M. Franklin*, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1802), p. 163.

⁴ Fauchet, *Éloge Civique de Benjamin Franklin* (Paris, 1790).

⁵ *Revue Retrospective* (série II.), II. 375.

⁶ *L'Ami du Roi*, 23 Juillet, 1790, even went so far as to ridicule Fauchet's eulogy.

⁷ For example, *Révolutions de Paris*, nos. 54 and 55, where Sparta is favorably contrasted with America.

with a deceptive coating. He alone, studying the rights of mankind, sweeping aside the dust and débris, that is to say, the merely external relations of weakness and strength, of wealth and poverty, of inequality and aristocracy of every kind, has discovered the foundations of society.⁸

These tributes to Franklin assume something more than is usually ascribed to him. He is here held up, in contrast with the merely speculative philosophers, like Rousseau, as an "organizer of liberty", as an "exponent of fundamental political principles"; in short, as the "discoverer of the foundations of society"!

This is certainly a different estimate of Franklin from that which prevailed at that time in America. It is true that he had formed a plan to unite the colonies, that he had signed the Declaration of Independence, and, but a short time before, in the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia, that he had sought in a well-remembered speech to urge harmony among the dissentients, and had prevailed upon the delegates to unite upon the Constitution as it had been framed; still, the records of that body do not show that Franklin had especially impressed his own views upon the Convention. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Royalists did not recognize in these eulogies Franklin *as they knew him*.

Was it, then, a mere effusion of the Gallic temperament that was to be discerned in these laudations? If Franklin really deserved these encomiums, these eulogists must have seen him from a point of view peculiarly their own.⁹

And this they no doubt did. When Franklin arrived in France, on December 21, 1776, there were no signs of a constitutional movement. The States General had not met for 162 years; and there was no demand for their meeting until Lafayette, in 1787, having returned from America, in reply to the Count d'Artois's question, "What, do you ask for the States General?" had answered, "Yes, Monseigneur, and something better."¹⁰ Yet all the great hierophants of political liberty, to whom the French Revolution has been so largely ascribed, had already practically exhausted their influence. Montesquieu, the soundest and most practical political thinker of his time, had been dead since 1755. Voltaire, Diderot, Mably, and Rousseau were still living; but their work of iconoclasm was complete, and they had produced no programme of construction. Of

⁸ Luchet, *Les Contemporains de 1789 et 1790* (Paris, 1790).

⁹ The society known as "Les Amis de la Constitution" also wore mourning in honor of Franklin.

¹⁰ Lafayette, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1837), II. 117. Lafayette had before this already induced the States of Auvergne to make a declaration of their rights to the king. See Lavergne, *Les Assemblées Provinciales sous Louis XVI.*, p. 200 *et seq.*

analysis and negation there had been much, but no solid ground had been laid out on which to build. Since 1762 the *Contrat Social* had powerfully appealed to the imagination of the French people; the more powerfully, perhaps, because it was in contradiction with all the facts. But, until the American Declaration of Independence had taken its speculations out of the realm of mere ideology and made some of them real by showing that there were in the world men who were prepared to shed their blood and imperil their lives in defense of it, it seemed like a mere romance.

Then Franklin came to plead the cause of the revolutionists. He came in humility, seeking for aid, and he received a ready response. Until he was officially recognized in his diplomatic quality, his mission was an appeal to the individual man. He was a noble emissary. "I was very young", wrote the Duke de Lévis, "when I saw the illustrious Franklin, but his countenance, so full of candor and nobility, and his fine white hair, will never be forgotten by me."¹¹ He appealed as no diplomatist had ever before appealed to the ordinary man. "You perceive liberty establish herself and flourish almost under your eyes", he said one day in the presence of the philosopher Condorcet. "I dare to predict that by and by you will be anxious to taste her blessings."¹²

It was not to everyone, or upon every occasion, that he could speak thus. But there were more intimate relations where he could speak even more freely, and expound his whole doctrine of constitutionalism. Only once in all his collected writings does Franklin refer to this relationship. In a letter to an old French friend and intimate associate, Monsieur Le Veillard, after his return to Philadelphia, he says, "The Lodge of the Nine Sisters have done me too much honor in proposing the prize you mention."¹³

What, then, is meant by the "Nine Sisters"?

The letter in which the proposal of a prize was communicated to Franklin by his French correspondent is not to be found in any collection; nor, so far as research has revealed, is there any other letter extant upon this subject. But collateral research has thrown much light upon the "Nine Sisters".

Arriving in Paris in December, 1776, while the American Declaration was the topic of the day, Franklin was at once the centre of public interest. More than any other diplomatic representative of whom we have knowledge he was an object of curiosity as well as respect in all grades of society, and appealed by the nature of his

¹¹ Lévis, *Souvenirs et Portraits* (Paris, 1815), p. 51.

¹² Cited by Bancroft, *History of the United States*, IX. 493.

¹³ *The Works of Franklin* (Bigelow ed.), IX. 363.

mission and the qualities of his personality to the imagination of the people.

His venerable aspect, his homely sayings, his republican simplicity of dress and manner, combined with the tact and politeness of his deportment, his anecdotes and his *bon mots* gained him among all classes admirers, disciples, and friends.

No man in Paris [says Madame Vigée Lebrun] was more *à la mode*, more sought after, than Doctor Franklin. The crowd used to run after him in the streets and in the public resorts; hats, canes, snuff-boxes, everything was *à la Franklin*.¹⁴

Turgot's Latin eulogy of the man who "had snatched the lightning from the sky and the sceptre from the hands of the tyrant" was not a stronger commendation to intellectual France than the Doctor's personal charm to the best society. After the Declaration of Independence, which, in an ambient atmosphere of suavity and dignity, he seemed to personify, he was the best asset of the colonies in their quest for French friendship.

In his eulogy upon Franklin, pronounced before the Academy of Sciences in 1793, the Marquis de Condorcet describes the state of France at the time of Franklin's arrival in Paris.

Men whom the reading of philosophic books had disposed to a secret love of liberty were impassioned for that of a foreign people, while awaiting the occasion when they could engage in recovering their own, and were seized with joy on that occasion to avow sentiments which prudence would have obliged them to guard in silence.¹⁵

But what of the "Nine Sisters"? If we may believe the Abbé Barreul, it was "the centre of a vast, concerted conspiracy between the philosophers, illuminati, and freemasons of all countries". He mentions by name thirty-two of the initiates of the "Nine Sisters" as particularly concerned in the work of the French Revolution.

The good Abbé certainly speaks with exaggeration when he characterizes this innocent secret fraternity as a "centre of a vast, concerted conspiracy", extending to all countries; but he is not in error when he informs us that a great number of its members played a conspicuous part in the French Revolution.

Amiable, in his history of this society, of which he has published the records,¹⁶ tells us that, as early as 1780, Dr. Franklin was chosen the "Vénérable" of the "Nine Sisters", in which he continued until the end of his diplomatic mission in 1785. Even while he was still in Paris, in 1783, a brilliant public fête was given by this society in honor of the new republic, in which American independence was

¹⁴ Madame Vigée Lebrun, *Souvenirs* (Paris, 1835), I, 251.

¹⁵ Condorcet, *Éloge de M. Franklin*.

¹⁶ *Une Loge Maçonnique d'avant 1789* (Paris, 1897).

celebrated in prose and verse, and Franklin himself crowned with laurels.

It was during Franklin's term as presiding officer of the society that John Paul Jones was a guest of the "Nine Sisters", and one may judge of the intimacy of the fête given the intrepid sailor by the verses composed for the occasion by one of the members:

Jones, dans les combats en ressource fertile,
Agit envers ses ennemies
Comme agit envers nous une coquette habile,
On croit la prendre, et l'on est pris!

In speaking of Franklin's return to America, Amiable says:

On quitting his second fatherland to behold it no more, he left to it the seed which was soon to germinate in the ancient soil of Gaul and produce the "Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen."

The form in which that seed was left is well described in the language of the same writer: "The movement of emancipation in North America was transmitted", he says, "into public acts having the character of fundamental compacts defining the principles of legislation and determining the bases of the organization of public powers." It is of this precisely that France then stood in need. "The American constitutions", Amiable concludes, "were for liberty that which a grammar is for a language, defining the parts of speech and constructing them according to the rules of syntax."

It is not credible that Franklin, as "Vénérable" of the "Nine Sisters", was engaged in any conspiracy, especially any secret plot against the king to whom he was accredited, or that he was in any respect disposed to encourage revolution against a government that had been so generous to his country. It is, however, certain that the society of the "Nine Sisters" was an esoteric school of political thought, in which Franklin, for every reason, was esteemed the master.

In reviewing the list of members we have additional ground for believing that, although some of them were finally far removed from the spirit of their "Vénérable", the doctrine expounded by him was sound, salutary, and ennobling. That it consisted largely in an examination of the foundations of government cannot be doubted. The "Nine Sisters" was the first school of constitutionalism that ever existed in Europe.

Of this statement we may be practically certain. The work was fairly under way as early as 1778. In 1783 the constitutions of the thirteen American states were publicly known in France, having been

translated into French by one of the members of the "Nine Sisters", the Duke de la Rochefoucauld d'Anville, with the permission of Vergennes; who, however, delayed his answer from March 24, when the request was presented, to June 7, when it was granted. Even so, the count first demanded the privilege of inspecting the volume containing these modest charters of liberty.¹⁷ Six hundred copies were printed, and one was presented to each of Franklin's diplomatic colleagues, accompanied by elegantly bound copies in quarto for their sovereigns. In reporting his action to the Congress, on December 25, 1783, Franklin said: "From all parts I have the satisfaction to hear, that our Constitutions in general are much admired."

But this was not the first acquaintance with these constitutions by the members of the "Nine Sisters". Many of them had been printed in French much earlier, some of them in a periodical called *Affaires des l'Angleterre et de l'Amérique*, in which Franklin is known to have been interested; and six of them had been surreptitiously printed in a separate volume at Paris as early as 1778.¹⁸

It has long been well known that Franklin, who was a printer, had a printing-press in his house at Passy, ostensibly for the printing of "trifles", or "Bagatelles", as he called them, and often "amused himself" with composing and printing. But it has only recently been brought to light by Livingston, that "he was continually buying type in considerable quantity", eight boxes at one time having come from London by way of Amsterdam in October, 1779, and there was much correspondence with Haarlem on the subject in 1780. In 1777 Franklin employed Courtney Melmoth, "a political writer", at a salary of 11,428 livres per annum; and in 1784 he is known to have employed a regular compositor in his house for at least five months.¹⁹

We have no detailed report of the proceedings and discussions in the intimate fellowship of the "Nine Sisters", but what an influence was exerted by that group of men! It is impossible to call the roll completely, but here are a few of the members' names.

Bailly, the astronomer, afterward mayor of Paris, and member of the States General. It was Bailly who presided over the Third Estate when, on June 20, 1789, excluded by the king's command from their proper meeting-place, they assembled in the famous

¹⁷ *Constitutions of the Thirteen United States of America* (Paris, 1783). The octavo edition comprised 500 copies; the quarto edition, 100 copies. A later edition of American constitutions was brought out in two volumes in 1792.

¹⁸ Livingston, *Franklin and his Press at Passy* (New York, 1914, published by the Grolier Club), p. 186.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

tennis-court, organized their meeting, and with only one dissenting voice took an oath that they would not disperse until they had obtained a constitution for the French nation. It was he also, three days afterward, at the end of the royal *séance* of the States General, when the king had sent the bejewelled young courtier, Dreux Brézé, to command the Commons to disperse, who replied firmly, "Sir, the Assembly stands adjourned only by its own vote." It is not a mere flourish of rhetoric when Belloc writes: "The fall of those hundreds of hands [that voted down the motion to adjourn] marks the origin of modern Europe, its vast construction, its still imperilled experiment."²⁰ It was Bailly who, with Lafayette, appealed in vain to the soldiers to respect the person of the king, on his way to worship on Easter Sunday of 1791; and who again endeavored to protect the crowd in the so-called "Massacre" of the Champs de Mars. It is not surprising that such a moderate spirit made Bailly one of the first victims of the Revolutionary Tribunal. When this friend of Franklin was led to the guillotine, his clothing wet through with a cold rain, one of the executioners observed, "You tremble, Bailly"; "Yes", was the reply, "but it is only with the cold."

Bonneville, the translator of the works of Thomas Paine, whom Brissot de Warville describes as "a true philosopher, a true friend of the people, a true friend of liberty, who never transcended the necessary bounds".²¹ It was Bonneville who, in 1791, pressed for the right of petition and for universal suffrage, in the meantime urging the adoption of the constitution, which he and his associates "awaited with impatience".

Brissot de Warville, who, owing to his absence in England during the greater part of Franklin's residence in France after Brissot became a member of the "Nine Sisters", saw little of the "Vénérable" but nevertheless was an ardent admirer.²²

Indignant at the despotism under which France was groaning, in 1788, [he says] I made a journey in the United States, in order to ascertain the means with which to accomplish a similar revolution; or, if it was necessary to renounce the hope of it, to settle my family in America.²³

It was during this journey, that the Federal Constitution was under discussion. Its fate was still hanging in the balance. Having learned of the meeting of the States General, believing the Constitution of the United States to be a "perfect model",²⁴ and feeling the

²⁰ Belloc, *High Lights on the French Revolution* (New York, 1915), pp. 44, 48.

²¹ Brissot de Warville, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1911), I. 135.

²² He records his meeting with Franklin at the house of Marat. *Ibid.*, I. 142.

²³ *Ibid.*, II. 275.

²⁴ Ellery, *Brissot de Warville* (Boston, 1915), p. 125.

necessity of a new government for France, he hastened to return. As an authority on American affairs, of which he had written much, "his opinions were listened to with respect". He was active in urging the American rather than the English example upon France. "A declaration of rights", he contended, "is a chapter as necessary for a constitution as a foundation for a house. The constitution may change, the declaration of rights ought never to change."²⁵ After leading in the defense of France as a Minister of State during the ascendancy of the Girondists, or "Brissotins", as they were sometimes called, Brissot perished with that group on October 31, 1793.

The Marquis de Condorcet, the philosopher of the Revolution, author of the *Influence of the American Revolution upon Europe*,²⁶ and many other writings relating to America, all of them surcharged with his own philosophic speculations, but full of ardent enthusiasm for the progress of the human race. A fearless constitutionalist, and an active participant in the constitutional movement, he, too, like Brissot, perished in the fall of the Girondists.

Danton, "the giant of the Revolution", the man of dramatic action; too virile, perhaps; the most thoroughly French of all the great leaders; an organizer, an original thinker, and a jurist; he also was of the company. After futile efforts to reconcile himself to the party of moderation, although he declared "a nation may *save* itself, but must not *avenge* itself", yet hating the bloodthirstiness of Robespierre and St. Just, that hatred turned against himself and brought him to the scaffold.

Camille Desmoulins, the journalist *par excellence* of the Revolution, a worshipper of the ancient classics, and destined to be *l'enfant terrible* of the constitutionalists, drawing his inspiration from the pure democracies of Greece, and believing that the American states were a revival of them. He it was who incited the populace to storm the Bastille, the keys of which were sent by Lafayette to General Washington. Finally condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal, he was executed at the same time with Danton.

Hilliard d'Auberteuil, whose works on America, which began to be published in 1782 under the influence of Franklin and were continued with the counsel of Jefferson, attracted wide attention to the institutions of America.²⁷

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

²⁶ Condorcet, *L'Influence de la Révolution d'Amérique sur l'Europe* (Paris, 1786).

²⁷ Hilliard's most important work was entitled *Essais Historiques et Politiques sur les Anglo-Américains et sur la Révolution de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1782). For his relations with Jefferson, see *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson* (Washington ed.), II. 103.

Pétion, called the "virtuous Pétion", a member of the National Assembly, who, with Barnave and Latour-Maubourg, brought Louis XVI. back to Versailles after his flight with the queen to Varennes, and successor to Bailly as mayor of Paris. It was Pétion who, with Barnave, Lafayette, and Duport, the friend of Jefferson, advocated the adoption of the jury system for both civil and criminal cases; and who pleaded in the Constituent Assembly for the freedom of the press in imitation of the action of America.²⁸ Condemned to death with the Girondists, he was saved from execution by flight and concealment.

Rabaut Saint-Étienne, member of the Constituent Assembly, of which he became the historian,²⁹ a conservative converted to republicanism by the perfidy of the king, of whom he said from the tribune of the Constituent, "This king has delivered us from all kings."

Sieyès, a cold, logical personality, author of the celebrated pamphlet, "*Qu'est ce que le Tiers État?*" in which he made the famous reply, "It has been nothing; it aspires to be something; it is, in truth, *everything*." It was he who cried out amidst the passionate ebullitions of the Assembly, "You wish to be free, but you do not know how to be just." Carried away with his own fine-spun theories, from an ardent constitutionalist Sieyès degenerated into a professional fabricator of paper systems, surviving the destruction of all his own work, after serving as the tool of Bonaparte.

But it is needless to extend the catalogue further. It may be said with confidence that it was the initiates of the "Nine Sisters", together with the officers who had returned from service in America—of whom Lafayette was the chief—and the flood of writers who were inspired by the American example, who gave both shape and substance to the early period of the French Revolution.³⁰

²⁸ Arguing for the freedom of the press, Pétion said: "Did you not see, when the new federal system of the United States was under hot discussion, a strong party pronounce itself fiercely against the Confederation, speak loudly for the disunion of the states, publish the most vehement pamphlets and scatter their views broadcast in all the gazettes? . . . The people read everything, heard everything, examined everything. No troubles followed. . . . Such will ever be the ascendancy of reason over a free people." Pétion, *Œuvres* (Paris, 1793), II. 365.

²⁹ See his *Précis Historique de la Révolution* (Paris, 1793). Rabaut was a personal friend of Jefferson, and a frequenter of his house.

³⁰ Other writings regarding America published just before the French Revolution were: Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages* (Amsterdam and Paris, 1778); Bourgeois, *Voyages Intéressants* (Paris, 1788); Brissot et Glavière, *France et les États-Unis* (Paris, 1787); Quesnay de Beaurepaire, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1788); Crèvecoeur, *Lettres d'un Cultivateur Américain* (Paris, 1784); Mazzei, *Recherches Historiques et Politiques sur les États-Unis* (Paris, 1788); Mandrillon, *Le Voyageur Américain* (Amsterdam, 1782); the same, *Le Spectateur Américain* (Paris, 1784); Abbé Robin, *Nouveau Voyage dans l'Amérique Septentrionale* (Paris, 1782); Soulés, *Histoire des Troubles de l'Angleterre* (Paris, 1787).

Even if the American colonies had never existed, there would, no doubt, have been a general revolt against absolute royal authority in France; but it would certainly never have occurred as it did, and it would not have been a constitutional movement in the sense it was. The American influence ended precisely where the absolutism of the Revolutionary government began. With the rising and domination of the populace of Paris it met with stubborn contradiction.³¹ The name "Constitution" was retained, but it had lost its true meaning, and had become a designation for any artificial frame of government, regardless of its qualities.

The two chief characteristics of the American constitutions—limitation of the powers of legislation and the final authority of the judiciary in declaring the law³²—were wholly wanting in the six French constitutions that followed in swift succession during the Revolution, and made the nation "through many decades the plaything of every current that swept the political sea". The American idea that it is the purpose of a constitution to guarantee individual rights and liberties against the encroachments even of popular government, was abandoned. In France it had been accepted as a restraint upon the acts and power of the sovereign, so long as the sovereign was a king; but when the sovereign was the people, restraints were thought to be quite unnecessary. Government, therefore, remained as absolute as before; and it soon became evident that the Revolution had produced merely a change of masters.

DAVID JAYNE HILL.

³¹ On the difference between the principles of the American and the French Revolutions, see the present writer's *The People's Government*, pp. 106, 114, 235, and 242.

³² In the French Constitution of 1791, the Declaration of Rights is printed as a *preliminary* to the constitution proper. Violations of its specifications were not subject to judicial control, and the prejudice against judges left the legislature omnipotent. There is in France a vigorous contemporary movement toward the American system. See the article by James W. Garner, in the *American Political Science Review*, vol. IX., no. 4, particularly pp. 658, 665.

WESTERN SHIP-BUILDING

SHIP-BUILDING was the first mechanical industry to which American colonists along the Atlantic paid attention to any profitable degree, Rhode Island ranking at or near the top as the leading community interested in this industry. The phenomenon was reproduced in the trans-Allegheny country; on the tributaries of the Mississippi River, particularly the Ohio, ship-building became the first mechanical industry of importance, and Rhode Islanders were leading promoters of it.

A study of the first decade of the nineteenth century from the angle of ship-building gives us new impressions concerning a number of matters of importance, including western surplus, ownership of the Mississippi, relation of eastern and western merchants, creation of ports of entry and departure on western waters, rise of corporate interests, co-operative banking between eastern and western towns, experiments in river navigation, and the embargoes of 1802 and 1807.

Our knowledge of western trade before 1800, import and export, has been limited to the generalizations of travellers and local historians; "long lines of wagons" or "great fleets of boats" are representative statements concerning early travel across the mountains and on the western rivers; we know certain specific cargoes and freight rates, but as to the amount of western traffic for any definite period, or the rate of increase year by year, we are practically without information. As early as the first years of the Revolution the thriving centres of population in the Ohio Basin were sending heavily loaded barges to the South and receiving something in return, especially powder and lead.¹

Louisville was made a port of entry for the district of Kentucky in 1789 when the first districts were established by Congress; for ten years this was the only port outside Atlantic waters. The decade which succeeded was one of great growth in the West. Three facts explain this: the relinquishment of the American posts formerly held by Great Britain on the Great Lakes, the treaty of Greenville,

¹ In the three autumn months of 1800 twenty-one boats passed Fort Massac, Ill., ascending the Ohio, carrying 36,400 weight of lead; the remaining cargo was insignificant. The reports of the collector for the port of Fort Massac, quoted in this paper, are found in the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, July 12 and November 21, 1800, and in the *Pittsburgh Tree of Liberty*, April 11, 1801, and the *Gazette*, April 13, 1801.

and Pinckney's treaty of San Lorenzo granting free navigation of the Mississippi and the right of deposit at New Orleans. Accordingly, in 1799, the following western towns, in addition to Louisville, were made ports of entry: Erie, Sandusky, Detroit, Mackinaw Island, Columbia (Cincinnati), Fort Massac, and Palmyra. Four were to take care of the Great Lake trade and four the trade of the Ohio and Tennessee rivers; Columbia (later Cincinnati) served the entire upper Ohio, and Palmyra the Cumberland River; but only two years later the port of Palmyra was abolished and Fort Massac on the Ohio was made to serve the Tennessee country, illustrating, thus early, the northward outlook of that state as brought out during the Civil War. In 1802 the upper Ohio Valley was divided, Marietta being made a port to serve the Pittsburgh-Portsmouth section of the valley. In 1807 all the western districts were amalgamated into one, and several new ports created.²

Such, then, was the situation at the beginning of the ship-building era, so far as legalizing the export trade of the country was concerned. A way had been opened and legal ports of entry and departure were conveniently located. The making the most of the opportunity was now a matter of individual initiative, the solving of the problems of navigation and the securing proper articles for export. And it is interesting to note the readiness of the people of the Ohio Valley to rise to the occasion and attempt by the sheer weight of their enthusiasm and restless opportunism to overcome the very great difficulties that lay in the way. The matter of ship-building is of minor importance; the definite proof it gives us of the abundance of surplus available at this early day, and the economic readjustments necessary, are of considerable importance. Joined with the problem of exporting a surplus, was the problem of transmitting to the growing towns and entrepôts of the mid-Mississippi Valley the commerce of the East which could reach that destination via New Orleans only at great difficulty and expense; and, also, the problem of laying down in Atlantic ports of both America and

² The creation of the inland ports of entry as indexes of agricultural development proves a useful topic of study; as, for instance, the relation of the rice and cotton culture to the opening of the Southern ports of Mobile, Elizabeth, Bayou St. John, the Florida ports, etc. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, III. 35, 120, 302, 347, 408, 431, 684. The present writer's search for the records of these ports of entry in the West has failed except in so far as they are printed in local papers. The receipts of collectors are given by years in *Receipts and Expenditures of the U. S.* These throw light on economic conditions of the time in all our states, as, for instance, the decline of the fur-trade at Michilimackinac at a much earlier date than is supposed, the change of port of entry in the Wheeling district, etc. Fresh light on effects of foreign and home wars, panics, internal improvements, progress of land sales, etc., may be found in these reports.

Europe the produce of the western country without reshipment and delay at New Orleans. From 1790 onward western merchants were buying greater quantities each year as population increased; a superficial review of the advertising columns of representative western papers of the period proves most clearly the remarkable rapidity of the widening of people's needs and the efforts made to supply the demand. The eastern houses allowed from six to twelve months' time for payment; danger of loss of and injury to goods was great; communication by the rough Allegheny roads was slow; money was scarce; values fluctuated annoyingly. That men should propose amid all these difficulties to double labor and danger by re-exporting eastern goods down the almost uncharted course of the Ohio and the Mississippi to Nashville and Natchez is an exceedingly interesting commentary upon their fearless initiative; yet in 1800, before the first ship had descended the Ohio, there passed Fort Massac \$32,550 worth of dry-goods and 24,500 weight of dry-goods in the three months of September, October, and November.³ These goods must have crossed the mountains during the summer and awaited the fall flood-tides before proceeding.

The records of the same port give us, in accurate terms, the amount of surplus of western fields and factories then seeking a market. In the three months, March, April, and May, 1800, there passed Fort Massac cargoes for the Southland to the value of £28,581, Pennsylvania currency; among the items listed were 22,714 barrels of flour, 1017 barrels of whiskey, 12,500 pounds of pork, 18,710 pounds of bacon, 75,814 pounds of cordage, 3650 yards of country linen, 700 bottles, 700 barrels of potatoes. The records show an astounding trade carried on by 515 flatboats and barges that passed Fort Massac in the last nine months of 1800.

The above facts, taken in conjunction, explain the dawn of the ship-building era; markets both for eastern goods and for an abundant surplus lay to the South along the great waterways; and beyond their shores lay the Indies and Europe.

The Ohio Valley had both the men to construct ocean-going craft and the materials for their construction; along the Muskingum and Monongahela towered large forests of black walnut, a wood so lasting that farmers, plowing deep, to this day encounter roots of black walnut trees felled a century ago. Timbers of this wood could be had at great length; they had nearly the strength of white oak and the durability of the live oak of the South but without its weight. Vessels with frames of this timber planked with seasoned oak would have, it was believed, preference over ships of any other

³ See note 1.

material in any port where there were competent judges. The necessary iron for ships at first had to be obtained from the East, as it was a year or two before the bar-iron works near Pittsburgh were, to quote their proprietor, sufficiently "upheld by the hand of the Almighty" to operate with regularity. Cordage, as we have seen by our export list, was being made in greater quantities than even the large local demand required; numerous rope-walks existed at Pittsburgh, Marietta, and Cincinnati, being supplied with hemp from adjacent territory where it had been found growing wild by the first comers.

During the year 1800 the first two ships built on western waters were placed upon the stocks, the brig *St. Clair* of 110 tons being built at Marietta, Ohio, and the ship *Monongahela Farmer* of 250 tons being built at Elizabeth, Pennsylvania. In each case an association of three local merchants financed the building of these craft. Griffin Greene, who had worked in an anchor shop in Rhode Island beside his cousin, Gen. Nathaniel Greene, was one of the Marietta merchants who owned, in partnership, the *St. Clair*, and in odd hours he fashioned its anchor. John Walker, builder and master of the *Monongahela Farmer*, had come as a boy with his father from Delaware to the banks of the Monongahela in 1785. The date of the sailing of these first ships, misquoted in the local accounts, is established by announcements of their arrival in port by Cincinnati and Pittsburgh papers respectively. The *St. Clair* reached Cincinnati April 27, 1801, and the *Monongahela Farmer* passed Pittsburgh May 13 of the same year.

The sight of a completely ocean-rigged vessel at Cincinnati aroused the enthusiasm of the populace to as high a pitch as did the coming of the first steamboat *Orleans* exactly ten years later. "She is bound for some of the West Indie islands", wrote an eye-witness of the arrival of the *St. Clair*. "On her arrival the banks were crowded with people, all eager to view this pleasing presage of the future greatness of our infant country. This is the first vessel which has descended the Ohio equipped for sea."⁴ The captain of the *St. Clair* was none other than the staunch Rhode Islander Commodore Abraham Whipple, who was an active leader in the party which destroyed the *Gaspee* in 1772, and who served in the navy during the Revolution with honor. Col. Jonathan Devol, also of Marietta and Rhode Island, while he was constructing the sister-ship of the *St. Clair* at Marietta, the *Muskingum*, was moved to poetry at the thought of the ancient commodore's return to his

⁴ Extract from the *Western Spy* quoted in Cist, *Cincinnati in 1841*, p. 181.

native element as conqueror of the inland waters. The faded manuscript lies before me.

"He hath Oped the way to Commerce",

sang this boat-builder beside the Muskingum, of his fellow-Rhode Islander. As the ship emerges from the mouth of the Mississippi, Neptune commands:

Sirens attend with Flute and Lyre
and Bring your Conks my Trittons
in chorus Blow to the Aged Sire
in welcome to my Dominions.⁵

Typical Yankee, this, fulfilling to the letter Emerson's dictum—calling the Muse in piquant English with one hand and building with the other what is said to have been the first ship that crossed the Atlantic from the Mississippi Valley!

Both the *St. Clair* and the *Monongahela Farmer* carried cargoes of local produce, mostly flour; the latter had 750 barrels on board. This was reshipped or sold at New Orleans; the *St. Clair* went to Havana and thence to Philadelphia, from which point her noble captain footed it home across the mountains. A Hildreth manuscript states that \$20.00 a barrel duty was charged Whipple for his flour at Havana and that he received \$40.00 a barrel for it.

In rapid succession the shipyards of the Ohio and its tributaries launched the successors of these ships that "Oped the way to Commerce"; the appended list is in no wise complete or correct, as names were changed, tonnages variously estimated, and the times of launching confused.⁶ In point of tonnage built, the known number probably does not include more than seventy-five per cent. of the total output from 1800 to 1808, but it suffices to show the awakening

⁵ Hildreth Papers, Marietta College, IV. 151.

⁶ Records of one kind or another are found of the following ships and their tonnage: *Muskingum*, 230, *Eliza Greene*, 124, *Dominic*, 100, *Indiana*, 75, *Marietta*, 150, *Mary Avery*, 150, *Whitney*, 75, *McGrath*, *Orlando*, 150, *Galett*, 185, *Temperance*, 230, *Ohio*, 150, *Nonpareil*, 70, *Perseverance*, 160, *Rufus King*, 400, *John Atkinson*, 320, *Tuscarora*, 400, *Sophia Greene*, 100, *Francis*, 350, *Robert Hall*, 300, *Rufus Putnam*, *Colatta*, 140 (all built at Marietta, Ohio); *Amity*, 200, *Dean*, 170, *Minerva*, 150, *Go-By*, 60 (named in derision of the Spanish embargo), *Dorcas and Sally*, 50, *Pittsburgh*, 270, *General Butler*, *Western Trader*, 400, *Betsey*, *Kentucky*, *General Scott*, *Robert Hale*, 280, *Penrose*, *Louisiana*, 300, *Conquest*, 126, *Allegheny*, 150, *Ann Jane*, *Maysville*, *Belville*, *Catharine*, *Nanina*, 150, *Ceres*, *Jane*, *Black Walnut*, 150, *Betsey O'Hara*, 100, *Mildred*, 150, *Beebe*, 120. Marietta seems to have been the chief ship-building port in the West. A manuscript in the hand of James Whitney, collector of that port, and builder of the *Marietta*, *Temperance*, *Rufus King*, *Robert Hall*, etc., shows that over 25 ships were built in yards near the mouth of the Muskingum. Hildreth Papers, I. 55.

in the period. These ships were not inferior in tonnage to those they spoke at New Orleans or on the seas. The average tonnage of those listed is somewhat over 150 tons; the average tonnage of American ships leaving New Orleans in 1802 was 135 tons; of Spanish ships, 93 tons.⁷ Thus the Ohio shipyards were building larger ships than the average in the New Orleans trade; they average larger than the average tonnage of the steamboats built by Great Britain and dependencies in 1834.⁸ It is probable that most of these ships entered the West India trade; many are said to have gone further afield, to England and Spain, but incontrovertible proof of this is wanting in most cases. Perhaps the first of these was the *Dean* or *Duane* of Pittsburgh, which left that port January 16, 1803, arrived at Liverpool early in the following July. The Liverpool *Saturday's Advertiser* of July 9, 1803, speaks of her as "the first vessel which ever came to Europe from the western waters of the U. S."⁹

Fortunately the full sailing records for two ships of this period have been preserved; these are the records of the *Ohio* which was built at Marietta in 1803-1804 and which sailed in March, 1804, for New Orleans and Philadelphia, and the records of the *Louisiana*, which was launched at Pittsburgh in March, 1804, and reached Trieste in April, 1805.¹⁰ The certificates, manifests, reports, and affidavits necessary to the sailing of the *Ohio* bring out clearly the strained conditions that existed in the shipping world in the Napoleonic period and the suspicion that existed of every ship until officially dispelled. First in the list comes the certificate of the builder of the vessel; he swore to date and place of building, tonnage, and the full names of the owners. Another certificate of ownership was also sworn to by the owners themselves, who were compelled to state "that there is no subject nor citizen of any foreign Prince or State directly or indirectly by way of Trust confidence or otherwise interested therein or in the profits or issues thereof". The master, Peter Rose, made affidavit that he was an American-born citizen. The certificate of registry is from the collector of customs for the district of Marietta, Griffin Greene, and is signed by James Whitney, surveyor of the port of Marietta. This document describes the *Ohio* as a brigantine built, and as having main and quarter decks, two masts, a square stern and a round tuck, no

⁷ Pittsburgh *Gazette*, December 3, 1803.

⁸ McCullough's *Gazetteer*, 1834.

⁹ *Western Spy*, October 5, 1803.

¹⁰ Hildreth Papers, II, 17-22, for the *Ohio*. The records of the *Louisiana* are in the possession of Miss Mary Nye, Marietta, Ohio.

galley and no head; its length was seventy-three feet and four inches; breadth, twenty-three feet and seven inches; depth, eleven feet and seven inches; tonnage, $173\frac{1}{8}$. The surveyor's report contained an itemized list of the cargo and destination of each item: twenty-nine coils of cordage, one $8\frac{1}{2}$ inch cable, and two coils of white rope for George Pollack of New Orleans; 567 bushels of stone coal, 1768 pipe staves, and 2012 hogshead staves for Peter Rose of New York. The affidavit of the master as to further cargo reads: "if I take on board said Brigantine any more cargo in the District of Marietta [which extended to the mouth of the Scioto River] that I will do everything in my Power to forward Manifest or Manifests to the Collector of the Port of Marietta. So Help me God." The fees paid by the *Ohio* amounted to over \$14.00, as follows: bond 25 cents; admeasurement \$1.50; register \$2.00; tonnage \$10.38 $\frac{1}{2}$; manifest 20 cents; permit (torn). These statistics illustrate the care which builders, owners, masters, collectors, and surveyors had to take in sending one ship down the Ohio in 1804; they throw into bolder relief than usual the irregular proceedings, only two years later, of Burr and Blennerhassett, who sought to ignore all the formalities of legal shipment. Blennerhassett was one of the proprietors of the ship *Dominic* (named from his own son) and must have known that failure to respect the shipping laws would be, in the eyes of the officials, *prima facie* evidence of illegal purpose.

The papers of the *Louisiana*, 300 tons, launched at Pittsburgh March 30, 1804, are of added interest. The ship sailed in ballast to take a cargo at the mouth of the Cumberland; she was registered at the port of Marietta and was known as the *Louisiana of Marietta* in the British Isles, in the Mediterranean, and in the Adriatic. Her owner, Mr. E. W. Tupper of Marietta, preserved her papers in part. Several of these are sworn "protests" before notaries public, which show the method by which masters and crews escaped being held liable for damage to ship and cargo from causes beyond their control. Taking her cotton at the Cumberland, the *Louisiana* grounded on a bar six miles below Fort Massac. The "protest" in this case was sworn to before Captain Daniel Bissell, commanding at the fort; in it Master Minor and crew "do solemnly protest against the said Bar in the River Ohio and against every and each Damage or Detriment which may . . . happen in consequence". A second paper shows that \$3.00 anchorage fee was paid to the *trésorier de la ville* at New Orleans, June 27. Leaving New Orleans July 23, the ship did not get into the Atlantic until August 5. Here she was becalmed and her inland crew of three men suffered such illness that they were

unable to take proper advantage of winds when they arose. Master Minor finally got into the Gulf Stream and ran up the coast to Norfolk, Virginia. Here he shifted his crew and protested right and left before a notary blaming "the Calms and Weather, the sickness of the Crew and all other Events and occurrences afore-said for all the Losses, Costs, Charges, Damages and Expenses", etc. This document shows that the cargo, in addition to cotton, consisted of staves and skins. Reaching Liverpool at an unknown date the *Louisiana* took on a cargo of merchandise for Trieste. At Messina, Sicily, a stop was made to protest, not against Scylla and Charybdis, as would be supposed, but against "repeated Gales and bad weather". Here the cargo was "surveyed" and found to be partially damaged through the laboring of the vessel—not because of "neglect or inattention of the said Master or Crew". The next document is a "Steavadores Certificate", dated at Trieste, in which Francesco Donatini on April 24 in "The Year of Human Salvation 1805" gives legal permission to the master of the *Louisiana* of *Marietta* to proceed to Liverpool with a cargo of oil, wood, box-wood, apples, juniper berries, and "other things". For pilotage into Liverpool Master Minor paid pilot-boat no. 4 £7 10s.; the receipt states that the draught of the *Louisiana* was ten feet. The "Light Bill" at this port was £8 9s.; the receipt shows the tonnage of the ship to have been 169—a considerable shrinkage from the 300 tons as given by the *Pittsburgh Gazette* at her launching! The ship sailed from Liverpool August 10 for Philadelphia with a cargo of 4124 bushels of white salt consigned to Messrs. Bickham and Reece valued at £181 0s. 2d.

The difficulties and discouragements of the western merchants who set this respectable inland fleet afloat in the space of seven years were partly foreseen and partly not; they include technicalities of ship-building, dangers of navigation, diplomatic troubles over the right of free navigation and deposit at New Orleans, and lack of proper credit and other commercial facilities.

These Rhode Island and Delaware ship-builders were of the maritime school and built the kind of craft that would sail the ocean. Westerners looked at the building of round-bottomed gun-boats at Pittsburgh as early as 1799 with ominous curiosity; they knew something about the winding, continually shifting, rock- and snag-infested channels of the Ohio and Mississippi; they knew that shippers by flatboat and barge were very greatly relieved to learn of the safe arrival of their goods at the proper destination; and the craft by which they were shipped drew only a few inches of water. It was

sure that ships drawing twelve feet and more could sail only at flood-tide and almost equally sure that great danger attended their progress in the most propitious season. We have seen that the *Louisiana* of 169 tons drew ten feet of water and that the *Ohio* of 173 tons had a hold nearly twelve feet in depth; what draught those of 400 tons may have had we cannot say, but one of the first to sail (of 270 tons) carried 1700 barrels of flour. Just as coal is now collected in mountainous quantities against the day of sailing, so a century ago cargoes had to be collected and loaded for the long-looked-for "rise"; this limited the character of cargoes to those of less perishable nature; "Monongahela Flour" could never have made its reputation in the South through the agency of ships cut on the lines of the *St. Clair* and *Monongahela Farmer*. Their "model" hulls, however, outlasted the ship-building decade and the steamboat *Orleans* of 1811 was of a similar type. Eliphalet Beebe, a ship-builder of Pittsburgh, as early as 1803, divined the great need of inland navigation, namely, a kind of craft that would sail on the water instead of in it; his scheme was to make ships draw less water by crooking the keel.¹¹ Finally, the entire maritime idea of keel and hold was abandoned on western waters, engines were raised up on deck, and between 1820 and 1840 the West built a steamboat tonnage that exceeded that of the entire British Empire. In passing, it is worthy also to note that the side paddle-wheel idea dominated in the West to the detriment of successful navigation until tradition was again thrown to the winds and stern-wheel control put the power where it was needed. A towboat to-day in descending western rivers largely controls its barges by reversing the paddle-wheel. This art of navigating a winding channel by reversing the motion of the engine was very cleverly secured by the undaunted pilots of the ship-building era by sending their ships down stream backwards with anchors dragging from the prows.¹²

The western ship-building merchants saw profits from their ventures in triplicate and quadruplicate. Their stocks of goods from the East were purchased on credit; they sold these to farmers and manufacturers at a profit, taking payment in produce and manufactured products; these formed the cargoes for their ships and were sold at length in Southern or Atlantic ports; if sold in Southern markets local produce was taken in payment and sold in Atlantic

¹¹ Pittsburgh *Gazette*, May 20, 1803.

¹² Hildreth Papers, II. 34½. On the Mississippi, long sweeps were mounted on platforms raised three above the decks and by their use ships were kept on the desired course. Rudderless ocean ships at present are sometimes steered by towing heavy casks at the end of long cables.

ports, where the vehicle itself was also sold at a very good profit. The *Ohio*, the details of whose sailing we have examined at some length, was sold at Philadelphia, according to Hildreth, for \$10,000.¹³ Making a twenty-five per cent. allowance for exaggeration and error, in order to be within the truth, the cash value of the ships built in the Ohio Valley 1800-1808 must have been over a million and a half dollars, and this apart from the profits on cargoes.

The chief difficulties of the shipping trade thus outlined are obvious to those acquainted with the West at this period, namely, lack of timely information regarding the state of the markets, lack of safe methods of doing business, and lack of systems of credit. It should be noted that this shipping was of two classes as it were, native and foreign, or better, western and eastern. The era began, we have seen, through the initiative of coteries of local merchants at Marietta and Elizabeth. Within three years agents of eastern houses were on the Ohio building vessels for eastern firms; the *Francis* "of New York" and *Robert Hall* "of New York" were built at Marietta and the *Dean* or *Duane* was built at Pittsburgh for Messrs. Meeker, Denman, and Company of Philadelphia. Easterners with sufficient capital had only the material difficulties of winds and tides, and delays consequent thereon, to contend with. The western merchants encountered these and the other difficulties usual in a pioneer, moneyless region. The cargoes sent southward were commonly in charge of one of their own number who was as sheep in the hands of the shearers when he went among the commission-house agents at New Orleans. The wide leeway allowed John Walker, master of the *Monongahela Farmer*, in the instructions given him, illustrates again the dependence of the pioneer community on the capitalists of the monied centres;¹⁴ native ingenuity was often put to the test and not infrequently beaten, but in Walker's case he sold his soured flour directly to New Orleans cracker-makers and was quits with the commission agents. Yet large losses were common. When Providence permitted the waiting ships a right-of-way down the rivers the fleets were too large for their owners' profit; markets were glutted and prices fell. In thirty days in 1803 the price of flour at New Orleans fell from \$9.00 to \$5.50 and "is coming down" wrote a correspondent "in vast quantities".¹⁵ In

¹³ This estimate is doubtless reliable. The writer's efforts to substantiate it, however, have not been successful. But it is a point to recall that the steamboat *Orleans*, built in 1810-1811, of 300 tons, was 138 feet in length. Engine and all, she was valued at \$40,000; the engine could hardly have been valued at over \$15,000; the remainder was valued at about the same rate per foot as the *Ohio* according to Hildreth. Hildreth Papers, II. 33½.

¹⁴ Manuscripts in possession of the Walker family, Elizabeth, Pa.

¹⁵ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, May 27, 1803.

far-away Cadiz, where the embargo had been removed, there were 15,000 barrels of flour in the harbor at one time and it brought only \$8.00 a barrel.¹⁶ At the same time (1803) it was selling in the West Indies at \$6.00 to \$7.00 with an 80 cent duty; at Pittsburgh the price was \$4.00 a barrel.

Not a few skippers took advantage of the charge at New Orleans for reshipping cotton and took cargoes directly from the up-Mississippi plantations to England. Several Pittsburgh and Marietta ships took on such cargoes at the mouth of the Cumberland and at Governor Winthrop Sargent's plantation near Natchez; in the latter case they got ten cents per hundred for cotton delivered at Liverpool, when the freight rate from New Orleans was only three and a half to four cents per hundred.¹⁷

The losses incurred from all causes by the merchants of the Pittsburgh region as early as the end of the year 1802, due to lack of shipping methods, caused bitter complaint; they were estimated at \$60,000 annually. Wrote an advocate of "big business" at the time: "The country has received a shock; let us immediately extend our views and direct our efforts to every foreign market".¹⁸ The want of storage facilities, advice, and assistance at New Orleans was the prime cause of dissatisfaction, and when the Spaniards ignored the treaty of San Lorenzo the burst of indignation on the part of the West may be considered as the leading factor in softening the constitutional scruples which otherwise might have prevented the Louisiana Purchase. The immediate result of the discontent brings out plainly the *crux* of the difficulty—lack of banking facilities. A plan to form an association of exporters of the Pittsburgh region was outlined at a mass meeting presided over by the venerable Col. Ebenezer Zane, founder of Wheeling; as a result what was known as the "Ohio Company" was formed at Pittsburgh, the membership being limited to the inhabitants of eight Pennsylvania and Virginia counties bordering on the Allegheny and Ohio rivers between Allegheny County, Pennsylvania, and Ohio County, Virginia. The capital stock was \$100,000, divided into shares of \$100 each.¹⁹ Objection to the plan was raised on the ground that some members would desire to ship at one time and others at another and altercation would result; the object desired, it was stated, could best be obtained by a combination between eastern and western merchants with mutual agents stationed at New Orleans.²⁰ The

¹⁶ Pittsburgh *Gazette*, June 10, 1803.

¹⁷ Hildreth Papers, II. 33.

¹⁸ Pittsburgh *Gazette*, October 22, 1802.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, October 8, 1802.

²⁰ Pittsburgh *Tree of Liberty*, October 9, 1802.

Louisiana Purchase promised a new era in western shipping and in 1804 the Ohio Company took the needed step in advance when it formed an "office of discount and deposit" as a western branch of the Bank of Pennsylvania (of Philadelphia); its president was John Wilkins, jr., assisted by a board of directors consisting of Messrs. O'Hara, Neville, and Berthoud—all leading exporters of the region.²¹ The cashier of the "Office" gave drafts on the Bank of Pennsylvania at one per cent. premium, thus establishing the first banking relationship between the Mississippi Basin and the Atlantic Coast; that it came about through the exigencies of the ship-builders of the Ohio Valley and was established by the exporters of the "Monongahela Country" is a significant fact.

It has already been hinted that the temporary embargo of 1803, which, for the time being, forbade the use of the port of New Orleans, was influential in calming the scruples of many who might have objected to the purchase. This is doubtless understated; although the economic necessity of controlling the lower Mississippi had long been discussed, the acuteness of the feeling when New Orleans was closed during the interim of change of governments can be attributed to the new, wide outlook that western men were taking concerning the relationship of the Mississippi Valley to World Commerce in the ship-building age. As early as March, 1802, these Westerners were wondering what the fate of free navigation would be when Louisiana should pass into the hands of Napoleon. On October 16, 1802, all rights in the case were withdrawn by the Intendant and forty days were allowed American ships to leave port. This was corrected May 20, 1803, but the flurry caused by it stopped the axes ringing in Ohio Valley ship-yards and threw western merchants into a panic. Upwards of two million dollars' worth of goods had been transported into the West in the year 1802, practically all of it purchased on credit. Natchez merchants alone had taken over three hundred thousand dollars' worth, to be paid for in cotton. Little wonder that they repeated the ancient threat to "arm themselves, descend the river", etc.²² But, of

²¹ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, January 6, 1804. The Bank of Kentucky was established in 1802; the writer has not been able to find that it gave drafts on any eastern institution. The New Orleans Bank was established in 1804. The Miami Exporting Company, the only contemporary rival of the Ohio Company, asked the Ohio legislature to grant it a charter that would permit it to use its capital for banking purposes if the use of it as an exporting company did not prove successful. This was refused. Burnet's "Letters", *Ohio Historical Transactions*, vol. I., pt. I., pp. 149-151.

²² Correspondent to the *Pittsburgh Gazette*, February 18, 1803. American historians, without exception, in recounting the incident of the purchase of Louisiana have implied that the commissioners were utterly surprised at the

greater interest, the new era of western life is presaged in the terms used now in estimating what the loss of the Mississippi would cost the nation.²³ The total loss was figured at \$300,000,000, as follows: 50,000,000 acres of western land decreasing \$2.00 per acre; loss on land sold on guarantee, \$10,000,000; a total loss on the remaining 200,000,000 acres at \$1.00 per acre, \$200,000,000.²⁴ However extreme this may have sounded in the ears of Congress, it may well be believed that argument of this character placed before the nation at large, in a light not recognized before, the great value of the "waste and vacant lands". The practical result of the temporary embargo can be estimated by its effect upon the shipyards at Marietta, doubtless the most important in the West. In 1804 and 1805 only one ship, two brigs, and a schooner were launched, with a total tonnage of 610; while in 1806 and 1807 more than ten were launched, five of them alone having a total of 1700 tons.

Upon the passage of Jefferson's embargo in 1807 the business was utterly abandoned. A local poet at Marietta on July 4, 1808, sang:

Our ships all in motion
Once whiten'd the Ocean
They sailed and returned with a cargo;
Now doomed to decay
They have fallen a prey
To Jefferson, worms, and embargo.²⁵

Those who have corrected the exaggerated statements of earlier writers concerning the baneful effect of the embargo on the Atlantic Coast may well note the actual disaster it brought to a growing, prosperous business on the western waters. The embargo was removed just at the dawn of the steamboat age, for in 1810 Zadok

suggestion that the United States should purchase the entire territory. If so, they had not been reading American papers during the preceding year. For more than a year before the purchase it was current rumor that Napoleon desired to sell the province to Great Britain or the United States, and the very price received for it, fifteen millions, was quoted as early as April, 1802, *Philadelphia Gazette*, March 15, 22, and 29, 1802; *Aurora*, April 2 and 3, 1802; *Pittsburgh Gazette*, April 9, 1802; *Western Spy*, January 19, 1803.

²³ The value of the fur-trade of the Great Lakes, 1801-1805, great as it was, was exceeded by that of the Mississippi Basin at this time. The revenues collected by the government in this period from the Great Lake ports were \$51,137.15; from the ports of the Mississippi Basin in the same period was received \$55,481.83. *Pittsburgh Commonwealth*, January 29, 1806.

²⁴ *Pittsburgh Gazette*, March 25, 1803, quoting Senator Ross's speech in Congress, February 14, 1803.

²⁵ Manuscript in possession of Capt. J. G. Barker, Marietta, Ohio.

Cramer wrote: "Now the white sail of commerce is to give place to vessels propelled by steam."²⁶ This new era was foreseen on the Ohio as early as 1805, when Captain McKeever built and sent to New Orleans a steamboat which was to have its engine installed at the latter port.²⁷

ARCHER B. HULBERT

²⁶ *Navigator*, 1811.

²⁷ *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Mercury*, June 25, 1805.

THE READJUSTER MOVEMENT IN VIRGINIA

BETWEEN the end of Reconstruction and the beginning of the recent educational and industrial renaissance there occurred in each of the Southern States a series of independent political movements more or less successful. The product of many and varied forces of discontent, they were all professedly in the interest of the common white man. Studied together they would perhaps show the process by which, during a period of reaction against the ultra-democratic views of carpet-baggers and scalawags, when the South was "solid" and ruled by "Bourbons" and "Confederate Brigadiers", the way was being prepared for the later democratic advance. Of these movements none was at once earlier and more far-reaching than that which centred around the state debt of Virginia.¹

I.

With her restoration to the Union in 1870 Virginia's problems of external adjustment virtually ceased. But congressional reconstruction had not solved her internal problems. These were, grouping them broadly, party reorganization, economic rehabilitation, and the future relations of races and of classes.

Two plans for the solution of these problems had, indeed, already appeared, each reflecting with fair accuracy ideas deep-rooted and long to persist. The Republican party, controlled by negroes and carpet-baggers, favored an ultra-democratic revolution: suffrage, office-holding, and jury-service based on manhood only, with the temporary disqualification of the fittest classes; equality of civil and social privilege; taxation according to wealth;² state support of public education and charities; elaborate governmental machinery of the modified New England type. And so fully was the party committed to these policies that it had embodied them in a constitution which it had offered for acceptance or rejection *in toto*.

¹ As the author intends to publish soon a longer and fully documented account of this movement, he has deemed it unnecessary to burden this article with detailed references to the very numerous sources on which it is based. Among these may be mentioned: the papers of W. H. Ruffner, L. E. Harvie, William Mahone, A. Fulkerson; contemporary Richmond, Norfolk, and Fredericksburg newspapers; pamphlets in the Virginia State Library; personal recollections, written and oral; and, of course, the *Acts of the General Assembly*.

² There was a poll-tax of one dollar. A few other exceptions might also be noted.

For aid and comfort it relied upon an intimate association, already established, with the national Republican party and the federal administration. But to leaders of the old régime such "Yankeeizing" and "Africanization" was intolerable. In direct and defiant opposition they proclaimed the former standard of aristocratic individualism and solidarity of the native whites in defense of it. And having organized as "Conservatives" and affiliated with the national Democracy they had planned to defeat the new constitution, with all its democratic features, quite regardless of the probable consequences. Distinctive too, at this time, was the bent of Republicans towards repudiation of old debts, both public and private, and the determination of Conservatives to pay "dollar for dollar".

But before a decision as between these plans could be made, a third and compromising movement had been organized. Business men, residing chiefly in towns and representing large interests, fathered it. Rejecting "Radicalism" and "Bourbonism" alike, they fixed upon home-rule by the fittest as the great desideratum, and upon acceptance of the new constitution with all its democratic features but without the disfranchising clause as the most practicable means of obtaining it. On this platform they invited the support of all, regardless of race or national party preference. And having quickly secured the "Conservative" name and organization and the co-operation of the "True Republican" faction, it was they who had brought the state back into the Union.³

For the next seven years (1870-1876) the working out of the state's problems went on quietly and with varying success. In party politics the spirit of the compromise movement at first prevailed. The new Conservative party, adhering to its original ideas of a single state issue and loose party lines, permitted no other issue to be discussed in its conventions, excluded no one who claimed to support it. Republicans, quickly shifting from their attitude of "proscription and hate", frankly offered to native whites not only liberal and progressive state policies but also a share in the determination of national policies and the distribution of federal patronage. None the less, negro solidarity soon reappeared, while with most whites conservatism and respectability became synonymous. And so, since the whites outnumbered the negroes two to one,⁴ the Republican party lost every state election. With 1876 it virtually ceased to exist save as a pretext for distributing federal patronage

³ Cf. Eckenrode, *Political History of Virginia during Reconstruction*.

⁴ The negro constituted one-half of the population east of the Blue Ridge Mountains (i. e., in two-thirds of the whole state) and about one-seventh west of them.

among a detested set taking their political cue always from Washington. The Conservative party, on the other hand, had by this time become a great floundering mass. Of organization it had little, and that little was not strong. Since its conventions refused even to discuss economic and social policies, these were threshed out locally, and many party factions resulted. Effective decision of such measures, however, was usually made at the state capital—in the legislature, indeed, but under the influence of forces that were far from having their source in any declared will of the party masses.

Economic rehabilitation proved peculiarly difficult. For the end of the war had found the farms devastated in three-fourths of the state, the railroads wrecked, available capital almost entirely destroyed, the old prevailing system of labor overthrown. The succeeding five years had, indeed, been tided over fairly well because prices were good and old debts were staved off by emergency laws. But now, in 1870, stay laws were unconstitutional and the competition of the virgin West had begun. None the less, the succeeding seven years saw much real progress. The whites went to work as never before and the negroes settled down as fairly independent laborers. With borrowed money better farming equipment was secured. Fertilizers came into extensive use. Small farms passed into the hands of the hitherto landless. Cattle-raising in the southwest, oyster-planting in the lower reaches of the rivers and coves, and trucking in the Norfolk region—all showed a decided advancement. There was a marked development in transportation and manufacturing. This, together with the shifting of population, made the towns fairly prosperous. But meantime private debt had been increasing by leaps and bounds, amounting in 1874 to perhaps thirty millions;⁵ and the legislature, of course, utterly failed in its efforts to enforce a moderate interest rate or proper homestead exemption. Though production increased steadily, reaching the *ante bellum* level by 1880, prices of farm products declined heavily and persistently. Discouraged by the prospects, owners of the old plantations and their heirs left in large numbers; and irresolute legislation and unconvincing arguments of the press could bring but few to take their places. Under this triple influence the market for farm lands began to disappear. Then, with 1877, came the full effects of the nation-wide panic. Business failures occurred by the hundred. All the railroads but one were in the hands of receivers. Newspapers published columns of those unable to pay their taxes, and the courts were busy ordering sales of property for debt. And opinion was soon

⁵ Governor's Message, December 2, 1874, appendix (*Senate Journal*, 1874-1875, doc. 1).

all but unanimous that the assessed value of realty, less in 1870 than in 1860 and less in 1875 than in 1870, must be again reduced, perhaps one-fourth.

Under such conditions the state debt necessarily proved a serious and perplexing burden. Contracted originally in the development of transportation,⁶ the accumulation of war and Reconstruction interest had increased it by 1870 to some forty-five millions. Offsetting this were stocks and bonds of the various railroad and canal companies, worth on the market perhaps ten millions in state bonds.⁷ The legislature of 1870-1871, inexperienced and subjected to powerful lobbies, bargained away the bulk of the assets and passed "the funding act".⁸ Under the latter, one-third of the debt was to be accounted for by the state in accordance with such terms as she should afterwards make with West Virginia; the rest might be funded, with interest at the old rate⁹ and collectible through coupons which must be received for taxes and other public dues. For this policy the chief argument was the "honor and credit of the state" and its importance in the restoration of private business. The terms, however, were so manifestly one-sided and the means used to secure them so notorious that the succeeding legislature, more intelligent and more representative of the farming interests, attempted to undo them. But when, in 1872, the state supreme court declared¹⁰ the funding act irrepealable as regards bonds already funded (which amounted to some two-thirds of the whole), the leading classes acquiesced in the decision. Interest on the debt was now more than one-half the total revenue; and the annual deficit was approximately a million dollars. To wipe out this deficit, legislative and executive leaders starved the schools, asylums, and maimed soldiers, revised the criminal code, reduced their own numbers and salaries, raised the tax on general property to the highest practicable point, and reached out for new objects of taxation, notably business licenses, dogs, and the consumption of liquor. Still, in 1877, the deficit was some \$600,000. Though the schools were closing, no interest was being paid on one class of the debt and the market clearly feared its eventual repudiation. But the preferred class of creditors, backed by court, press, and party leaders, would consider no practicable

⁶ Cf. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia*.

⁷ Governor's Message, March 8, 1870.

⁸ Act of March 28, 1870. The lobbyists represented both the railroads and the bondholders. Among them was a brother of Governor Walker.

⁹ On most of the debt this was 6 per cent.

¹⁰ *Antoni v. Wright*, 22 Grattan 833.

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compromise, and, by thrusting their coupons upon the market at inconvenient seasons, could stop the very wheels of government.¹¹

Meantime race relations had come to be in large measure re-defined. Economically, the negro must work out his own salvation, unhelped and unhindered. Socially, he must remain in a rigidly separate sphere. He might hold office rarely, vote only when it was not inconvenient. On the other hand, his taxes were light, his schools reasonably good, his personal freedom unrestrained. And despite some complaint of the chain-gang and the whipping-post, of exclusion from jury-service, and of partial disfranchisement, still, with his position as a whole the negro appeared to be content.

Among the whites, the upper and middle classes had seen significant changes. Many of the old plantation class had moved to town and there formed alliances, business and political, with the bondholders, railroads, and other capitalistic interests; the Confederate reaction had brought political power to others. In the counties a stronger middle class was forming—new land-owners, saloon-keepers, cattle-dealers, oyster-planters, merchants. These had begun to rise in the churches and the numerous fraternal and benevolent societies, to share local political leadership, and even to break into the family circles of their weakened social superiors.¹² Still, the new business man found his energy and initiative, the young lawyer his superior equipment, valued but slightly as compared with "experience"; and in public life offices were usually deemed "honors". Among the lower whites conditions refused to improve appreciably. Never had illiteracy been so great, knowledge of public affairs so small. Hard times and competition with the negro kept them literally bowed to the earth. The more serious found solace in the churches, where a Puritan-like religion was preached; others in the saloons, where drunkenness and brawls were frequent. In the public schools they recognized a chance for better things; but the view was dim, the chance remote.

Looking back upon this work of seven years, directors of Conservative policy called it good. And not without reason. For to have averted the horrors which characterized Radical rule in the South without either show of force or self-abasement; to have rendered the freedman harmless and useful and contented; in a time of nation-wide extravagance and corruption to have kept their hands clean and the honor of the state unsullied—these were no slight achievements.

¹¹ Cf. Governor's Message, December 2, 1874 (*Senate Journal*, 1874-1875).

¹² Cf. P. A. Bruce in *The South in the Building of the Nation*.

But dissatisfaction and friction existed within Conservative ranks to a much greater extent than the outside world was led to believe. Already a small group, later known as "original readjusters", had begun to assert that Virginia was under no obligation whatever for one-third of the old state's debt¹³ nor for war and reconstruction interest on the rest; because, they said, by the law of nations debts follow the soil and interest ceases when war conditions prevail. The funding act, they maintained, was void because of fraud in its passage, and the decision of the court sustaining it was bad in law and equity and could be reversed or circumvented. Since the state was actually bankrupt, her debt should be accordingly "readjusted". On such a platform Rev. John E. Massey, of the Piedmont section, had won and maintained a seat in the legislature. With the expectation of bringing the matter again before the courts, his co-worker, Col. A. Fulkerson, of the southwest, had carried through one house a bill taxing coupons twenty-five per cent. In the interest of the unprivileged holders, as well as from considerations of public policy, men no less conspicuous than Gov. James C. Kemper and the venerable R. M. T. Hunter, now state treasurer, had sought to secure uniformity of obligations and equality of creditors. The state superintendent of public instruction, Rev. W. H. Ruffner, of the Valley, had openly charged that public funds were being "diverted" to the payment of debt interest, had proved his charge, and won a public verdict against the practice.¹⁴ On the other hand, irreconcilable "Bourbons" had frequently and boldly demanded that public education and all the other democratizing social ideas brought in by Yankees be completely discarded; and they were meeting no little encouragement from men unused to heavy taxes in days before the war. Lacking adequate assistance from the legislature in matters such as railroad rates and schedules, fertilizers and middlemen's profits, some 18,000 farmers had organized themselves into "granges" bent upon self-protection.¹⁵ These were rapidly drifting into politics. Against the concentration of party control in Richmond and allied towns there had been a succession of increasingly successful fights, in which James Barbour, of Culpeper, H. H. Riddleberger, of the Valley, and Mike Glennan, of Norfolk, were leaders. Here and there, especially after the incoming of

¹³ Certificates had been issued under the funding act for this one-third. These were called on the market "*Virginia deferred*".

¹⁴ For discussion over the school funds and over the policy of maintaining public schools see state superintendent of public instruction, *Reports*, 1877, 1878; auditor, *Reports*, 1877, 1878; *Southern Planter*, 1875, 1879; *Religious Herald*, 1876, 1878, *passim*.

¹⁵ State Grange, *Proceedings*, 1874-1876; *Southern Planter*, 1872-1876.

President Hayes, liberal-minded men had protested against the perpetuation of sectionalism and of control through tyranny of popular prejudice. And whenever Republicans had ceased to be dangerous in any locality they were apt to unite with some of these classes of Conservatives in support of independent candidates pledged to "reform".

These forces of discontent were strongest in the west, where no race problem held them in restraint and a deep-seated distrust of the east gave them silent encouragement. Especially vigorous was the anti-debt sentiment of the southwest, a region still largely undeveloped, self-assertive, and lacking in centres of monied influence. In the east they had in the Richmond *Whig* a clever and unscrupulous exponent, extremely democratic in its pretensions. To crystallize them was the task of 1877-1879. The honor of the achievement belongs pre-eminently to Gen. William Mahone.

II.

The son of poor though respected parents in one of the older counties, William Mahone had been educated at the Virginia Military Institute through the aid of friends. Entering the Confederate army as colonel, he came out major-general. With experience in railroad construction and operation he quickly perceived the possibilities of "consolidation", and by 1870 had secured from the state, at a nominal cost, her interest in the connecting lines running west from Norfolk to Bristol. These he wove into a trunk-line, which, in token of his hopes, he called the Atlantic, Mississippi, and Ohio. To facilitate his railroad plans he created a "Mahone following" in politics, consisting largely of young men, self-made men, and the "odds and ends" of the towns. Governor Peirpont was his friend. To him the election of Gilbert C. Walker as governor, in 1869, was largely due. He was credited with securing the nomination of Governor Kemper in 1873. But his ambition, methods, and dictatorial manner had made him many enemies. Competitors dubbed him the "Railroad Ishmael". Walker and Kemper had both broken with him. The party fidelity of his organ, the Richmond *Whig*, was more than once questioned. With his railroad in the hands of an unfriendly receiver—through the contrivance of "Bourbons", the *Whig* asserted—Mahone in 1877 entered the race for the Conservative gubernatorial nomination.

Conservative party managers in early 1877, despite the obvious signs of discontent, were again planning a campaign of enthusiasm and harmony. From the first, however, the candidacy of Mahone

seems to have been viewed with suspicion and disfavor, and soon the rumor went uncontradicted that the other five aspirants would combine to eliminate him. So Mahone, undoubtedly with a view to forestalling this move, issued¹⁶ in early July a brief and clear declaration in favor of a readjustment of the debt—by compulsion if necessary—together with liberal support of the public schools and no further increase in taxes. The boldness and timeliness of this position evoked widespread public discussion. At the convention Mahone went down in defeat but, despite the violent protests of “debt-payers”, the platform committed the party to a position quite similar to his. There was, indeed, a qualification that the readjustment must be “honorable”. But just what was meant by this the convention’s nominees, lacking Republican opposition, did not see fit to indicate. Likewise in the legislative districts readjustment became the leading issue, loudly, if not intelligently, discussed, often connected with other grievances, and often advocated by unknown men against old favorites. And here, too, dissenting Conservatives appeared to win.¹⁷

Meeting in caucus with Independents and Republicans the new majority quickly agreed upon legislative officers; these they sustained in the regular party caucus against “debt-payers”. Then they accepted and passed, in early 1878, the “Barbour Bill”, under which the revenues were apportioned, one-fifth for schools (their constitutional quota), one-half for government expenses, and the rest for interest on the debt. But Governor Holliday, backed by the Conservative press which spoke for the central party organization, refused his assent. And again, as in 1872, respect for authority blocked further legislation.

Thoroughly angry, the leading dissenters now determined to carry the contest into the ensuing congressional campaign by identifying readjustment and greenbackism as both fights of “the people” against the “brokers” and their allies, the courts. They aimed, it would seem, not to disrupt the party, but to supplant the local “rings” and “court-house cliques” and the “Bourbon” congressmen. To this end a steering committee was appointed, among whose members were General Mahone, Colonel Fulkerson, and William H. Mann, afterwards Democratic governor.¹⁸

¹⁶ Through letters addressed to M. M. Martin, of Charlotte Court House, and Alfred B. Courtney, of the Richmond school-board.

¹⁷ Among those defeated were two ex-governors, William Smith and John Letcher.

¹⁸ *Richmond Dispatch*, July 5, 1878. Governor Mann was not conspicuous in the later movements.

By this time, however, directors of Conservative policy were prepared to compromise. Pointing out the unwisdom of projecting state issues into a national campaign they succeeded after no little difficulty in securing nominees favorable to the greenback idea but not committed to readjustment.¹⁹ An attempt to form non-partizan "debt-paying associations" was snubbed notwithstanding the prominence of its sponsors. At the second session of the legislature (1878-1879) an unprecedented liberality toward charitable institutions was displayed, and debt-payers were induced to unite with moderate readjusters for the protection of the school revenues. Most important of all, the preferred creditors now brought forward a refunding proposition, soon known as the "McCulloch Bill",²⁰ which would apparently alleviate the fiscal situation and fulfill the party pledge of 1877.

But to extreme readjusters the success of these measures meant disaster. Accordingly, at the call of about one-fourth of the legislature, some 175 delegates representing three cities and fifty-nine counties met in Richmond, February 25, 1879, to consider what ought to be done to protect the "imperilled rights and interests" of "citizens and taxpayers". Conservatives, representing every social degree, predominated; but the admixture of Independents and Republicans was striking. Through the contrivance of debt-payers a few negroes appeared; these, also, were admitted, though without enthusiasm. An ultra-popular note pervaded the many speeches, and crystallized itself into a formal "address". In this no specific fiscal measure was formulated or endorsed. But the McCulloch Bill was roundly condemned as a contrivance for again deceiving the people, and principles of debt-settlement were laid down which echoed an intense hatred of special privilege and emphasized popular sovereignty and states' rights.²¹ Not a word was said as to future party relations. But a complete organization was provided for, and at its head was placed Gen. William Mahone.

Enraged rather than alarmed, Conservative managers now sharply cracked the party whip. Debt-payers and moderate read-

¹⁹ Randolph Tucker was opposed to greenbackism. Gen. Joseph E. Johnston declared himself a "gold greenbacker". Their personal popularity prevented opposition.

²⁰ So called from Hugh McCulloch, who acted for the "Funding Association of the United States of America", an association formed to handle such debts by Mr. McCulloch, J. P. Morgan, and others a year previous. *Richmond Dispatch*, January 3, 1879.

²¹ See *Whig*, February 26, 27, 1879. Features of the McCulloch Bill specifically objected to were: the monopoly of the funding operations given to brokers; the continuation of the tax-receivable coupon feature; the compounding of interest, even though the new burden was much less than the old.

justers quickly fell into line and, as "funders", pressed the McCulloch Bill to its enactment²² Then they rested, content with the almost unanimous support of office-holders, lawyers, planters, clergy, press, colleges, and the outside world's approval—forces hitherto dominant.

Readjusters,²³ however, paused not. Beginning spontaneously and somewhat noisily in the southwest they easily perfected strong local organizations there. Then, taking advantage of the spring elections for local officers, Mahone very quietly commenced inciting the dissatisfied of the east—rousing feelings of personal injury among the ruined members of the planter class, stimulating ambitions, choosing men of energy as leaders, especially young men, and tying them to himself in interest. Meantime "Parson" Massey,²⁴ too, was wandering about the state, preaching and lecturing. Endowed with unusual skill in the off-hand manipulation of figures and with a rare gift for repartee, the farmers heard him gladly, and began to listen very seriously as a prolonged drouth grew more and more alarming.

Not until August did Funders awake to the results of these new methods. Hurriedly calling together the state Conservative committee they made acceptance of the McCulloch Act the test of conservatism, thus "reading out" their opponents and securing for themselves the machinery and hitherto magic name of the old party.²⁵ Then the whole battery of Conservative orators was turned loose, and soon the plain people saw revived, after a suspension of two decades, the well-loved joint discussions. Here eloquent appeals to honor and haughty denunciation of party "traitors" were met by a queer mixture of fact and half-fact enforced by homely anecdote and cunning appeal to class feeling. Often the spectators indulged in rough interruptions of the speaker, not infrequently they fought among themselves, and the custom of duelling, almost extinct, began to revive. Under this cover, nominations for the legislature were made. Funders, on the whole, chose men of substance and good standing, though it was noted that some refused to enter "the modern scramble for office". Readjuster selections were of nearly equal quality with Funders' in the southwest, but inferior and with a marked tendency toward self-made men of the popular type in the Valley; while in the east, only a few of them could be defended.

²² Act of March 28, 1879.

²³ I have used "Readjuster" when referring to the organized party, "readjuster" elsewhere; and "Funder" and "funder" by analogy.

²⁴ Rev. John E. Massey, see p. 739.

²⁵ *Dispatch*, August 7, 1879.

Meantime Republican leaders—their party still demoralized—were endeavoring to keep the negro quiescent; they themselves, for the most part, favored the McCulloch Act. With this Funders were naturally content. Readjusters at first moved cautiously and cleverly. They had not, they said, invited the negro to their convention, but the issue must be settled by votes and they preferred the “honest negro” to “Bourbon Republicans”; besides, to divide the colored vote had been the policy of the Conservative party in its earlier and purer days. But when the alignment of the whites had become pretty well established, Massey began in Petersburg an open solicitation of colored support. Forthwith the rumor spread that Readjusters would give the negroes more “rights” while Funders would bind their children in servitude for forty years. To counteract this, Funders hired negro speakers and spoke from the same platforms with them—“the best men of both races”—obtained a letter from Frederick Douglass and a telegram from President Hayes in behalf of the McCulloch Act, even supported negro candidates for the legislature. But the habit of opposing whoever bore the Conservative name made progress difficult among the colored masses.

At a fair and reasonably quiet election, Readjusters won a majority of both houses. Two years later a much fuller vote, with the same issue paramount, gave results strikingly similar even in detail. Analyzing and comparing the returns for the two years we find that the whites of the west and the blacks of the east gave approximately two-thirds of their votes to the readjusters. From this it would appear that sectional and racial antipathies largely governed voters. Yet the result would not have been possible but for the support of perhaps a fourth of the whites of the east. With these, as with the whites of the west, long-continued economic depression probably weighed heavily. For of twenty counties selected for the heaviness of their decline in assessed realty values fourteen went Readjuster, in only six of which did the negro constitute a majority; while the prosperous cities and towns, almost without exception, were Funder. Readjusters saw in their victory a triumph of liberal and practical ideas like those of 1869; Funders, another outbreak of radicalism. Certainly, the old leaders and the old ideas were discredited; and the whole South regretted it deeply.

III.

The period of Readjuster control, beginning in December, 1879, and lasting about four years, was marked by radical economic and

social legislation.²⁶ In fair accordance with the views of "original readjusters", the "Riddleberger Bill"²⁷ fixed the amount of the public debt at twenty-one millions—a scaling of some ten millions, aside from the third which law and custom had previously designated as West Virginia's. For this "correct" principle the act offered new bonds bearing interest at one-half the original rate and without privileged features, the ratio of exchange varying in inverse proportion to the amount of interest received since the war by the several classes of outstanding bonds; and acceptance of the new bonds should constitute an absolute release from any liability for West Virginia's third. To compel exchange, the legislature forbade payment of interest on the old forms of indebtedness, whether through appropriations or acceptance of the tax-receivable coupons.²⁸ By other acts delinquent taxpayers and tax-collectors were called to account, old claims of the state were compromised for cash, and a really serious effort was made at taxing the railroads. While a full treasury was being obtained in these ways, the legislature also began to reverse the old policy of fiscal and social narrowness. Thus they reduced the general tax burden, especially that of the farmer and laborer, liberalized the suffrage through repeal of the poll tax prerequisite, effectually and finally crushed the reviving custom of duelling, abolished the whipping-post, threw open the doors to corporate enterprise especially in the southwest, and began so generous a policy toward public schools and charities that denominational institutions trembled. Equally significant were measures which failed to pass but were favored by a distinct majority of Readjusters:²⁹ for state inspection of fertilizers and tobacco (hitherto private monopolies) and for an astounding state control over railroads; for the establishment of agricultural experiment stations and for the encouragement of mining; and for the protection of property sold under judicial order from the mismanagement or greed of the lawyers. But of legislation for the special protection or "elevation" of the negro there was none.

That officials were inefficient and "out of sympathy with the people" had long been a complaint of Massey and the older set of Readjusters. The appointive state officials were particularly objects

²⁶ Readjusters were in control of the legislature for this period. For state officials and employees, see below.

²⁷ Act of February 14, 1882. It was so called because of the prominence of H. H. Riddleberger, a member of the senate, in its enactment. An earlier "Riddleberger Bill" (*Whig*, February 10, 1880) was vetoed by Governor Holliday.

²⁸ Acts of January 14 and 26, 1882.

²⁹ *House Bills*, 1881-1882. The defeat was due to the revolt against Mahone's methods, see p. 740.

of hatred and envy. "If I can exert any influence", wrote Mahone soon after the victory of 1879, "not one of them shall go unexpelled—and that quickly."³⁰ In its methods of removal the legislature had little regard for propriety or the law, and with 1882 the "sweep" was nearly complete, from petty clerk and door-keeper to supreme court and board of control. The same year a Readjuster governor, lieutenant-governor, and attorney-general were installed in the three elective state offices. Already the federal patronage was becoming a Readjuster asset through the activity of United States Senator Mahone; and in early 1882 H. H. Riddleberger was chosen Mahone's "assistant-senator". In character and efficiency the early appointments averaged fairly high. The three popularly elected officials and the federal senators were able men. Judges of the supreme court served full terms without discredit. The important federal appointees were more acceptable than their carpet-bagger and scalawag predecessors. Most well-equipped men, however, refused to share in the "debauching of the state"; and few of those who took office were welcome in the "best homes". "Men of the people", party "workers", and the Republican leaders, "our faithful allies", as a rule received the "plums". Noisiness, extravagance, and petty graft necessarily followed. The old aristocratic idea that offices are "honors" was dead; the newer, that the public official is a public servant, had not arisen. But that the negro was entitled to anything like a proportionate share of the spoils few were democratic enough to believe or rash enough to assert.

Concurrently a party machine and boss were being developed. Under the Readjuster plan of party organization adopted in 1879, delegates to the state convention from the several congressional districts elected committees of three. Collectively, these formed a state committee; separately, they served as congressional committees with power to name the county chairmen, who, in turn, constituted the state senatorial committees. In similar fashion, the caucus of the legislature following apportioned state patronage to the congressional districts for distribution by the Readjuster members therefrom. Supposedly democratic, these measures together vested effective party control in a salaried machine. The head of this machine was the party chairman, General Mahone.³¹ At first deriving power chiefly from his personal skill and his ownership of the *Whig*, in 1881 he added a partial control over the federal patronage, which carried with it a corresponding command of the negro vote.

³⁰ Harvie Papers.

³¹ Mahone was chairman of both the state committee and the executive committee. His associates on the latter were virtually appointed by himself.

Forthwith he eliminated his chief rival, the popular Massey, by defeating him for the gubernatorial nomination. Terrorized, most legislative candidates thereupon gave him a written "pledge" to abide the results of the legislative caucus in all matters affecting the party; and when the caucus met, gag rules were forced upon it, under which a cut-and-dried programme of legislation and appointment was attempted.³² A revolt followed; but its leaders went the same way as Massey. In complete control but confronted by a dearth of capable and trustworthy lieutenants, Mahone now openly centralized the party organization in himself; and in 1884 he reported from a single committee to a packed convention not only the platform and a plan of party organization but also candidates for the electoral college and delegates to the Republican national convention. Nor was his control in local politics less sweeping or open. And in this system of boss and taskmasters the negro seemed to rejoice.

This machine was used not only to influence the legislation and appointments described above but also to reorganize and rehabilitate the Republican party. Already attempts had been made, by Grant in 1873 and by Hayes in 1877, to detach groups of the better classes of Conservatives through endorsement of liberalism, protection, and an "honest" financial policy for both state and nation. Very naturally, however, considering the quality of Virginia Republicans, these efforts had entirely failed.³³ But in the fall of 1879 a secret arrangement had been made between General Mahone and Gen. Simon Cameron, the boss of Pennsylvania, a result of which was that Republicans of the legislature supported Mahone for the United States Senate.³⁴ In explanation, the North was told that the debt issue was merely a pretext under cover of which the color line had been broken and "Bourbonism" was being overthrown. Early next year Mahone suggested that Readjusters support as a unit the national party which should bid highest; and only after an all-night session and by a very narrow vote did the Republican state convention decline to offer fusion on the basis of six Readjuster and five Republican electors pledged to Grant. The bargaining process continued in 1881, Mahone giving the Republicans his deciding vote in the Senate³⁵ and receiving both considerable federal patronage and an endorsement of the "Anti-Bourbon, or Liberal, party"; and again

³² A. M. Lybrook, in *Dispatch*, September 12, 1882; Frank G. Ruffin, *Mahoneism Unveiled: Facts, Thoughts, and Conclusions*.

³³ Alderman and Gordon, *J. L. M. Curry*, ch. XIV.

³⁴ Thomas V. Cooper, *American Politics* (ed. 1882), pt. I., p. 263.

³⁵ *Congressional Record*, 47 Cong., special sess., *passim*; *New York Times*, March, 1881, *passim*.

in 1882 (the year of the Riddleberger law) when the national congressional committee "earnestly recognized" Readjuster candidates as "administration men". The resulting fusion received formal and authoritative sanction two years later when a solid delegation, headed by Mahone and pledged to Arthur, was recognized by the national Republican convention as regular, notwithstanding the opposition of "Straight-outs", who for four years had been fighting to restore the state's former financial policy and the party leadership of 1871-1877.³⁶ Henceforth the "Republican party of Virginia" had a new and native leadership, and large areas of white strength in the southwest and the Valley. These for twenty years enabled it to present a strong front; the latter alone to-day preserves it from extinction.

The most substantial results of the Readjuster movement, however, are to be found in the changes wrought in the old dominant party. Taking advantage of a decision of the federal Supreme Court³⁷ sustaining the crucial part of the Readjuster plan of settling the debt, Conservatives in 1883 declared the finality of that plan, and thereafter supported it so effectively that, in 1893, creditors accepted terms even less favorable. Already, in 1882, under the stress of "Mahoneism", Massey, Fulkerson, and others had been informally invited to return to the party which had disowned them four years before. In 1883 the gates were formally thrown open to "all Conservative Democrats"; and the state convention, to obliterate the past few years, changed the official party name to "Democrat". A new plan of party organization, modelled after the Mahone pattern, was adopted, and at its head were placed business men, "new" men, and not a few ex-Readjusters. Victory followed. The new Democratic legislature imitated its Readjuster predecessors in ruthless removal of opponents and scrupulous reward of workers. With Cleveland's sweep of the federal offices—one of the things for which he was elected, said the *Nation*—and with the election of Fitzhugh Lee as governor in 1885, the Mahone machine gave way completely to the Democratic.³⁸ The inspiration for all this had come, not from Richmond, but from Washington; and there for years afterwards, as under Mahone, men sought direction and reward. So far from repealing any genuine Readjuster legislation, Democrats perfected and extended it, their conventions even promising separate

³⁶ *The Nation*, June 12, 1884.

³⁷ *Antoni v. Greenhow*, 107 U. S. 769.

³⁸ The "Danville riot", a street fight between whites and negroes, unquestionably influenced the result. It did not, however, materially reduce the Readjuster vote.

boards of trustees for colored schools, free text-books for all, and a variety of things in the interest of labor. For such, they said, was the "will of the people".

Perhaps we may now venture to evaluate this movement, of which the Readjuster party was the culmination. Originating in conditions of economic distress, social narrowness, and political inertia, the character of its legislation and the social position of many whom it brought to the front mark it as essentially democratic. If it did defy the courts, unduly exalt the legislature, and at length produce an irresponsible boss, when was it otherwise with popular movements? And though considerably less than half the whites supported the party, probably a majority of them had favored its principles before it crystallized and won the negro vote. Nor must we leave unnoticed, in this connection, its treatment of the negro as an integral part of the people. In this respect it differed from Reconstruction radicalism to whose best features it was in general the heir. Its results varied widely in duration and importance. Most obvious among them is the rejuvenation of the Republican party. Though this was rather a by-product, it made legal disfranchisement of the negro a necessity in the eyes of Democrats; and the blindness with which he had followed Mahone gave them a new argument in its favor. Very conspicuous and important was the method of settling the debt. For through it the losses of war were in part shifted to unwilling creditors, and in part to a "sovereign" state; and these radical actions later received the discriminating approval of the market and the courts. Less conspicuous but not less far-reaching was its decisive endorsement of a wider and more efficient social activity on the part of the state, notably in the matters of public education and charities and in the regulation and taxation of common carriers. To what extent it affected ordinary business or modified social relations and standards one cannot easily say. For the tide of economic improvement had probably begun when the Readjuster party was formed and a gradual adjustment of classes had long been in progress. But that Readjuster leaders for a time avowedly planned to maintain a position in national politics upon a purely materialistic basis is not without significance. And there are those who believe that with Democratic acceptance of Readjuster principles and Mahone methods there came a lowered tone in private as well as in public life.

C. C. PEARSON.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

JEFFERSON AND THE VIRGINIA CONSTITUTION

IN the *Nation* for August 7, 1890, appeared a valuable article by the prince of American antiquarians, Mr. W. C. Ford, on Jefferson's draft of the constitution of Virginia. After a century of oblivion this important document was discovered by Mr. Ford, and in the article in the *Nation* was described and criticized. The document itself has been published in the *William and Mary College Quarterly* for July, 1892, by Miss Kate Mason Rowland, of the famous Mason family of Virginia, and both "first draft" and "fair copy" by Mr. Paul Leicester Ford in the second volume of the *Writings* of Jefferson. It, however, has recently been discovered that Jefferson's draft had been published and discussed as early as 1806. It had, as is well known, been given by Jefferson, then in Congress, to Wythe for presentation to the convention. Found in the papers of Wythe, on his death in the year named, by his close friend and executor, William Duval, the manuscript was shown to Thomas Ritchie, editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*. In that paper, June 20, 1806, for the first time the Jefferson draft of the constitution of 1776 was published, along with an "original" Declaration of Independence.

The editorial note accompanying the two documents is of interest and follows:

Among the literary reliques of the venerable George Wythe, were found the following rare and curious papers in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson. The first is a copy of the original Declaration of Independence, as it came from the hands of the author. The other is a plan of a Bill of Rights and of a Constitution for Virginia, composed by Mr. Jefferson. For the permission to peruse and publish these papers, we are indebted to the politeness of Mayor Duval, the sole executor of the estate, . . . The *Bill* and *Constitution* as we have them in manuscript, are without any mark to note the date of their production. It is presumed however, that they were written in 1776. The Constitution, written by Mr. Jefferson, in '83, is already published in the Appendix to some of the Editions of his *Notes on Virginia*.

The publication of the draft in the *Enquirer* appears to have been unnoticed or forgotten. There were, however, other men besides Duval and Ritchie who caught a glimpse of the original manuscript; it would appear from the succeeding extract that it was deposited

somewhere in the archives of Virginia, from which it disappeared, as have many other relics of those momentous days.

William Wirt in the following brings us to 1818, for in his *Life of Henry*, in a note on page 196 (first three editions), he says: "There now exists among the archives of this State, an original draught of a constitution for Virginia, in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson." By 1829, however, the document seems, from the speech of Benjamin Watkins Leigh quoted below, to have disappeared from the archives. Speaking as a Conservative in the Constitutional Convention of 1829-1830, Leigh, like Mr. Ford, raises the question of Jefferson's democracy in 1776.

I know [he says] that Mr. Jefferson himself prepared a Constitution for Virginia, and sent it to Williamsburg that it might be proposed to the Convention, during the session. . . . I have seen the project of the Constitution, which Mr. Jefferson offered, in the Council Chamber, in his own handwriting, tho' it cannot now be found—and I have since cursed my folly that I neglected to take a copy of it, in order to compare Mr. Jefferson's democracy of *that day*, with George Mason's practical republicanism.

In 1829, as we know, Leigh belonged to the reactionary school of thinkers who no longer recognized the authority of the great Democrat.

I know of little else with regard to the history of Jefferson's draft. It would certainly be of great interest to discover what became of the manuscript used by Thomas Ritchie and to determine whether it was the same as either of the drafts discovered by Mr. W. C. Ford. An effort has been made to solve that problem, but without success. But however profitable a discussion of the identity of the documents would be, I am much more interested in the *interpretation* of the Jeffersonian constitution. There would seem to me considerable difficulty in accepting the theory that Jefferson's proposals were undemocratic or were more undemocratic than the constitution as adopted in 1776. It is true that in Jefferson's draft there are odd suggestions here and there; but a detailed comparison with the constitution as adopted would seem to make certain that Jefferson's ideas were certainly not *less* democratic than those adopted and also not inconsistent, in important respects, with his well-known opinions of later years. After a careful consideration of the subject, one may be pardoned for suspecting that it was not its late arrival alone that prevented the adoption of Jefferson's plan.

According to Jefferson:

All male persons of full age and sane mind, having a freehold estate in [one-fourth of an acre] of land in any town, or in [25] acres of land in

the country, and all persons resident in the colony who shall have paid scot and lot to government the last [two years], shall have right to give their vote in the election of their respective representatives.

This section represents an advance over the suffrage qualifications in Virginia accepted by the constitution of 1776, and is exactly in line with Jefferson's later democratic contentions. The same democratic advance is seen in Jefferson's scheme of apportioning representation on the basis of the distribution of electors. This is beyond anything Virginia has enjoyed down to the present day. Inasmuch as the constitutional battles in Virginia from 1829 to 1850 were to be fought around these two points of democracy, suffrage and apportionment of representation, they must be emphasized as essential features fixing the radically democratic character of his proposals. The effort further to democratize the holding of land, prohibiting the appropriation of public land to any already holding as much as fifty acres, and the provision in his constitution that "Descents shall go according to the law of Gavelkind, save only that females shall have equal rights with males", are of peculiar importance. As a matter of fact, one of the things in which Jefferson was at this time distinctly interested and continued to be interested was a land policy. In 1785 he found property in France concentrated in a few hands and thought that legislators "cannot invent too many devices for subdividing property". Facing the problem for America he said:

It is too soon yet in our country to say that every man who cannot find employment, but who can find uncultivated land, shall be at liberty to cultivate it, paying a moderate rent. But it is not too soon to provide by every possible means that as few as possible shall be without a little portion of land. The small landowners are the most precious part of the State.

The innocent or fantastic looking provisions in his constitution of 1776 are part of a programme much more important than how this or that man should obtain office. Of equal significance is the provision that "No person hereafter coming into this country shall be held within the same in slavery under any pretext whatever", and the provision that "All persons shall have full and free liberty of religious opinion; nor shall any be compelled to frequent or maintain any religious institution."

It is easy to put too much emphasis on the structural side of Jefferson's programme. That was not where Jefferson's heart was; his heart was in the promotion of popular participation in government through a wide privilege of franchise and the equal distribution of representation: but even more in the promotion of religious and economic equality of opportunity. His heart was in a democ-

racy that counts. But even on the structural side, Jefferson's draft, from the point of view of democracy, stands the test of a comparison with the constitution as adopted. In the plan adopted large powers of appointment were placed in the general assembly. In Jefferson's plan these powers were placed in the "House of Representatives"—in the body closest to the people. Jefferson likewise provides for the popular election of sheriffs; the constitution as adopted placed their choice with the governor on nomination of the county courts. Further, the constitution as adopted had no provision for amendment. But in Jefferson's draft occurs the following:

None of these fundamental laws and principles of government, shall be repealed or altered, but by the personal consent of the people on summons to meet in their respective counties on one and the same day by an act of legislature to be passed for every special occasion; and if in such county meetings the people of two-thirds of the counties shall give their suffrages for any particular alteration or repeal referred to them by the said act, the same shall be accordingly repealed or altered, and such repeal or alteration shall take its place among these fundamentals and stand on the same footing with them in lieu of the article repealed or altered.

As a matter of fact, Jefferson did not propose that the *first* constitution should go into effect until it had been passed on by the people. For according to Jefferson's intention: "It is proposed that this bill, after correction by the convention, shall be referred by them to the people, to be assembled in their respective counties; and that the suffrages of two-thirds of the counties shall be requisite to establish it." It does not seem to me that the similarity of Jefferson's plan with that of "A Native", sponsored by Carter Braxton, is more than superficial. Limitations of space make impossible a detailed comparison here. The great reforms, however, in descent, labor, landholding, suffrage, apportionment, the method of amending the fundamental law, religious liberty, which Jefferson provided for are ignored by the "Native". There was little about Jefferson's proposals to be ashamed of. There is little in them that is undemocratic. If the "Native's" draft was a programme of the views of "the dons, the bashaws, the grandees, the patricians, the sachems, the nabobs", the scheme adopted, even with its noble Bill of Rights, was an effective system for the preservation of the political, geographical, and economic inequalities of Virginia before the Revolution. Jefferson's programme was a thorough overhauling of internal conditions in the new commonwealth and the establishment of equality of privilege and opportunity. George Mason was a wise, patriotic, and practical man, but he was not a social reformer; Jef-

erson was. Wythe was writing to a sympathetic friend when on July 27 he wrote Jefferson, "the system agreed to in my opinion requires reformation. In October I hope you will effect it."

During the rest of his life, when in Virginia, Jefferson was endeavoring to "effect it"; his draft of 1776 in its essential features was not a contrast with his later ideas, but the charter of the fundamental reforms for which the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill for Religious Freedom fought until his death. Nor is the force of this statement diminished by the fact that Jefferson came to believe in a popularly elected executive and judiciary. The wonder is not that he was so conservative and fantastic in 1776, but that he was so democratic and farseeing.

D. R. ANDERSON



DOCUMENTS

The Commencement of the Cane Sugar Industry in America, 1519-1538 (1563)¹

MANUEL DE LA PUENTE Y OLEA in *Los Trabajos Geográficos de la Casa de la Contratación* (Seville, 1900) on page 400 quotes a letter written by "the Catholic Kings" under date of May 23, 1493, ordering twenty farmers or field-hands to accompany Columbus on his second voyage, and Columbus states, in his memorial to Torres, written from the city of Isabella on January 30, 1494,² that although these men sickened; the sugar-cane which they planted took root. Peter Martyr in his first Decade refers specifically to these plantings and remarks that they flourished.³

Las Casas says (*Historia*, V. 28) that the first attempt at making sugar was made in 1505 or 1506, by one Aquilon, with rude apparatus, and about 1516, by one Villosa, with better.⁴ The historian Oviedo claims to have taken the first sample of sugar made in La Española to Spain in 1516. Puente y Olea in the work mentioned cites (pp. 401-402) the account books of the Casa de la Contratación to show the arrival in June, 1517, of a sample box of sugar sent by the Jeronimites at Santo Domingo to "Their Highnesses". These monks had been granting title to lands for sugar estates (Archivo General de Indias, 139-1-6, vol. 8, p. 251r) and even, possibly, encouraging the industry by cash premiums to planters (Herrera). On July 22, 1517, Cardinal Ximénez, in acknowledging the gift, expressed (A. G. de I., 139-1-5) the opinion that sugar could readily be manufactured in La Española.

¹ These papers, illustrating, it is believed with much interest, the small beginnings of one of the greatest of American industries, are contributed by Miss Irene A. Wright, now in Seville. They were found by her in the Archivo General de Indias, in that city. Miss Wright has also contributed the introduction. For the annotations, however, she is not responsible; and it should perhaps also be mentioned that the remoteness of Seville under the circumstances of the present year has prevented the managing editor from learning seasonably whether the notes in the original which he has characterized as marginal may not in fact be endorsements.

² Thacher, *Christopher Columbus*, II. 300.

³ MacNutt's translation, I. 88.

⁴ An annalist quoted in a foot-note of Oppenheim's *Helps*, however (I. 51), states that the first sugar-canes were brought to the island from the Canaries by Aquilon in 1506, and that the first mills belonged to Cristóbal and Francisco de Tapia.

Under date of January 22, 1518, the Licentiate Zuazo, writing to the crown from that island, reported (A. G. I., 2-1-3/22) that cane grew tall and thick as a man's wrist and "ya tambien se comienzan a hacer ingenios para hacer azucar que sera cosa de grandisima riqueza".

The sugar industry already existed in the Canaries, from which islands La Española had been importing (A. G. I., 139-1-4, p. 122r) the merchandise; therefore it was to the Canaries that the nascent industry in Santo Domingo turned for skilled labor (document no. I., below).

The governors of Tenerife and Las Palmas were instructed to the same effect (A. G. I., 139-1-6, vol. 8, p. 121) and Lope de Sosa, governor of Castilla del Oro, was ordered (139-1-6) to pick up these workmen, when his fleet touched at the Canaries, and to convey them to La Española.

Since the industry seemed to promise great things the crown not only favored it but besought favor for it from the Church as well (document no. II., below).

The matter of tithing sugar, and of the establishment and pay of priests on sugar estates, was the subject of long and bitter quarrel between mill-owners and ecclesiastical authorities (no. III.). Documents preserved at Seville contain full details of the long disputes concerning tithing and allied matters; the quarrel of which they were the root did not attain to the full force of its animosity until a period later than that under consideration in this collection of documents.

The audiencia at Santo Domingo was early empowered to grant "lands and water" for sugar estates (no. IV.).

The municipal councils considered the audiencia's authority to grant lands for sugar estates to be an infringement upon their privileges (no. V.). A *modus vivendi* was agreed upon (nos. VI., VII.).

The crown fostered the industry by loans of money to mill-owners (no. VIII.). Further to foster the industry, implements and materials needed in the construction of sugar mills were exempted from duty (no. IX.).

Later, when the Licentiate Juan de Vadillo came to audit accounts, he found that these loans had not been made with entire impartiality and honesty, and he found it necessary to proceed cautiously in attempting collections (no. X.).

Later still, mill slaves and machinery were exempted from forced sales for debts; the intention was to keep them in operation. Creditors were to look to their product for payment of obligations (no. XI.).

By the middle of 1520 forty mills were in course of construction (no. XII.). Before the end of that year three mills were grinding with water-power and three with horse-power; the sugar industry was, then, definitely established in the New World before the end of 1520 (no. XIII.). Licentiate Figueroa's words italicized in document no. XIII. may be considered the birth-certificate of the sugar industry in the western hemisphere. Their publication here makes it for the first time possible to fix a date for the establishment of the industry for support of which an original source may be quoted; heretofore reliance was necessarily on secondary sources the best of whom were only approximately right (see Las Casas, Oviedo, Herrera, *et als.*, and Saco).

The new industry began to protest early against the hampering effects of Seville's monopoly of American trade. The planters desired liberty to sell their crop in Flanders (no. XIV.). Evidently sugar from La Española did reach that country (no. XV.).

The island also desired to protect itself against Portuguese competition by obtaining a prohibition against the importation of foreign-made sugars (no. XVI.).

Nevertheless, between 1525 and 1530 the sugar business in La Española fell on hard times, due largely to political conditions with which it had to contend (no. XVII.).

The industry, however, survived all hardships. Planters prospered and their pride grew with their prosperity (nos. XVIII., XIX.).

IRENE A. WRIGHT.

I. KING CHARLES TO THE GOVERNOR OF THE CANARY ISLANDS, AUGUST 16, 1519.⁵

El Rey.

nuestro governador de las islas de grand canaria e a vuestros logar thenientes. sabed que en la isla española de las indias del mar oceano se han fecho e cada dia se hasen ingenios de Açucar e se labra e para lo magnifiçar e haser e labrar ai falta de maestros e ofiçiales e soi informado que en esas islas los ai e que ai algunos que yrian a ello de buena voluntad sino que otras personas a quien toca ynteres procuran de se lo estorvar e porque a nuestro servicio e al bien e poblacion de la dicha isla conviene que a ella vayan los mas maestros e ofiçiales que ser pueda e querian que pues para lo desas islas de canaria no haran falta pues ai sobra dellos fuesen a la dicha isla española, por ende yo vos mando que por las mejores vias e maneras que podieredes e vieredes que

⁵ A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 6: Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, Años 1518 á 1526. The marginal summary reads: "ysla española. al governador de las yslas de grand canaria que procure de enbiar a la ysla spañola maestros de yngenios de açucar."

convengan procurareis como des~~a~~ isla vayan a la dicha isla española todos los mas maestros de haser ingenios e açucar que ser puedan e a los que quisieren yr proveais que en ello no les sea puesto embargo ni impedimiento alguno antes los favoreçais e ayudeis poniendo sobre ello todas las penas que convengan de mi parte, las quales esecutad en las personas e bienes que lo estorvaren hasiendolo asi pregonar e publicar por las plaças e mercados e otros logares acostuzbrados de las çibdades villas e logares desas dichas islas por manera que venga A noçtiçia de todos en lo qual entendend como en cosa de nuestro serviçio que en ello me servieis. de barçelona a XVI de agosto de 1519 años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario. covcs.⁶ señalada de los dichos. (Obispo de burgos e badajoz e de don garçia e çapata.)⁷

II. THE KING TO HIS AMBASSADOR IN ROME, SEPTEMBER 14, 1519.⁸

El Rey.

don luis carros⁹ del mi consejo e mi enbaxador en corte de roma. sabed que A plasedo A nuestro señor que en las indias e tierra firme del mar oceano con el mucho cuidado que avemos tenido de las mandar poblar labrar e cultivar para que en ellas Abitasen e permanesçiesen los xristianos españoles que A ellas han iço e van cada día para que con su conversacion los indios naturales dellas fuesen industriaços e enseñados en las cosas de nuestra santa fee catolica, entre las otras cosas e frutos que en las dichas islas se An dado se An fecho e hasen e dar en mucha abundancia cañaverales de açucar que se han començado a haser Algunos ingenios e por que nos continuando en el dicho cuidado e desseo avemos mandado que de nuevo vayan A la dicha isla muchos ofiçiales de haser Açucar e otros labradores e poblaçores A los quales demas de las otras merçedes e libertades que les avemos otorgado e mandado haser se les ha dicho que suplicariamos a su santidad mande de que de los dichos açucares no pague desmo como de las otras cosas sino de treinta uno, por que a causa de la distancia que ai destos Reynos A las dichas islas e estar en ellas los mantenimientos e cosas de que se han de faser los dichos ingenios muy subidos en preçios los que hasen e han de faser los dichos ingenios gastarian mucho en ellos e sy del fruto oviesen de pagar el diesmo como se paga de las otras cosas se perderian e no lo podrian sufrir e seria causa que los dichos ingenios de Açucar e el fructo della se perdiese que seria mucho daño para el bien e poblacion de aquellas partes, por lo qual a suplicacion de los pobladores e abitadores que fasta agora ay en las dichas yslas e de los que de nuevo quieren yr a faser la

⁶ Francisco de los Cobos, secretary to Charles V.

⁷ The first was Juan Ruiz de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos 1514-1524; the second, Pedro de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz 1516-1520; the third, it is presumed, Garcia de Loaysa, the king's confessor, afterward cardinal; the fourth, the licentiate Zapata, a member of the council of Castile.

⁸ A. G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 6: Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. The marginal summary reads: "a don luis carros. que suplique a su santidad que de los açucares y yngenios que se hizieren en las yndias no se lleve mas de treynta uno y no como agora se lleva de diez uno."

⁹ Don Luis de Carroz, Spanish ambassador to England 1509-1515, to Rome 1513-1520.

dicha población avemos aco-dado de suplicar a nuestro muy sancto padre que mande que de los dichos Açucares no se lleve el diésmo sino de treinta uno, por ende yo vos mando e encargo que con mucha diligencia por virtud de la dicha carta de creencia que con la presente va informéis luego a su santidad desto e de mi parte le supliqueis mande proveer e despachar bula para que de aquí adelante en las indias e islas e tierra firme del mar oceano de los açucares que en ellas se hizieren no se lleve el diésmo sino de treinta uno, porque con esto las personas que quisieren hazer los dichos ingenios e açucares lo podran sufrir o los obispos que agora estan proveidos en algunas de las dichas islas¹⁰ quando fueren pobladas Reçiben en ello provecho e por que esto conviene mucho que se haga Así para la población e perpetuidad de aquellas partes sere de vos muy servido en que con toda diligencia posible entendais en el despacho dello e en lo enbiar lo mas brevemente que ser pueda. de barcelona a XIII de setiembre de MDXX años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario. covos. señalada de los obispos de burgos e badajos e don garçia e çapata.

III. THE KING TO THE AUDIENCIA OF SANTO DOMINGO, JUNE 20, 1526.¹¹

El Rey.

nuestros oydores de la nuestra audiencia Real de las yndias que Reside en la isla española. benito muños canonigo de la yglesia de santo domingo y en nonbre del dean e cabildo e clesia della me hiso Relación que çerca del dezmar Açucar e del pan çaçaby ay muchos pleytos e diferencias, por que no lo quieren dezmar syno el açucar en cañas y el çaçabi en las Raíses de yuca, en lo qual diz que viene mucho perjuizio a la dicha yglesia y beneficiados della y son defraudados los diezmos de quatro partes las tres por que los dichos beneficiados conpelidos de neçesidad toman de veynte e çinco arrobas de açucar una de diezmo, y porque el çaçabi o den en pan hecho les dexan defraudar la terçia parte, de que las yglesias y beneficiados dellas Reçiben mucho daño y es en perjuizio de las animas e conçiencias de los desmeros, e me suplico vos mandase que vosotros proveyesedes de manera que los dichos diezmos se paguan conforme ajuste y cesasen los dichos fraudes e no oviese sobrello pleytos ni diferencias o como la mi merçed fuese, por ende yo vos mando que veades lo suso dicho y proveais çerca dello conforme ajuste de manera que çesen los dichos pleitos e no aya sobrello diferencias. fecha en granada a veynte dias del mes de junio de mill e quinientos e veynte e seis años. YO EL REY. Refrendada de covos. señalada del obispo de osma y del doctor Caravajal y del doctor beltran y del obispo de çiudad Rodrigo.¹²

¹⁰ Santo Domingo (and Concepción de la Vega), San Juan de Puerto Rico, Santiago de Cuba.

¹¹ A. G. I., est. 139, caj. , leg. 7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalisimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. The marginal summary reads: "la yglesia de santo domingo. sobrel dezmar del açucar y çaçabi."

¹² Garcia de Loaysa was row bishop of Osma. Dr. Lorenzo Galindez de Carvajal was a member of the King's council; Dr. Beltran, a lawyer of the court. The bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo was Gonsalvo Maldonado.

IV. GRANT BY THE AUDIENCIA OF SANTO DOMINGO, APRIL 28, 1522,
REISSUED AUGUST 27, 1527,¹³ (AND KING TO AUDIENCIA,
SEPTEMBER 23, 1519).

titulo del yngenio del thesorero de passamonte.

En la ciudad de Santo domingo de la ysla española de las yndias del mar oceano veynte e syete dias del mes de Agosto de myll y quinyentos y veynte y syete años ante los muy nobles señores licenciados Cristobal lebron e alonso caraso oydores de la audiencia rreal de su magestad que en estas partes reside y en presencia de my diego Cavallero escribano de la dicha Real audiencia parescio presente estevan de passamonte thesorero general de Su magestad en esta dicha ysla e presento una peticion e una escritura e provision de los oydores y oficiales de su magestad desta ysla de cierta concesion que al dicho thesorero paresce averle sydo hecha de cierta agua para un yngenio de Açucar en la Ribera de nygua¹⁴ firmada de ciertos nombres de los dichos señores oydores y oficiales segun por ella parescio, el thenor de la qual dicha peticeon e provisyon es esta que se sigue:

muy poderosos señores, el thesorero estevan de passamonte dize que sus oydores y oficiales por cierta comision que de vuestra magestad tiene le hizieron cierta confirmacion e nueva concesion de un agua donde el edifica un yngenio de Açucar en nygua como paresce por esta provisyon de que haze presentacion—la qual esta algo mal tratada y en parte comida de cucarachas—suplica que la manden ver e le manden dar uno o dos traslados auturizados para guarda y conservacion de su derecho para lo qual ynplora su Real oficio, etc.

Nos los oydores del audiencia y chancillerya del enperador y Reyna su madre nuestros señores que Residimos en estas yslas e tierra firme del mar oceano y los oficiales de sus magestades que Resydimos en esta ysla española, Repartidores y señaladores de las aguas y tierras para hazer yngenios de Açucar en esta ysla española, por especial poder y comision que para ello tenemos de sus magestades firmado de su Real nombre A nos dirigido, el qual nos fue presentado en cartoze dias del mes de setienbre del año passado de myll e quinientos e veynte años e fue pregonado e publicado en esta dicha cibdad en domyngo veynte e tres dias del dicho mes e del dicho año, el qual por nos fue obedescido con el Acatamiento e Reverencia devido e por consyguiente Acatado su tenor del qual es este que se sigue:

Don Carlos por la gracia de dios etc. Rey de Romanos f. emperador senper augusto, doña juana su madre y el mysmo don Carlos por la mysama gracia Reyes de castilla de leon de aragon de las dos çiçilias de hierusalem [de] navarra de granada de toledo de Valencia de galizia de mallorcas de Sevilla de cerdeña de Cordova de corcega de murcia de Jaen de los algarves de Algezira de gibraltar de las yslas de Canaria e de las yndias yslas e tierra firme del mar oceano, archiduques de austria, duques de borgoña e de brabante, condes de barcelona flandes e tirol, señores de viscaya e de molina, duques de Atenas y de neopatria, condes de Ruysellon e de cerdenia, marques de oristan e de gociano, etc. A vos

¹³ A. G. I., est. 53, caj. 6, leg. 8: Audiencia de Sto. Domingo, Simancas, Secular, Cartas y espedientes remitidos por los oficiales Reales de la isla española, vistos en el Consejo, Años 1526 á 1639.

¹⁴ A small river a dozen miles west of the city of Santo Domingo, on which the first water-mills for sugar-grinding are said to have been built.

los nuestros Juezes de Apelacion del audiencia e juzgado questa a Resyde en la ysla espanola e nuestros oficiales della, Xrisptoval de tapia¹⁵ nuestro beedor de las fundiciones de la dicha ysla, Salud e gracia. bien sabedes como A plazido A nuestro señor que en esa ysla española se An fecho e cada día se hazen yngenios de açucar lo qual se A dado e de tanbyen que con su Ayuda se espera que en brebe tiempo que se abra fecho e fara en mucha cantidad, E porque A Causa desto entre los vezinos e pobladores de la dicha isla que haran los tales edeficios podrian naser pleytos e diferencias e debates sobre la particion de los sytios tierras y agua que para los tales yngenios es menester, queriendo tomar mas de lo que les converka, e por los Atajar e quitar de los pleytos y gastos que sobre esto se les podria seguir e por que en el por termyno dello Aya el buen Recabdo que conviene e A nadie se de mas tierra ni agua de la que ovyere menester para ello y todo este en ygualdad e nynguno Resciba Agravio, confiando de bosotros que en todo lo que por nos vos fuere encomendado entendereys con Aquel quidado fidelidad e diligencia que A nuestro servicio cunpla y que esto hareys con toda ygualdad e Retitud, visto, en el nuestro consejo de las yndias fue acordado que vos lo deviamos mandar encomendar y por la Presente vos lo encomendamos y cometemcs e que sobrèllo deviamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta en la dicha Razon por la qual vos mandamos que por el tiempo que nuestra merced e Voluntad fuere vosotros tengays cargo de Repartir e Repartays las tierras e Aguas que en la dicha ysla se ovyeren de Repartir para los dichos yngenios guardando en ello la horden syguiente. primeramente vos mandamos que cada e quando Algund vezino de la dicha ysla quisiere hazer Algun yngenio de açucar en ella vosotros los nuestros juezes y oficiales nonbreys e diputeys entre vosotros un juez y oficial, los quales juntamente con vos el dicho Xrisptoval de tapia deys señaleys e Repartays A los vezinos y personas que Asy quisieren hazer e hedificar los dichos yngenios las tierras e Aguas que para ellos ovyeren menester, dando A cada uno aquello que vos paresciere que justamente le basta para el edeficio que quisiere hazer e no mas, por que quede lugar y Aparejo para las otras personas que quisieren hazerlos semejantes hedificios, que para ello vos damos poder cumplido por esta nuestra carta con todas sus yncidencias y dependencias Anexidades y conexidades, y mandamos e defendemos que de Aqui Adelante nynguna ny Algunas personas puedan tomar tierras ni Aguas para hazer los hichos Yngenios Salvo los que por el dicho nuestro juez de apelacion e oficial que entre nosotros fuere disputado e el dicho nuestro veedor Juntamente fueren señaladas como dicho es, pero por que podria ser que Algunos de vosotros los dichos juez de Apelacion e oficial e veedor querreys hazer y hedificar Algun yngenio o otra cosa Alguna tocante A esto, mandamos que qualquier de vosotros que Asy lo quisiere hazer no pueda señalarse para si las Aguas ny tierras para los dichos yngenios ny cosa Alguna dello, salvo los otros dos solamente, y mando que se tome la Eazon desta nuestra carta por los nuestros oficiales que Resyden en la Cibdad de Sevilla en la casa de la contratacion de las yndias. dada en barcelona a veynte y tres dias del mes de Setienbre de myll e quinyentos e diez e nueve años. yo EL REY. yo francisco de los Cobos secretario de su cesaria [e] Catolicas magestades la fize escrevir por su mandado m.s. Don Garcia fonseca Archi-

¹⁵ The same who two years later, in 1521, was sent to Mexico by Cardinal Adrian and Fonseca to supersede and arrest Cortés.

piscopus Episcopus¹⁶ Pedro episcopo paciencis han [*word illegible*, señalado(?)]. don garcia. licenciado çapata. Registrada, Juan de Samano. Asentose esta provisyon original de su magestad en los libros de la casa de la contratacion de las yndias A veynte de noviembre de myll e quinyentos e diez e nueve años. el dottor matienço.¹⁷ juan lopes de Recalde.

hazemos saber a vos los governadores consejos justicia Regidores Cavalleros escuderos oficiales y cmes buenos Asy desta cibdad de Santo domingo Como desta ysla española que Aora soys e por tiempo fueredes de Aqui Adelante, que Ante nos paresçie esteban de Passamonte vezino desta dicha cibdad e presento una peticion en que dixo que el obo y compro e tenia e poseya, con justo titulo y compra, un Agua en la Ribera de nygua para haçer un yngenio de Açucar el qual estava edificado e para sacar la dicha Agua Alferido avia fecho e hacya una pressa, como hera notorio, en que avia gastado mucha cantidad de pesos de oro, E por que se temya que Alguna persona despues de sacada la dicha Agua para se Aprovechar della. hechos los dichos gastos, por le molestar syn causa se pusyese impedir la dicha Agua o Alguna demasya della, e por que, como hera publico e se veyra, la dicha Agua estava en parte que no se podia nadie Aprovechar della sy no el A mayor Abundamiento syn perjuizio de su derecho, e para mayor firmeza, nos pidio le hiziesemos merced de le confirmar la dicha Agua que Asy tenia pues hera syn perjuizio de tercero e sy necesario hera se la disemos de nuevo, por virtud del poder que de su magestad para ello tenyamos, segun que mas largamente en la dicha peticion que ante nos dio e pedimiento que sobrello hizo se contiene. por ende nos por virtud del dicho poder e comysyon de sus magestades de suso encorporado A nos dirigido, usando del conforme A lo que por su magestad esta mandado, confirmamos a vos el dicho esteban de Passamonte la dicha Agua que asy teneys en la dicha Ribera de nygua, do Al presente hazeys un yngenio para moler Açucar, e sy necessaryo es os damos concedemos señalamos y Repartimos de nuevo la dicha Agua que Asy teneys e labrays para que de la dicha Agua os podays Aprovechar, para haçer el dicho yngenio de moler Açucar e para todos los otros Aprovechamientos e Remedios Al dicho yngenio que Asy hazeys nescesyos e pertenescientes, E por la presente os damos licencia para que podays tomar la dicha Agua en la parte que mejor os paresciere e Sacalla e llevalla Al lugar do mejor dispusycion obiere por herido con la qual dicha Agua que Asy teneys e poseeys podays haçer e hagays el dicho ygenic de Açucar como dicho es, e la Ayays e tengais para vos perpetuamente para syenpre jamas con mas toda la demasya, que en la dicha Agua ovierde de la que es menester para haçer el dicho yngenio, de que Asy mysmo os hazemos merced en Recompensa de los muchos gastos e costas que Abeys fecho e hazeys en la presa e hedificio e labor del dicho yngenio por os Animar A lo acabar, syn que tengais pensamiento que otro A de gozar de vuestro trabajo e gastos e costas que teneis fechos e hazeis, E por esta presente carta Aprobamos e avemos por firma la dicha concesion e todo lo demas de

¹⁶ Since June 20 of this year, 1519, Juan Ruiz de Fonseca, bishop of Burgos (Garcia must be a scribe's error), had been also archbishop of Rossano in Italy. "Pedro episcopo paciencis" is Pedro de la Mota, bishop of Badajoz.

¹⁷ Dr. Sancho de Matienzo, canon of the cathedral of Seville, had been treasurer and presiding member of the Casa de Contratación since its foundation in 1503 (d. 1522).

suso contenido, no enbargante que por nos ni por las otras personas la dicha Agua Al presente no se Aya medido ny mida, por quanto A nosotros todos los dichos oydores y oficiales nos es notoria e la Avemos visto por vista de ojos muchas vezes e por Razon de lo ariba contenyno, e por que los edificios e granjerias desta ysla especialmente como el que vos, el dicho estevan de passamonte, hazeys sean acrescentados e aumentados e dios nuestro señor sea loado e sus magestades servidas, os hazemos la dicha confirmacion e nueva concesyon de ia dicha Agua con la dicha demasya por quel dicho sytio no este syn labrar e Edeficar para que lo Ayays para vos perpetuamente como dicho es syn embargo ni contrario alguno syn perjuicio de tercero poseedor. en testimonio de lo qual mandamos dar esta nuestra provisyon firmada de nuestros nombres e de nuestro secretario ynfaescrito, ques fecha en santo domingo A beynte e ocho dias del mes de abril año del señor de myll e quinyentos e veynte e dos años. el licenciado Xristoval lebron. passamonte. Alonso davila. E yo pedro de ledesma, escribano de camara de su magestad, lo fize escrivir por mandado de los dichos señores.

E asy presentada, los dichos señores oydores, vista la dicha provisyon e titulo de concesyon de la dicha Agua, dixerón que mandavan e mandaron que se saquen della un traslado o dos o mas quantos el dicho thesorero quisiere e se le den en publica forma, en manera que hagan fee, para guarda y conservacion de su derecho, en los quales traslados syn necesario es ynterponian e ynterpusieron su auturidad e decreto judicial para que valan, e hagan fee, en juicio e fuera del, bien asy como si la dicha provisyon original paresciese pues parece no estar chancelada ny en parte alguna sospechosa. E yo el dicho escribano de pedimientto del dicho thesorero e de mandamyento de los dichos señores oydores le di lo suso dicho segun que ante my passo, que fue fecho el dicho dia mes e año suso dichos. testigos que fueron presentes Al ver sacar e corregir la dicha escriptura. fernando ortis escribano de su magestad e francisco perez. diego Cavallero ascribano de su magestad. [*Rubric.*]

V. THE KING TO THE AUDIENCIA, JUNE 5, 1528.¹⁸

El Rey.

nuestro presidente e oydores de la nuestra audiencia e chancilleria Real de las Indias que Reside en la ysla spañola, pedro sanches de valtierra en nonbre del conçejo justicia Regidores de la çibdad de santo domingo desa ysla me hizo Relaçion que desde que la dicha çibdad se poblo el cabildo della ha tenido cargo de Repartir las tierras y solares e aguas y dar orden en las otras cosas de los terminos della, dandolo y Repartiendolo entre los vezinos y moradores de la dicha çibdad de manera que todos fuesen Aprovechados e gozasen de las dichas Aguas y tierras e solares e terminos, y que en esta posesion ha estado y esta el cabildo de la dicha çibdad y por nos fue confirmado por una nuestra provision todo lo dado y Reparido por el dicho cabildo y fue mandado que dende en adelante despues de la dicha confirmacion las aguas y tierras para yngenios las diesedes y Repartiesedes vosotros en nuestro nonbre en cierta forma contenida en la provision que dello mandamos

¹⁸ A., G. I., est. 139, caj. 1, leg. 7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalisimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, Gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "la çibdad de santo domingo de la spañola."

dar, de que la dicha çibdad e ysla Resçiben mucho agravio y dapño por que Acaesçe que desde esa çibdad donde vosotros Residis A donde se hazen los dichos Repartimientos Ay veynte treynta quarenta e çien leguas, e no lo podeys ver por vâestras personas como se Requiere para que se haga justamente y con toda ygualdad, ni podeys tener entera Relaçion e ynformacion de las dichas tierras, y en el dicho nonbre nos suplico e pidio por merced hiziese merçed A la dicha çibdad e ysla que los Cabildos della y de los otros pueblos pudiesen Repartir y señalar las tierras y solares aguas y pastos y prados y abrevaderes y otras cosas como hasta Aqui lo an fecho, por que haziendose desta manera seria en servicio nuestro e bien de la Republica y particulares della y con menos costa y trabajo o como la nuestra merçed fuese. por ende yo vos mando que quando se acaesciere nâçesidad de hazer algund Repartimiento de las dichas tierras e Aguas en los lugares donde vosotros no pudiesdes hallaros presentes conforme A la dicha provision, nonbreys una persona de confiança como a vosotros paresçiere para que con toda Rettitud e ygualdad guardando el tenor de la dicha provision haga el Repartimiento de las dichas tierras y solares prados y pastos y Aguas y abrevaderos desta dicha ysla, que por la presente lo avemos por bien fecho y Repartido lo que la dicha persona por vosotros nonbrada hiziere e Repartiere en la manera que dicha es. fecha en monçon¹⁹ A çinco dias de junio de mill e quinientos e veynte y ocho años. YO EL REY. por mandado de su magestad. francisco de ccvos. señalada de los suso dichos.

VI. ORDER OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE AUDIENCIA, APRIL 23, 1530 (AND QUEEN TO PRESIDENT, APRIL 21, 1529).²⁰

Sobrel repartimiento de las tierras y aguas de la ysla española.

Nos Don sebastian Ramirez obispo de los obispos de santo domingo y de la concepcion²¹ del consejo de sus magestades y presidente desta su audiencia Real que Reside en la ysla española de las yndias del mar oceano, dezimos que por quanto su magestad nos mando por una su cedula firmada de su Real nombre que entendiesemos en lo tocante al Repartir los solares y tierras y aguas para ingenios su tenor de la qual es esta que se sygue.

La Reyna.

nuestro presidente de la nuestra audencia e chançilleria Real de las yndias que Rezide en la ysla española por parte de las çibdades e villas e lugares desa dicha ysla me a sido suplicado mandase dar licencia a los qoncejos dellas para que pudiesen Repartir las aguas e tierras e solares desa ysla a los que fuesen a poblar a ella por el ynconviniente y dilaçion que de yr a Repartillas un oydor desa audencia y un oficial desa ysla se syguia como hasta aqui se a hecho e hasta Agora avemos mandado proveer en ello cosa alguna, por lo qual dis que dexan muchos vezinos de yr a poblar y agora me an tornado A suplicar lo mandase asy proveer, o como la mi merçed fuese, e por que yo quiero ser ynformada de lo que cerca desto conberna proveer yo vos mando que luego veades lo suso

¹⁹ Monzón in the province of Huesca, in Aragon.

²⁰ A. G. I., 1-1-1/18: Simancas, Islas, Descubrimientos y poblaciones de varias islas en provincias de Indias, Años 1519 á 1607.

²¹ In 1530 Santo Domingo and Concepción de la Vega were one diocese. Sebastian Ramirez was bishop from 1528 to 1538.

dicho e vos ynformedes e sepays como e de que manera lo suso dicho A pasado y pasa y de lo que conuerna proveer çerca dello, y la dicha ynformacion auida y la verdad sabida nos enbiareys con vuestro parecer para que visto mandemos proveer lo que conuenga y entre tanto vos mando que vos proveays çerca dello lo que os pareçiere, que para ello sy neçesario es vos doy poder conplido. fecha en toledo a veynte e un dia de abril de mill e quinientos e veynte e nueve años. YO EL REYNA. por mandado de su magestad. Juan de samano.

y obedeçida la dicha çedula de su magestad de suso encorporada mandamos que entre tanto que su magestad provea lo que sea su servicio se guarde y Cumpla la horden siguiente, que las peticiones que de aqui adelante se dieren en que se pidieren solares y tierras se presenten en el cabildo y Regimiento desta çibdad y Reçebidas se platique sobre lo en ellas contenido lo que conuenga proveerse, e lo que les pareçiere en el dicho cabildo se nos haga saber con dos Regidores diputados para ello, los quales nos hagan Relacion de lo que parèciere al dicho Cabildo, para que por nos bisto juntamente con los dichos diputados se provea lo que conuenga y proveydo por nos se despache y vaya firmado de nos e de los dichos diputados en presençia del escrivano de goncejo, para quel lo asiente en el libro del Cabildo desta çibdad.

Asi mismo mandamos que en el Repartir de las aguas y tierras para yngenios se tenga la orden syguiente, que todos los que pidieren sytios aguas y tierras para yngenios presenten las peticiones y pedimientos dellos Ante nos, las quales se Remitiran al Cabildo desta cibdad para que vean los dichos pedimientos e peticiones y platiquen çerca de lo en ellas contenido, y por uno o dos Regidores que para ello deputaren nos hagan Relacion de lo que al dicho Cabildo pareçiere çerca dello y de las Razones y Cabsas que para el dicho pareçer tuuieren para que por nos visto en nonbre de su magestad y por virtud de la dicha provision proveamos çerca dello lo que conuenga, la qual dicha orden se tenga hasta tanto que su magestad provea y mande en ello lo que mas fuere su servicio como dicho es. fecho a veynte y tres de abril de mill y quinientos y treynta años.

Episcopus sancimus.

Por mandado de su Señoria Reverendísima.

Martin de Landa.²² [Rubric.]

[Endorsed:] Vista. que enbie Relacion de lo que por virtud desto se hoviere fecho y que no usen desto sin confirmacion.

VII. THE KING TO THE GOVERNOR OF ESPAÑOLA, JULY 19, 1520.²³

El Rey.

don diego colon nuestro Almirante visorrey e governador de la isla spañola e de las otras islas descubiertas por el amirante vuestro padre o vuestro Allcalde mayor en la dicha isla spañola.²⁴ El liçençiado antonio

²² An imperial notary.

²³ A. G. I., 139-1-6; Registros, libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. Marginal note: "la çibdad de santo domingo. al almirante que aya ynformacion si sera bien que aya en la dicha çibdad un peso para la granjeria de los açucares y la enbie çerrada y sellada con la parte de la dicha çibdad."

²⁴ Diego Columbus had returned to Spain from his active governorship of Santo Domingo in 1514, but was nominally viceroy till his death in 1528.

serrano en nonbre de la çibdad de sancto domingo de la dicha isla me hizo rrelacion que por aver venido la granjeria de los Açucares conviene que aya un peso general donde todo se pesse E queste este en la dicha çibdad de santo domingo, suplicandome lo mandase proveer Asy e que lo que rrentase el dicho peso fuese para propios de la dicha çibdad o como la nuestra merced fuese, E por que yo quiero ser informado dello vos mando que luego questa veays hagais informaçion si ay nesçesidad que se haga e ponga el dicho peso general e si sera util e provechoso queste en la dicha çibdad de santo domingo, E si vernia dello perjuizio a la dicha isla E vecinos della, E siendo para propios de la dicha çibdad lo quel dicho peso Rentase que se podria cargar de derecho por cada quintal o Arroba de Açucar que en el pesase, E de todo lo demas que vos vierdes que conviene, para yo ser mejor informado, çerrado e sellado e firmado de vuestro nonbre E del escrivano Ante quien pasaren la dad e entregad, la parte de la dicha çibdad, para que la enbien Ante mi para que yo la mande ver E proveer en ello lo que viere que conviene E no fagades ende al. fecha en valladolid a 19 de jullio de MDXX años. El cardenal dertusense.²⁵ señalada de los dichos (obispo de burgos e çapata) y Refrendada (de pedro de los covos.)

VIII. THE KING TO THE TREASURER-GENERAL OF ESPAÑOLA
[JULY 19, 1520].²⁶

El Rey.

miguel de pasamonte nuestro tesorero general de la isla spañola.²⁷ ya sabeis como A plazido a nuestro señor que la granjeria del Açucar desa de la dicha isla vaya en Acresçentamiento e Abundança de que se espera Redundara a esa isla e vezinos e pobladores della mucha utilidad e noblesçimiento, E el liçenciado antonio serrano en nonbre della me hizo rrelacion que a causa de ser muy costoso El edificio de los dichos ingenios e lo que se Requiere para los sostener e la poca posibilidad que los vecinos desa isla tienen para ello la dicha granjeria no podria pasar adelante ni permanesçer si nos no mandasemos prestar a algunas personas Alguna cantidad de maravedises, los quales nos los pagasen dentro de dos años, dando para ello buenas fianças E seguridad, Suplicandome lo mandase asi proveer, o como la mi merçed fuese, E por que yo tengo mucha voluntad que los vecinos e pobladores desa ysla Reçiban merçed en todo lo que obiere logar e que en estc por ser cosa tan nesçesaria . . . (*Hay un claro.*) ayudados tovelo por bien, por ende vos mando que vos ynformeys que personas ay en esa ysla que tengan maña o comienço para hazer ingenios de Açucar E que nc tengan posibilidad para si solos hazer un ingenio e que sean personas honrradas qual a vos os paresçiere, E a los que desta calidad oviere Repartildes emprestado de qualquier oro e maravedises nuestros questen a vuestro cargo hasta seys mill pesos de oro a cada uno segund la nesçesidad que se toviere para acabar o hazer

²⁵ The cardinal bishop of Tortosa was Adrian of Utrecht, afterward Pope Adrian VI.

²⁶ Same reference as preceding, and, it is to be presumed, same date. Marginal note: "la ysla spañola. al thesorero pasamonte que preste a los vecinos de la dicha ysla en cada un año seys M pesos de oro a los que mas lo ovieren menester para hazer sus yngenios de açucar."

²⁷ Father of Estevan.

el dicho ingenio, tomando primeramente de las tales personas E de cada una dellas fianças bastantes llanas e Abonadas que lo que asy les dierdes e emprestardes lo gastaran E destribuyran en los dichos ingenios e no en otra cosa Alguna e que dentro de dos años primeros siguientes nos pagaran la cantidad que Asi ovierdes prestado A cada uno por manera que Aquello este seguro e çierto.

IX. THE KING TO THE OFICIALES REALES OF ESPAÑOLA, JULY 9, 1520.²⁸*El Rey.*

nuestros oficiales que rresidis en la isla spañola e los nuestros almoxarifes e rrecabdadadores de las nuestras rrentas del almoxarifadgo de la dicha isla. ya sabeis la voluntad que la catolica rreina mi señora e yo Avemos thenido e tenemos al bien poblaçion e multiplicaçion de la dicha isla E los Remedios que para ello se an buscado E procurado E soi informado que uno de los mas prinçipales es la granjeria que en ella se ha començado a hazer e haze de los ingenios de Açucar los quales A dios graçias van en mucha abundançia, E el liçençado Antonio serrano en nonbre desa dicha isla me hizo rrelaçion que A causa de ser tan costoso El hedifiçio de los dichos ingenios e los materiales e ferramientas para ellos nesçesarios que se llevan destos rreinos e los vecinos de la dicha isla no tener posibilidad para los sostener seria causa que la dicha granjeria no pasase Adelante, Suplicandome mandase que las herramientas materiales e otras cosas que destos rreinos llevasen para el hedifiçio e lavor de los dichos ingenios no se les pidiese ni llevase derechos de almoxarifasgo ni otros algunos, o como la mi merçed fuese, E yo por las dichas causas tovelo por bien, por ende yo vos mando que cumplido el tienpo del Arrendamiento que al presente esta hecho de las rrentas E almoxarifadgo desa dicha isla, de ay en Adelante, quanto mi merced e voluntad fuere, no pidays ni demandeys ni consintays que se pida ni demande a los vecinos e moradores desa dicha isla derechos ni otra cosa alguna de los materiales e ferramientas que llevaren para hazer e hedificar E sostener los dichos ingenios de Açucar, porque mi voluntad es que lo puedan llavar libremente sin que dello paguen cosa alguna, E asi mesmo que lo pongays por condiçion en el primer arrendamiento que de las dichas Rentas para adelante se oviere de hazer e no hagades ende al, E mando que se tome la Razon desta por los nuestros ofiçiales que Resyden en la çibdad de sevilla en la casa de la contrataçion de las indias.²⁹ fecha en valladolid A IX de jullio de MDXX años. Cardenal dertusense. Refrendada de pedro de los covos. señalada del obispo de burgos e çapata.

²⁸ A. G. I., 139-1-6: Registros, libros generalísimos de Reales Ordenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1518 á 1526. Marginal note: "la ysla spañola. para que de las erramientas que se llevaren destos Reynos para hazer yngenios de açucar no se lleven derechos de almoxarifadgo."

²⁹ Our text comes from the records of the Casa. Puente y Olea (p. 404) quotes it in part.

X. JUAN DE VADILLO TO THE KING, AUGUST 5, 1527.³⁰

Sacra Cesarea Catholica magestad.

... despues que hize execuçion en los juezes y ofiçiales e rrequerido a los que tienen enprestidos de yngenios que
(Decreto:) que haze paguen conforme a un capitulo de mi instru-
bien. çion haze se les de mal amenazolos, y porque
por otra parte veo que con la tormenta pasada
tienen algun trabajo tomo lo que me dan por tener que ynbiar a vuestra
magestad, y ansi lo are con todos bien se que yran de mi muchas quexas
porque antes que les pidiese ni viniese a la isla las davan aora que les
pido, es de creer que lo haran mejor y a esto ayudaran los ofiçiales por
que estan muy corridos del previllegio que vuestra magestad les dio en
la cedula de suspenscion, y querran que la pague yo por que le cunpli y
quebrante la costunbre que tienen aca, suplico a vuestra magestad que
pues mi intençion es de servir que no mande dar credito a quexas sinc
fuere cosa en que justamente me pueda ser ynputada culpa, la qual yo
trabajare por escusar.

... —hago saber a vuestra magestad que quando el thesorero este-
van de pasamonte me entrego las escrituras porque en los enprestidos de
los yngenios avia auido tres diferencias de
(Decreto:) que cobren enprestidos, una por un capitulo de la instru-
las debdas y le haga cargo tion de figueroa³¹ y otra por cedula de vuestra
de la averiguacion y que magestad y otra por consulta de los juezes y
no execute y que lo que lo ofiçiales en la consulta dieron dos las quales
mandaron muestre para que. no quise Reçebir, porque me parecio que no
avian tenido facultad para las dar, asi mismo
no tome las deudas que se an hecho despues

de pedro de ysasaga aca fuera las de los yngenios y las de los ofiçiales,
por que estas no se cobraran de otra manera, y esto hize por dos cosas,
la una porque en las de antes de las consultas ay tanta confusion que con
mucho trabajo me podre en ellas dar recaudo, la otra porque las que son
despues de la consulta de pedro de ysasaga son del cargo del thesorero
esteban de pasamonte, y pues lleba salario de vuestra magestad por
thesorero no es justo que dexe de entender en la cobrança dellas, por
que mejor e mas breve se hara la cobrança entendiendo el por vuestra
parte e yo por otra que uno solo, y porque las deudas que a el le quedan
son de poca cantidad y las pueda cobrar muy bien salvo una que no le
reçebi de un gonçalo de guzman que es una muy buena persona y buen
poblador, y podieran muy bien aver cobrado del y no lo an hecho y aora
no tiene de que pagar por culpa del thesorero que no lo quiso cobrar, y
porque no pareçiese la culpa que en ello avia tenido porque la deuda era

vieja cyeronle carta de pago della y hizieron
(Decreto:) que es pre- que confesase que avian reçibido lo que antes
ciso se haga justicia. devia nuevamente por enprestido para yngenio,
lo qual fue fingido por que a la sazón que hizo
la obligacion ninguna facultad tenia para hazer
yngenio, y estando reçybiendo las escrituras fui por el veedor hastudillo

³⁰ A. G. I., 2-1-5/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas á Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513-1586.

³¹ Rodrigo de Figueroa had been sent out in 1520 to take the *residencia* of the officials of the island; see nos. XII. and XIII., below.

dello informado, y no la reçebi, a cuya causa por que me informe dello el thesorero esteban de pasamonte le quiso desafiar, y porque astudillo no dixese otras cosas trabajo porque mandase que no estubiese a las dichas consultas, lo qual yo no hize, mas antes le puse pena questuviese a ellas, y no le e dexado ir a castilla porque no conviene al bien de las consultas ni hazienda de vuestra magestad.

a avido muy mala orden en el dar de los enprestidos ni se an dado como vuestra magestad lo mando por su cedula ni con aquella seguridad, mas davanse a los ofiçiales y juezes y amigos (Deco) que haga justicia dei thesorero y los unos fiavan a los otros por cobrandola hasy del Rey de manera que cada uno era principal deudor y que hallare maldada. fiador y no quedava seguridad con la fiança mas que sin ella, y a algunos los dieron que nunca hizieron ingenios ni les pidieron que los hiziesen ni las deudas unque eran los plazos pasados y tanpoco avido orden en la cobrança despues, porque hazen execucion y hecha dexan los bienes en los deudores y dexanlo asi dos y tres años y aun seis y siete que no curan maç dello. . . .

desta ciudad de santo domingo a V de agosto de 1527.

[Endorsed:] El licenciado juan de vadillo. [Rubric.]

XI. THE KING TO THE AUDIENCIA, NOVEMBER 8, 1538, (AND JANUARY 15, 1529).³²

Don carlos etc. a bos el presidente e oydores de la nuestra abdiencia y chancilleria Real de la ysla española e otras qualesquier nuestras justicias della a quien esta nuestra carta fuere mostrada Salud e gracia. sepades que nos mandamos dar e dimos una nuestra carta e provision Real firmada de mi el Rey e sellada con nuestro sello e librada de los del nuestro consejo de las yndias, su tenor de la qual es este que se sigue.

Don carlos por la divina clemencia Emperador semper augusto etc. por quanto a nos es hecha Relacion que algunas personas que tienen yngenios de açucar en la ysla española o parte dellos deben debdas a otras personas o conçejos y a causa de no poder pagar a los plazos que son obligados les haze execucion en los dichos yngenios y en los negros y otras cosas neçesarias para el abiamiento y molienda dellos, y por qualquier cosa que desto falta dexan de moler los dichos yngenios y se pierde la granjeria dellos, siendo tan grande y principal y con que se sustenta la dicha ysla y bezinos della, y los dichos dueños de los yngenios quedan perdidos y sus acreedores no son pagados y nuestras Rentas vienen en diminucion, y nos fue suplicado y pedido por merçed mandasemos que agora y de aqui adelante por ninguna debda de ninguna calidad que fuese no se debiendo a nos no se pudiese hazer ni hiziese execucion en los dichos yngenios ni en los negros ni en otras cosas neçesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, e quando se hoviese de hazer fuese en el açucar e frutos de los dichos yngenios por que sosteniendose los dichos yngenios se sostienen los dueños dellos y los acreedores son

³² A. G. I., 78-2-1: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Registros de oficio, Reales Ordenes dirigidas a las autoridades del distrito de la audiencia, Años 1536 á 1605. Marginal note: "hernan vazquez y sus qontadores. de la manera que se ha de hazer execucion en los yngenios."

pagados, o como la nuestra merçed fuese, lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo de las yndias y comigo el Rey consultado, fue acordado que deviamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta en la dicha Razon e nos tovimoslo por bien, por la qual mandamos que agora y de aqui adelante quanto nuestra voluntad fuere por ningunas debdas de ninguna calidad y cantidad que sean desde el dia questa nuestra carta fuere pregonada en la dicha ysla española y lugares della y dende en adelante no se pueça hazer ni haga execucion en los dichos yngenios ni en los negros y otras cosas necesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, no seyendo las tales debdas nuestras como dicho es, y que las dichas execuciones se puedan hazer en los açucares y frutos de los dichos yngenios, lo qual mandamos que se entienda de las debdas que se hizieren despues que como dicho es esta fuere pregonada, e los unos ni los otros no fagades ni fagan ende al por alguna manera, so pena de la nuestra merçed y de diez mill marevedises para la nuestra Camara a cada uno que lo contrario hiziere. dada en toledo a quinze dias del mes de henero año del nascimiento de nuestro ihesuxristo de mill e quinientos e veynte e nueve años. YO EL REY. yo francisco de los cobos secretario de sus cesarea y Catholicas magestades la fize escrebir por su mandado. frater garcia episcopus oxom.³³ el doctor beltran. el licenciado montoya. Refrendada Joan de samano horbina por chanciller.

e agora hernan vazquez e agostin de bivaldo e domingo de forne me han hecho Relacion que a ellos y a sus fatores en su nonbre se les deben en esa ysla muchas contias de maravedises de diez y doze y quinze años a esta parte, de lo proçedido de ciertos esclabos que en esa dicha ysla se vendieron de la liçencia que ellos hovieron del governador de bresa, e que despues que se les deben las dichas debdas o la mayor parte dellas se le han dado a los debdores muchas largas y dilaciones y esperas, e que agora no enbargante que valian de forne que esta por ellos en esa ysla para la dicha cobrança ha dado a executar a los que deben las dichas debdas diz que vosotros no consentis llevar a devida execucion las obligaciones, dando plazos largos e ultramarinos a los dichos debdores, y diziendo que por la dicha nuestra carta suso encorporada esta mandado que no se haga execucion alguna en yngenios ni negros ni otras cosas neçesarias al abiamiento y molienda dellos, de que ellos Reçiben mucho agrabio y daño por que no se haziendo la dicha execucion en los dichos yngenios ellos no podrian ser pagados de lo que ansi les es debido, e nos suplicaron vos mandasemos que sin embargo de la dicha provision executasdes en los yngenios que toviessen sus debdores por las cantidades que les debiesen sin que en ello pusiesedes ynpedimiento alguno, o como la nuestra merçed fuese, lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo de las yndias por quanto al tienpo que mandamos dar la dicha nuestra Carta suso yncorporada nuestra yntençion e boluntad fue que porque los yngenios desa dicha ysla se conserbasen e sostuviesen enteramente sin que se partiesen y desabiasen ni se desmembrase cosa alguna dellos que por las debdas que despues de la publicacion della se oviesen contraydo no se hiziese execucion en los dichos yngenios e como veys conforme a ella las dichas execuciones se pueden y deben hazer de las debdas que se hizieron antes de la publicacion de la dicha provision, fue acordado que debiamos mandar dar esta nuestra carta para vos en la dicha Razon e nos tovimoslo por bien, por que vos mandamos que guardando la dicha nuestra carta suso yncorporada por todas las debdas que se ovieren contraydo antes de

³³ Garcia de Loaysa, the emperor's confessor, bishop of Osma 1524-1532.

la publicación della hagais execucion en los frutos de los dichos yngenios y en los yngenios mesmos con todos sus negros y aparejos por manera que la persona en quien por la tal execucion hoviere de quedar el tal yngenio quede con todos los aparejos y adereços y cosas neçesarias al abiamiento del, sin se dividir ni apartar cosa alguna del dicho yngenio e no fagades ende al. dada en la cibdad de toledo a ocho de nobienbre de mill e quinientos y treynta e ocho años. YO EL REY. Refrendada de samano y firmada de beltran y bernal y belazquez.

XII. FIGUEROA TO THE KING, JULY 6, 1520.³⁴

1520, 6 de Julio. muy alto y. muy poderoso invitisimo enperador sienpre agusto principe Rey y Señor nuestro—. . . Las granjerias de los ingenios de açucar y canafistolas se multiplica cada día mucho. estan puesto por obra de se hazer quarenta ingenios y mas y los mas por obligaciones porque se les an dado indios y a otros enprestado dineros de vuestra magestad por tiempo de dos años. vuestra magestad debe enviar a mandar al tesorero pasamonte que sea liberal en dar lo que se manda enprestar, que esto es lo que ha de resucitar esta ysla y por consiguiente sostener estas partes todas, que con sostenerse bien esta sean de sostener y proveer todas que algunos mandones ay que les pesa, porque si dan orden de hacer tantos pensando que los que ellos an de hazer an de valer menos. . . .

criado y siervo de Vuestra cesarea catolica magestad que besa sus Reales manos e pies . . . El licenciado. . . .

FIGUEROA. . . . [Rubric.]

XIII. FIGUEROA TO THE KING, NOVEMBER 14, 1520.³⁵

muy alto y muy poderoso invitisimo enperador sienpre agusto principe Rey y señor nuestro.

de la coruña me escrivio vuestra magestad una carta la qual yo Rescebi en que declara ser los yndios libres y que no se deven encomendar y manda que los que yo tenia puestos en poblaçion en pueblos para ver para quanto heran se esten y se multipliquen los pueblos y se pongan en ellos los que de aqui adelante vacaren poniendo con ellos clerigos que los administren e que se pregonasen ciertos capitulos de la dicha cedula [?], lo qual todo yo he enpeçado a poner en obra sobre lo que estava hecho y se pregonó lo mandado por vuestra magestad y poco a poco como vaquen los yre poniendo en los pueblos que estavan hechos algunos de los quales se an consumido por la falta de la gente que ovo cespues de las viruelas dexando los que estavan en mejores lugares los yndios an Rescibido favor aunque son torpes y creo que esto aprovechara algo para el peligro en que estavan de acabarse por que los que surben por muchos visitadores y penas que aya Resciben gran detrimento y por los defender y hazer penar a los que los maltratan syn duda estoy martir y mal quisto y los visytadores lo mesmo que no ay cosa en el mundo de tan gran trabajo segun lo que todos syenten yrles a la mano

³⁴ A. G. I., 2-1-3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas á Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Ysla Española, Años 1513 á 1586. Rodrigo de Figueroa was taking the *residencia* of the officials of the island.

³⁵ A. G. I., 2-1-3/22: Simancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas a Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513 á 1586.

y ver tornar por esta triste gente ellos syn duda por la mayor parte yncapaces son como por los paresçeres que a vuestra magestad enbie se contenia aunque algunos ay que bien se les entiende lo que es para mal por su acabamiento sirbiendo esta presto muy çierto con esta maña que vuestra magestad manda creo harto se rremediara y con andar Rigurosa la bisitacion en la qual hare quanto pueda la gente de la ysla lo a sentido mucho por que algunos estavan con esperança que quando algunos vacasen se los avian de dar con que se Remediasen y otros ansy mismo venian de castilla con esperança de lo mesmo. teme se apocara la gente española por dejar de venir y por se yr algunos de los que pierden la esperança de aver yndios y yo así lo creo aunque por otra parte los ingenios se van multiplicando pero no bastaran segund la grandeza de la ysla y la codicia que tienen las gentes de yr a las tierras nuevamente descubiertas dizese que sy estos se Reformasen y se apocasen los xristianos se podrian alçar con la tierra en espeçial sy se juntasen con los negros pero esto al presente no se puede juzgar creese que seria gran Remedio venir el oro al diezmo como esta al quinto y que se apregonase en castilla mayormente en el andaluzia y estremadura y provincia de leon por que algunos vernian y todos se aplicarian a buscar negros y quien les ayudase y se darian al trabajo y vuestra magestad seria en ello mas servido y seria Resuçitar la gente que anda muy desmayada asy por falta de gente como por la delgadeza de las minas que andan muy seguidas y es delgadissima la genancia que se saca dellas pagado el quinto y costa casy no les queda cosa syn duda no les queda otro quinto que yo lo he mucho pesquisado.

no aprovecha cossa del mundo notificar a los obispos ni sus provisores que den clerigos para los pueblos de los yndios sy vuestra magestad de otra manera no lo manda Remediar con mayordomos legos y con visytacion de flayres se Remediará al presente.

En lo que vuestra magestad manda que platique y diga mi pareçer sy a personas principales se encargaran estos pueblos con algund ynterese que dellos asy estan encomendados a otros sobre los mayordomos que son personas mas principales que estan en los pueblos que syn ynterese lo hazen Reformandose mas los pueblos en gente y platicado en ello yo ascrivire a vuestra magestad lo que dello me paresçiere con paresçer de algunas personas que los descan aprovechar.

En Cayos ay que son gente venida de fuera desta ysla los quales estan por naburias y se suelen encomendar quando vaquen como los yndios de vuestra magestad sy fuere servido de declarar que se hara dellos quando vaquaren pues tambien son libres como estotros y si seria bien ponerlos en los pueblos con los otros de la tierra que ya casy son unos o no queriendo estar alli darlos como a soldada a xristianos con un padre de hue-fanos en cada pueblo como curador dellos que mirasè por ellos y los aviniese y Recaudase lo que ganasen o lo que andando el tiempo mejor paresçiese entiendo esto en los que no paresçiesen capaces para por si bivar que casy todos son de una manera.

ya escrivi a vuestra magestad los terminos en que ançavan los labradores que hera que todos cayeron malos y casy lo estan los mas. en un asyento de pueblo estan çinco leguas desta çibdad y creo que nunca an de faser cosa conçertada segund son para poco y. se esçuerçan mal los que tienen salud este año a lovido desde mayo hasta agora y a habido ynfinitos enferros y ellos an mucho desmayado en ver la manera del tenporal todo se les a dado como vuestra magestad mande cunplidamente.

a los juezes de apelaciones yo no les avia quitado los yndios hasta que se les tornasen sus ofiços porque asy lo dezia mi ministerio y aun aora no se los he quitado porque su provisyon dezia que tornasen a usar hasta se ver su Resydençia syn les acrescentar mas salarios suplico a vuestra magestad sy fuere servido enbie a mandar lo que en ello haga.

los Açucares y cañaistolos se multiplican mucho. ay mas de quarenta yngenios de açucar de agua enpeçados a hazer con obligaciones de fazer los unos por que Resçibieren dineros enprestados y otros yndios *muelen dellos tres y otros tres de cavallos.*

otras muchas cossas he antes de aora escripto a vuestra magestad que Requerian Respuesta. suplico a vuestra magestad las mande ver y Responder a lo que Requiere Respuesta. otras cossas dexo de escryvir por no duplicar lo que va en las cartas que escrevimos juezes y ofiçiales. nuestro señor la bida e inperial estado de vuestra magestad acrescentie y prospere a su seruicio por largos tienpos. de sarto domingo XIII de novienbre de DXX.

de vuestra inperial magestad siervo y criado que sus inperiales manos y pies besa

El licenciado FIGUEROA. [Rubric.]

XIV. THE OFICIALES REALES OF ESPAÑOLA TO THE KING, AUGUST 20, 1520.³⁶

*al muy alto y muy poderoso señor el enperador y Rey de españa.
muy alto e muy poderoso señor.*

. . . otrosy dimos noticia a vuestra magestad que convenia a su Real servicio que con brevedad mandase que las nacs que cargasen de açucar en esta ysla pudiesen yr a hazer su derecha descarga a los otros Reynos e señorios de vuestra alteza syn yr primero a sevilla, pues alli no terna la venta el açucar que en el condado de flandes y en otras partes de sus Reynos, por que si no se conçediese esta claro que todos los açucares se perderian o a lo menos que en fletes de llevarlo desta ysla a sevilla e de alli a las partes donde se a de vender se yra todo el valor dello y que si viesen que vuestra alteza no les concedia esta merced dexarian muchos de entender en la grangeria del dicho açucar a vuestra magestad suplicamos mande que asi se haga e con brevedad pues que esta grangeria plasiendo a nuestro señor a de ser de calidad de que vuestra alteza a de ser muy servido e sus Rentas muy acrescentadas.

. . . otrosy que vuestra alteza nos de liçençia para que en esta ysla se pueda fundir y labrar cobre para los yngenios del açucar porque puesto que al presente se trayga de sus Reynos de castilla vemos por yspirençia que es menester en los yngenios cada mes Reparar e adobar

que puedan fundir cobre para solos los yngenios con que no se funda sy no en la casa de la fundicion y en presençia del veedor.

e aun hazer de nuevo muchas cosas de cobre e sy oviesen de esperar de ynbiar por ello a castilla seria perder todo lo que en ello se a gastado y gastare y esto suplico a vuestra magestad nos conçeda con brevedad por que es cosa que conviene muchc. . . .

de santo domingo de la ysla española a veynte de agosto de mill e quinientos e veynte años.

³⁶ A. G. I., 2-1-3/22: Sinancas, Santo Domingo, Gobierno; Son cartas antiguas escritas a Su Magestad sobre el buen gobierno de la Isla Española, Años 1513 á 1586.

De Vuestra Cesarea e Catolica Real Magestad Humilissimos siervos que sus Reales pies y manos besan.

[*Endorsed:*] PASSAMONTE. ALINPIES. ALONSO DAVILA.
de los oficiales de la española. Vsta.

XV. THE KING TO LUIS HERNANDEZ DE ALFARO, SEPTEMBER 29, 1526.³⁷

El Rey.

por quanto por parte de vos luy hernandes de alfaro mercader vecino de sevilla me fue hecha Relaçion que vos estays esperando una vuestra nao que viene de las yndias cargada de açucares y melaços para flandes y querriades que desde el puerto de santlucar syguiese su viaje syn subir A la çibdad de sevilla por el peligro y trabajo que se le seguiria, y me suplicastes e pidistes por merçed vos diese liçencia para ello sin se venir a Registrar a la dicha çibdad de sevilla, o como la mi merçed fuese, e yo tovelo por bien, por ende por la presente vos doy liçencia e facultad para que podays enbiar y enbieys la dicha vuestra nao cargada de las dichas açucares e melaços desde el dicho puerto de santlucar a flandes como viene de las yndias syn subir a la dicha çibdad de sevilla, con tanto que sea primeramente visitada por los nuestros oficiales que Residen en la dicha çibdad en la cassa de la cntrataçion de las yndias o por la persona que ellos para ello nonbraren e diputaren, para que vean que no lleva oro de ninguna calidad ni perlas ni otra cossa de las proibidas e vedadas, y con que no las podais llevar ni embarcar en la dicha nao so las penas contenidas en nuestras provisiones y hordenanças, mando a los dichos nuestros ofiçiales de sevilla e a çtras qualesquier justiçias y personas a quien lo suso dicho tocare que asi lo guarden e cumplan e hagan guardar e conplir en todo e por todo segund e como en esta nuestra çedula se contiene e que contra el thenor e forma della vos no vayan ni pasen ni consientan yr ni passar en manera Alguna so pena de la nuestra merçed e de diez mill maravedises para la mi camara A cada uno que lo contrario hiziere. fecha en granada A veynte e nueve diass del mes de setienbre de mill e quinientos e veynte e seis Años. YO EL REY. Refrendada del secretario covos. señalada del obispo de osma y obispo de canaria y doctor beltran y obispo de çibdad Rodrigo.³⁸

XVI. PETITION FROM ESPAÑOLA, 1527(?).³⁹

En todos los reinos y partes donde ay mercaderias de una suerte en cantidad se prohibe y defiende que hasta que aquellas propias se vendan y sean gastadas no entren de fuera de aquella misma especie se veda esto para la conservacion de las labores y edificios y oficiales de las propias

³⁷ A. G. I., 139-1-7. 1: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalissimos de Reales órdenes, rombramientos, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "luy hernandes de alfaro. licencia para que desde sanlucar vaya un navio suyo a flandes."

³⁸ The bishop of the Canary Islands was Luis Vaca; the bishop of Ciudad Rodrigo, Gonsalvo Maldonado.

³⁹ A. G. I., 53-6-6: Audiencia de Santo Domingo. No date; *cédula* replying, apparently, to this petition, is dated June 28, 1527 (A. G. I., 139-1-7, vol. 12, p. 148 r). Marginal note: "Lo que suplica la isla Espanola sobre que no entre azucar ni canañstola de fuera de los reinos de Espana. (Decreto: Lo acordado.)"

tierras, y pues esto en las tierras que ya estan pobladas se haze usa y guarda generalmente para poblar de nuevo mucho mas requiere animar a los pobladores y hazer todos proveymientos provechosos a la tal poblacion, y pues Dios ntr. sr. a sido servido que en esta isla y en las otras a ella comarcanas se de la granjeria del azucar y canafistola en gran cantidad que esperamos sera la principal parte para la poblacion y sustentacion dellas, y si esta tal granjeria no se obiera comenzado sin duda ya estuviera esta ysla espanola despoblada y es cierto mandando su magestad proveer las cosas que para favor dello se le suplican que son muy justas y necesarias, que de hoy en adelante con el azucar que en estas islas y las de canaria se haze abra tanto con el ayuda de nuestro Senor que basta para proveer a todos sus reinos y senorios y que sobre y para que en ello aya el despacho que conviene y por aver lo se reanimen a hazer los edificios para ello necesarios, pues son tan costosos y ellos hechos seran tan provechosos para la poblacion y perpetuidad de la tierra ay necesidad que su mag. provea y mande que no entren ni puedan entrar en todos sus reinos y senorios ningun azucar ni canafistola sino lo mismo que en los dichos reinos se hizieren y por sus subditos y naturales y desta manera habran muchos que quieran gastar sus haciendas en los edificios del azucar en esta ysla y en las otras y se poblara la tierra y se aumentara el trato y sus reales rentas crecieran y vendran de muchas partes a entender en el trato del dicho azucar y esta misma orden se tiene en el reino de portugal sobre el azucar que en sus tierras se haze y dello reciben mucho provecho. Suplicase a su mag. lo conceda pues es tan justo.⁴⁰

XVII. THE KING TO THE MUNICIPALITY OF SANTO DOMINGO, FEBRUARY 15, 1528.⁴¹

El Rey.

Conçejo justiçia Regidores de la çibdad de santo domingo de la ysla española. vi vuestras letras de quarto e de çinco de agosto del año pasado y holgue de ver la Relaçion tan larga y particular que hazeys de las cosas desa çibdad e ysla. . . .

quanto a lo que dezis que desde que esa çibdad se poblo el cabildo della ha thenido cargo de Repartir las tierras y aguas y solares y dar horden en las otras cosas de los terminos della de manera que todos fuesen Aprovechados y gozasen de las dichas tierras y agua y solares y que en esa posesion esta el Regimiento desa çibdad y lo haze y usa y por nos A seydo confirmado todo lo fecho y Repartido por el dicho cabildo, y que de poco tienpo A esta parte mandamos que de Aqui Adelante las Aguas y tierras para los yngenios las Repartiesen los nuestros oydores de la nuestra audiencia, de que los vezinos dessa ysla Resçiben mucho daño por la dificultad que Ay en hazerse el dicho Repartimiento por los dichos oydores A causa de no podello hazer por sus personas no lo pueden hazer tan bien como el Regimiento de cada çibdad villa o lugar, y ay otros ynconvinientes que dezis en vuestra carta y me suplicays haga

⁴⁰ Signed by royal officials, alcalde, etc., of Santo Domingo, some six in number; names undecipherable.

⁴¹ A. G. I., 139-1-7: Indiferente General, Registros, Libros generalísimos de Reales órdenes, nombramientos, gracias, etc., Años 1526 á 1528. Marginal note: "Real provision á la çibdad de santo domingo."

merçed a las çibdades villas e lugares desa ysla para quel cabildo de cada una dellas Repartade y señale las dichas tierras y agua y solares como hasta Aqui se ha fecho, yo lo mançare brevemente ver y proveere lo que mas convenga y el presidente llevara despacho dello. . . .

vi lo que suplicays y otras muchas vezes me aveys escripto que conviene mucho a nuestro servicio y acreçentamiento de nuestras Rentas e bien desas partes que yo mande dar liçençia para que de qualesquier puertos e lugares destos Reynos se puedan llevar a esas partes mercaderias y mantenimientos syn yr a se Registrar A sevilla, y que Asymismo convernía que los navios que desa ysla partiesen con açucares y corambre y caña fistola y otras grangerias desas partes fuesen a qualesquier partes de nuestros Reynos, ya sobresta materia se vos A Respondido muchas vezes y creed que asy esto como todo lo demas que fuese medio para la poblacion de esas partes y que los vezinos dellas Resçiban merçed y sean aprovechados, tengo voluntad que se despache, pero como es cosa tan nueva y de ynportancia aunque parece que conviene que se haga Requiere deliberacion, porque no se pueden proveer los ynconvinientes que dello podrian subçeder aunque muchas vezes sobrello se ha hablado, h agora he mandado que se torne a platicar y con toda brevedad se provea lo que paresçiere que mas conviene.

vi lo que dezis de la nesçesidad en que estan los vezinos desa ysla a causa de la tormenta pasada por el daño que hizo en los yngenios he otras haziendas y como A causa de los dichos yngenios estan adeudados. y convernía a nuestro servicio y poblacion desa ysla se le esperase por las dichas deudas, sin embargo de lo qual dezis quel liçerçiado vadillo da çierto ynpedimento e yninterpretacion de espera de los quinze meses que mandamos dar por manera que no les aprovecha ni gozan de la dicha merced en lo qual avemos mandado proveer lo que conviene, y si el dicho liçenciado en la dicha cobrança hiziere agravio a algunas personas excediendo de la Ynstruccion que para ello llevo yo lo mandare ver y Remediar con justia.

quanto a lo que dezis que algunos vezinos desa ysla compelidos con mucha nesçesidad para sostener sus haziendas e grangerias y Atreviendose A la merçed e liçençia que thenemos dada A esa ysla para pasar a ella çierto numero de esclavos An pasado a ella Algunos sin liçençia nuestra con que se An Remediado, e me suplicays que avido Respecto a lo suso dicho y al servicio y provecho que de pasar los dichos esclavos a esa ysla se nos sygue y A que syn ellos las granjerias y haziendas della se perderian los oviesemos por bien pasados y no se proçediese por ello contra las personas que los an pasado syn embargo de las permisiones que por nos estan dadas, para que los que se an pasado o pasaren syn nuestra liçençia sean perdidos para la nuestra camara, enbiarme eys la Relacion de quien son las dichas personas que ansy an pasado los dichos esclavos syn liçençia y que cantidad ha pasado cada uno para que se provea lo que convenga. . . .

El traslado de la çedula que dezis que enbiays para que de las cosas que se llevaren destos Reynos A esa ysla para yngenios no se paguen derechos del almoxarifaço, e que los nuestros oficiales desa ysla dan otro entendimiento por que gize que no se entiende negros ni cobre, y me suplicays la mande guardar haziendo declaracion della el dicho traslado, no se Resçibio ni vino Aca y por no saber el tienpo en que se despacho no se ha hallado Aca en los libros, enbiadme el dicho traslado

en manera que haga fee para que yo la mande ver y proveer lo que convenga. . . .

de burgos a quinze dias del mes de hebrero de mill y quiniientos y veynte y ocho años. YO EL REY. por mandado de su magestad. francisco de los covos. señalada del obispo de osma e dotor beltran y obispo de çibdad Rodrigo.

XVIII. THE QUEEN TO THE AUDIENCIA, FEBRUARY 26, 1538.⁴²

la Reyna.

presidente E oydores de la nuestra abdiencia y chançilleria Real de la ysla española. sabastian de rodrigues en nonbre de diego cavallero, vecino de la ysla, me ha hecho rrelacion, quel es uno de los primeros pobladores y conquistadores della y que de treinta años esta parte siempre nos haser vido en los descubrimientos y conquistas del mar oceano, y que como buen vezino e poblador desa ysla y para la ennoblesçer y perpetuarse en ella el ha echo un edificio de yngenio de açucar en un rrio que se dize nigua, que ha sido cosa de mucha costa y trabajo en que diz que ha gastado mas de quinze mill ducados, en el qual dicho yngenio tiene echa una poblacion de españoles y negros e yndios en que ay mas de sesenta casas de piedra y de paja, y que en la dicha poblacion tiene una yglesia con un clerigo que les dize misa, y ha començado en aquella hazienda a poner viñas las quales diz que se dan muy bien y que tiene trigo sembrado, y espera que se dara abundantemente, y que como cosa que tanto le ha costado desea que tenga alguna perpetuidad, en especial porque cae en camino por donde vienen todos los españoles que escapan de las otras tierras, los quales son alli muy socorridos, y que, tiene pensamiento de en esta hazienda hazer todas las espiriencias del pastel grana y morales para seda, y de todos los frutales de estos rreinos porque es tierra aparejada para ello, y me supplico en el dicho nombre, que en rremuneracion de sus servicios y trabajos y porque otros se examinen a hazar lo mismo y del que de memoria como de primero poblador le hiziesemos merced quel dicho su yngenio con la dicha poblacion y con todo lo que en el hiziese y edificase por su solar conoçido, conçediendole una legua de tierra en quadra prolongado o Redondo, como mejor se pudiere hazer en las tierras suyas propias que se le han dado y el ha comprado y en las demas que junto dellas estan baldias sin perjuicio de tercero. lo qual pudiese amojonar y deslindar para que fuese termino conoçido con las tierras montes pastos e aguas que en ello hoviese para el y sus descendientes, y que en la gente que en el dicho su termino e poblacion rresidiese y alli ocurriese, toviere el y los dichos sus descendientes la juresdicion hordinaria y que como fundador de la dicha yglesia toviere el patronadgo della y pudiese presentar el beneficio, o como la mi merced fuese. lo qual visto por los del nuestro consejo de las yndias fue acordado que devia mandar dar esta mi cedula para vos e yo tovelo por bien. porque vos mando que veais lo suso dicho, y llamados e oidos los rregidores desa dicha ciudad de santo domingo, ayais ynformacion y sepais que yngenio es el que ansi tiene echo el dicho diego cavallero, y

⁴² A. G. I., 78-2-1: Audiencia de Sto. Domingo, Registros de oficio, Reales Ord's dirigidas a las autoridades del destrito de la audiencia, Años 1536 á 1605. Marginal note: "Diego Cavallero." Diego Caballero is mentioned in 1527 as clerk of the audiencia.

en que parte esta, y si de hazerle merced quel dicho yngenio con la poblacion que en el tiene y de aqui adelante hiziere que de pcr su solar conocido y darle una legua de tierra de manera que la pide y la jurisdiccion hordinaria para el y sus descendientes y el patronazgo de la yglesia de la dicha poblacion se siguiera algund daño o perjuizio a nos, o a otra persona alguna y en que, o si seria bien hazerle la dicha merced, y de todo lo de mas que vierdes que devo ser ynformada, çerca dello ayais la dicha ynformacion e havida y la verdad sabida escripta en limpio e signada del escrivano ante quien pasare cerrada y sellada en manera que haga fee juntamente, con vuestro parecer de lo que en ello se deve hazer, la embiad ante nos al dicho nuestro consejo para que vista en el se provea lo que convenga y sea justicia e non fagades ende al. fecha en la villa de valladolid a 26 dias del mes de hebrero de 1538 años. firmada y Registrada de los dichos.

LA REYNA.

XIX. ESTEVEZ TO KING PHILIP II., JULY 4, 1563.⁴³

A la Catolica rreal magestad del rrei don felice nuestro señor en su rreal consejo de yndias etc.

Catolica rreal magestad.

por carta del fiscal de vueso rreal consejo colijo de sus palabras aberme nonbrado por negligente y rremiso en cosas tocantes a vueso rreal servicio escritores y coronistas en algunas cartas que se an escrito a vuesa magestad y a su rreal consejo.

lo que pasa es que yo soy, como vuesa magestad esta ynformado, natural de la parra en el condado de feria⁴⁴ primo del llicenciado figueroa vueso oydor que fue En valladolid, de tan linpia y onrrada generacion quanto alla y aca es notorio. yo case en esta çibdad de santo domingo con gente tal como yo y de mi tierra en fin del año de 44. desde este tiempo hasta agora tengo casa muger e hijos y sirvo a vuesa magestad en este oficio de vueso fiscal tan linpia y fiel y diligentemente y con tanto cuidado y como buen xristiano que a todos los que an pasado aca ni que pasaren no les dare ventaja y no ay aca cosa mas notoria. En este tiempo yo fue un año por mandado de vuesa rreal audençia a tomar rresidençia al lliçenciado juanes davila en la ysla de cuba y otro año a tomar rresidençia al dotor ballejo en la ysla de puerto rrico y en estos oficios y biajes gaste muchos dineros de mi casa por hazer sienpre lo que hera obligado, y en todas las partes donde estado daran testimonio de mis obras todos los que me an conoçido y conoçen. El salario que E ganado de fiscal an sido çinquenta mill maravedis desta moneda que buena no se me a dado y en papel se an gastado y agora con el oficio vuesa magestad me hizo merçed de otros çinquenta mill maravedis y si no se dan de buena moneda se gastan oy los çien mill maravedis en una pipa de vino, y otro tanto bale una pipa de harina con veinte y ocho arrobas, una arroba de azeite beinte pesos, una libra de xabon un peso y cinco tomines, una bara de rruan tres pesos y medio, bara de terçiopele beinte pesos, una

⁴³ A. G. I., 53-6-5: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Tres libros de cartas de las autoridades, personas eclesiasticas y seculares de la Isla de Santo Domingo desde 1534 á 1574.

⁴⁴ In the province of Badajoz.

onça de seda quatro pesos un negro voçal comun de mill pesos arriba y todas las cosas de castilla a este rrespeto.

estan perdidas estas tres yslas que no ay mays ni caçabi que son los mantenimientos de aca que los destruye y no deja criar El caçabi un gusano y al mays lo comen papagayos, y la carestia de los negros apocan los labradores. vale una carga de caçabi o hanega de mays 7 pesos y no se halla, E se padeçe gran neçesidad los ganados y carne se apoca, por secas de falta de agua se muere el ganado y por perros que se hazen monteses y brabos por los campos son peores que lobos en castilla son tantos que no ai rremedio aunque se matan hartos, por que pare de un parto una perra desiseis hijos, ay un genero de monte que se dize guayabos que an naçido tantos en estas tres yslas y çiegan tanto la tierra y pastos y criaderos de ganados que solo dios basta rremediarlo. es tan gran perdiçion esto que solo basta para se perder Estas tres yslas y podriase rremediar algo con aþer muchos negros en precios moderados, y esto vuesa alteza lo puede rremediar con hazer merced a esta ysla de diez mill liçençias de negros por tienpo de diez o quinze años y los metieser. los vecinos o las personas que ellos nonbrasen y aqui manifestaçen los negros y pagasen quinze çucados de buena moneda de derechos, que nc sufre mas esta ysla y sustentarse an las haziendas y ganados y minas, y lo que vuesa magestad pierde en los derechos de liçençias gana en sustentar estas yslas y en los frutos que yran donde vuesa magestad tendra gran provecho, y do por aviso que aca entendemos ser mas provechoso hazerse las manifestaçiones de negros y rropas aca, porque de ninguna cosa se dejarian de pagar vuestos rreales derechos cunplidamente y porque acaçe por casos benir sin liçencia ni rregistro negros y rropa, y por temor que no se lo tomen por perdido lo encubren de tal manera que ni los dueños lo gozan ni los oficiales de vuesa alteza lo pueden descubrir y asi se pierde mucho totalmente y no se pagan los derechos y esto no tiene aca ningun rremedio a lo menos en todo, y para lo que vuesa magestad tiene en peru y nueva españa y otras partes conbiene estar estas yslas como puertas y çeca y socorro de fortaleza bien pobladas que le seria muy dañoso a vuesa magestad lo contrario, y esto basta para tener muy gran quenta con ellas y hazer mercedes a los vecinos que oy rresiden y suçesores para questen quedos y no las dejen ni despueblen, porque no espere vuesa magestad que se aya de poblar del que nuevamente biene que no ay yndios que le rrepartir ni socorro que le dar con que pare un dia, y asi de quantos bienen onbres del campo que hazen falta en castilla aca no quieren trabajar ellos bienen huyendo del trabajo ni para ninguno aqui, y esto a de mandar vuesa magestad rremediar que se vienen aca perdidos por holgar y olvidan sus mugeres e hijos y luego quieren ser soldados y caballeros.

y en esto de la poblaçion y bien de la tierra pareceme que sienpre se an descuidado vuestos oydores y no visitar la tierra y animar los vecinos Echolo a que sienpre tienen ojo a yrse de aqui y no permanecer en ella, toda esta quenta E dado, por que entiendo que hago serviçio a vuesa magestad y no poco por que escribo verdad y lo que haze muy al caso E ynporta la moneda que corre destos quartos en que nos pagan nueve pesos destos quartos se dan por un peso En oro fino.

lo que ynporta y es mas prinçipal en esta ysla para la tener poblada presupuesto lo de arriba son ganados e ynngenios de açucar. esto da mas probecho y tiene la gente y puebla la tierra y trae los navios y esto no tiene duda, y tras esto las minas, y como onbre antiguo y experimentado

en todo esto vuesa magestad me de credito que esto es asi y esto es menester sustentar y favorecer como cosa que tanto ynporta a la perpetuidad y poblacion desta ysla.

yo diverti la materia y tornando al punto de ynformar de mi persona avra doze años que En compania de un cuñado mio començe a hazer un yngenio de cavallos çinco leguas desta çibdad, y hize una hazienda con una casa de piedra con trezientos pies de largo y treynta de ancho para tener los açucares y ençima una torre para vibir la gente y el yngenio con su molienda de çiento y ochenta pies de largo y quarenta y çinco de ancho, todo de piedra y lindas maderas, que no se a labrado mejor en la ysla, con mas de dos mill pies de naranjos y limas y otros arbolès de frutas, y moli en el nueve años, y por ser molienda de cavallos y queria tenerla de agua la vendi, y compre un yngenio de agua que a quarenta años lo hizieron los pasamontes vuestos tesoreros, que En su tienpo fue cosa de ver y en los sucesores se fue perdiendo hasta que abra quatro años que le compre perdido caidas las paredes y açequias, y lo e rredificado que las obras que en el tengo hechas son de rromanos, E hasta alli ay que ber en hazienda semejante esta tal que rreyes como vuesa magestad se podian preçiar della. esto Emos trabajado yo E un cuñado sin favor ni Emprèstido ni Enojara anima bivalente ni nos aver dado ni rrepartido un palmo de tierra sino con el poco dote de mi muger y poco de mi cuñado francisco rrodriguez franco y gran soliqitad y trabajo nuestro, tanto que en castilla y todas las yndias hasta aqui pueden llegar onbres labradores y trabajadores y pobladores y mas no que me a acacido en estos años salir de audiençia y asta otra audiençia aver andado con aguas y soles y pasados rrios mas de veynte leguas y esto muchas vezes, y plugiera a dios tuviera vuesa magestad En esta ysla mill onbres semejantes aunque costara hartos que la ysla estuviera de otra manera, y estos son los que vuesa magestad a menester y los que se an de honrrar y a quien se an de hazer creçidas mercedes, para que otros se animen a hazer otro tanto. es tanto verdad lo que tengo dicho que de todos que ban sera vuesa magestad ynformado mas cunplidamente, e yo lo enbiare provado, para que vuesa magestad sea servido, hazernos merced de algunas liçençias de negros para sustentar y abiar esta hazienda. . . .

de santo domingo 4 de julio de 1563 años.

de vuesa catolica rreal magestad menor criado y vasallo

El licenciado ESTREVEZ. [Rubric.]

[Endorsed:] Vista.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS

Civilization and Climate. By ELLSWORTH HUNTINGTON. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 333.)

THE book contains important contributions of two kinds: (1) reports of actual investigations of the effect of climate and weather upon man; and (2) an analysis of the reports, supplemented by the author's opinions. These opinions are valuable because the author has had unusual opportunities for the study of climate and man in many parts of the world and has devoted years of intensive study to the subject. Some of Professor Huntington's earlier conclusions regarding the relation of climatic changes to historical events have been vigorously opposed. The present book will encounter less criticism because most of his main hypotheses are well supported by observed facts and the others are cautiously stated.

Following are some of the significant conclusions set forth in the book: (1) That mental and physical vigor are definitely related to the outside temperature. A study of five hundred factory operatives in Connecticut and over three thousand in Southern States, and a study of the daily class-records of 1700 students at Annapolis and West Point, indicate that an average temperature of 60° to 65° F. is the optimum for physical work, and that mental activity normally reaches its maximum when the outside temperature averages about 38° F. (2) That moderate and frequent changes of temperature are stimulating, and hence that those climatic belts which are subject to frequent and moderate changes of weather are most favorable to man's progress. (3) That the above type of climate prevails to-day wherever civilization is high, and seems to have prevailed in the past wherever a great civilization arose. (4) That the alternate northward and southward shifting of this belt of frequent temperature-changes has in the past favored countries further south (in the northern hemisphere) than those which are now so favored.

That great changes of climate have taken place in the past has long since been established by such proofs as the presence of glacial deposits in different geologic ages and in low latitudes; and by the presence of fossil palms in Greenland and Spitzbergen. Penck, the leading European glaciologist, has shown by his studies of sand dunes, salt lakes, and changing heights of the snow line in certain latitudes, that the climatic zones shift north and south during long periods. He holds that during a glacial period the northern storm-belt is shifted southward so that the storminess of Germany and the northern United States is pushed into Italy and the southern United States.

Dr. Huntington does not maintain that climate determines a nation's degree of civilization: If it did the North American Indians should have been a great people. He says, "A favorable climate will not cause a stupid and degenerate race to rise to a high level"; he holds, however, that a race cannot attain or retain a high degree of civilization in an unfavorable climate.

His study of white and negro farmers in the North and South indicates that the white farmers investigated rank nearly twice as high in efficiency as the negro farmers, North or South; and that the Northern whites studied outrank in efficiency the Southern whites as 100 to 51; and the Northern negroes outrank the Southern negroes as forty-nine to thirty-four. Evidently "race and place" both count.

In the chapter on the White Man in the Tropics, he masses much evidence to show that tropical climate weakens character through inducing a proneness to indulgence, inertia, and weakness of will. In his chapter on the Effect of the Seasons he reports the results of fourteen tests of the effect which the seasons have on human activity. These tests were made in Denmark, Japan, and in eight of our states, and all agree in their evidence that the change of seasons is notably stimulating and that men are at their best in spring and fall.

The studies and maps based upon replies made to a questionnaire by 137 Americans and foreigners show that the parts of the world selected by this group as representing the highest civilizations coincide closely with the regions possessing the highest climatic energy.

When making large generalizations, the author speaks with commendable caution. He repeatedly states that he is advancing an hypothesis, not presenting an established truth; for example (p. 249), "This hypothesis is so new that there has not yet been time for it to be fully discussed and tested by a large number of workers. Therefore the reader must be cautious in accepting it." Again he says (p. 221), "I do not delude myself with the idea that the problem of the relation of climate to civilization is solved."

The main hypotheses in *Civilization and Climate* are of unquestionable importance. They appear to point toward truths of great significance. From many sources evidence is accumulating that there are pulsations of climate—long cycles and short cycles—progressive changes from cooler to warmer and the reverse; from arid to humid and the reverse. Some of these cycles are only a few years in length; others are decades in length, and still others are measured in centuries or millenniums.

Dr. Huntington is trying to collect and interpret the evidence of these significant climatic changes. His latest book, conservative and guarded as it is, contains inferences and deductions which are offered as tentative, not final.

R. H. WHEITBECK.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

English Field Systems. By HOWARD LEVI GRAY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University. [Harvard Historical Studies, vol. XXII.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1915. Pp. ix, 568.)

Not every scholar is competent to deal with the complex and difficult materials from which the history of English agriculture must be written. The appearance of a work like Professor Gray's is an event, and his careful study is a notable contribution. Its scope is defined by the effort to solve the problem of the racial element in manorial origins, which was so forcibly presented a generation ago by Seebohm. The chief interest of the general reader in the book will arise from the fact that it is the first thoroughgoing attempt to deal with this problem; but it is important for other reasons. An original study of Celtic land systems provides information concerning a phase of the subject heretofore inadequately handled. Incidentally it appears that the subdivision of arable in the manner known as runrig is not an essential of the Celtic plan. Moreover the body of material gathered by much patient research is treated from the territorial point of view, and some older fallacies accordingly are exposed. Thus the three-field system is seen not to have prevailed throughout England, as has often been assumed. Even the famous Hitchin fields are not typical of the county in which they lie. Another noteworthy feature of the work is the attention given to the neglected two-field system. The existence of this is attested as early as the tenth century, before the three-field system is specifically described. The distribution of the two is shown to forbid acceptance of the theory that they arose through different tribal or racial influences. The explanation of their relationship is that three-course tillage arose as an improvement in agricultural method in regions where quality of soil permitted the increased demand upon it which was the object of the change.

The great result of the investigation is the conclusion that three distinct types of field prevailed in as many parts of England. The author's researches enable him to map these areas. The plan by which peasant holdings of arable were distributed with some approach to evenness in two or three fields prevailed in the great region reaching from the Channel as far north as Durham and from Cambridgeshire as far west as Wales. In a second territorial division, which comprised, generally speaking, the counties of the southwest as well as those of the northwest and north, the open fields as might be expected bear marked traits of the Celtic system. The remainder of England, including Kent, East Anglia, and the counties of the lower Thames basin, shows field systems variable but different from those found elsewhere. These the writer conjectures grew out of the usage of Kent where the *ingum* formed a peculiar unit of villein tenure. The two- and three-field

system is claimed as Germanic in origin on the ground of its prevalence to the east and south of the Weser; the Kentish system, on the other hand, is held to bear traces of Roman origin. The conclusions based upon these findings are modestly stated. The author fully recognizes the gulf of seven centuries which separates the Germanic conquest of Britain from the earliest period of satisfactory records. Yet he is entitled to make deductions where earlier writers have hazarded them from far less complete data. The evidence of land systems, so he states, implies that Roman influence was longest felt in southeastern England where there was probably a considerable survival of Celtic serfs. In the great area of the two-field and three-field system Germanic conquest was of a thoroughgoing nature. In the district where Celtic agrarian usage was retained the process of subjugation is known to have been slow and difficult. Such is the trend of the latest expert opinion based upon the tracing of our most promising clue to the character and conditions of the Anglo-Saxon conquest.

W. A. MORRIS.

A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West. By Sir R. W. CARLYLE, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and A. J. CARLYLE, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in Politics and Economics, University College, Oxford. Volume III. *Political Theory from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth.* By A. J. CARLYLE. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1915. Pp. xvii, 201.)

THIS is the third volume of a work the first two of which have already been reviewed in this journal (X. 629; XV. 836). The first volume dealt with political theories from the second century to the ninth, the second with those of the Roman lawyers and canonists, and the third was to have dealt with political theory from the tenth to the thirteenth century. The authors concluded, however (p. 17), "that the adequate treatment of the subjects has required so much space that we have decided to deal with feudalism and the general political ideas in this volume, and with the relations of the temporal and spiritual powers in the next".

So the present volume is devoted to a treatment of "the influence of feudalism on political theory" in which such subjects as personal loyalty, justice and law, source and maintenance of law, are taken up, and to "political theory in the eleventh and twelfth centuries", under which natural law and equality, the divine nature and moral function of political authority, divine right, justice and law, the social contract and universal empire are considered.

In the part on feudalism the author combats the only too prevalent notion drawn mostly from the abuses of feudal survivals of the times of Louis XIV. and the absolute monarchs. "There is still a vulgar impression that in the Middle Ages men looked upon authority as irre-

sponsible" (p. 30). After showing that such was not the case either in theory or fact, he concludes: "Whatever else may be said about it, one thing is clear, and that is that feudalism represents the antithesis to the conception of an autocratic or absolute government" (p. 74). "The authority of the lady or lord is only an authority to do law or justice . . . they have no authority to behave unjustly" (p. 32). The king "is under the law, for the law makes the king". Feudalism's "main influence went to further the growth of the principle that the community is governed by law, and that the ruler as much as the subject is bound to obey the law" (p. 86).

To the medieval mind law was custom, but we are inclined to take issue with the author in his statement (pp. 44-46) that it was as late as the thirteenth century that men began only faintly to conceive of laws being made by the prince and his wise men without particular reference to custom.

Of divine right Mr. Carlyle says: "The writers of these centuries are practically unanimous in maintaining that the authority of the king or emperor is derived from God" (p. 100), and that it is "his function to secure the establishment and maintenance of justice". A ruler who does not do justice, however, is not a king but a tyrant and may be resisted (pp. 116, 126, 143). By this clever turn the right of resistance was upheld, and even though some writers held to the theory of non-resistance "it was not the normal theory of the Middle Ages" (p. 125). Though the king got his power from God, any particular king got his from the community by election, and certainly "the conception of a strictly hereditary right to monarchy is not a medieval conception" (p. 150).

The quality of this volume is not up to the standard of the first two. An excusable amount of repetition in those, in this becomes an absolute abuse. Perhaps the nervous strain under which most writers in Europe must be doing their work may account for this.

On page 156 the author falls into the error of deriving from certain events narrated by Lambert of Hersfeld theories which Lambert may or may not have drawn. On pages 166 and 168 he still adheres to a position taken in his earlier volume (II. 63) that the social contract was first enunciated by Manegold of Lautenbach in the eleventh century and on page 12 he dismisses St. Augustine's "*pactum obedire regibus*" as not pertinent. He more or less justifies this by contending that Manegold's idea of the social contract "is not constructed upon some quasi-historical conception of the beginnings of political society, but rather represents . . . the principle of the medieval state as embodied in . . . reciprocal oaths" (p. 168). In spite of this, however, it may be safely said that the theory of a *pactum* between subjects and their ruler was in existence earlier than Manegold and the particular turn which he gave it does not make him the creator of it.

Some minor errors may be noted, such as the loose construction of

the last sentence on page 169. The author's greatest fault in this volume, as in his first, is the prejudice which he seems to have against citing secondary authorities: On page 114, for example, why should he not tell us who it is that makes "the complete mistake" of saying that the medieval theorists doubted the divine origin of the State or that it had an ethical end? In spite of these shortcomings, however, the book still remains a distinct contribution to the subject.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Recueil d'Actes relatifs à l'Administration des Rois d'Angleterre en Guyenne au XIII^e Siècle (Recognitiones Feodorum in Aquitania). Transcrits et publiés par CHARLES BÉMONT, Directeur adjoint à l'École Pratique des Hautes Études. [Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire de France.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1914. Pp. lxxv, 475.)

THE task of the reviewer of any work from the pen of so eminent an historian as M. Bémont must of necessity be in the main descriptive. In the present work he has published for the first time in a complete form a manuscript of the first importance for the study of the history of Gascony under the English rule.

The early portion of the thirteenth century was a period of much turmoil in Gascony. Wars between the English and the French, civil wars between towns, factions, and nobles, revolts against the English king, followed each other with scarcely any intervals of peace. Henry III., whose authority was never very securely established, finally in 1252 made over his rights in the province to his son Edward. The prince did not make his appearance in his new possession till the years 1254-1255, when he came to crush a revolt and re-establish—or try to re-establish—order.

One of the first steps in the direction of order would be to ascertain in some definite manner what the royal rights actually were. For this purpose Edward directed a sort of census, requiring all who held from the king to make a statement or oath of the nature and extent of their holdings and of the obligations which they entailed. This statement was to be made before the king or his representatives, was to be reduced to writing by a notary, and subscribed by witnesses. Communes were thus to declare the privileges they held and to acknowledge their obligations toward their suzerain.

Such an undertaking under medieval conditions could not be carried out at once. Edward indeed seems to have begun the process during his visit in 1254-1255, and to have urged it on in his absence. In 1274 a particularly widespread set of such declarations was gathered. Finally, between 1281 and 1294, all these declarations were gathered up and copied into a cartulary by several scribes along with some other matter of the same character and some documents of a different sort.

It is this cartulary—the *Recogniciones Feodorum in Aquitania*—which M. Bémont has now published for the first time in full and accurate fashion. The importance of such a document as the above needs little comment. It is a mine of information of all kinds concerning Gascony in the latter part of the thirteenth century.

The history of the document is rather curious. How and when it left the archives of Bordeaux and where it was originally kept, are both unknown. All that can be determined with certainty is that in 1627 it was purchased by Augustus, duke of Brunswick, and placed in the library of the dukes of Brunswick at Wolfenbüttel, where it still remains. The existence of this document—nearly complete—has been long known to scholars and its importance recognized. Pardessus published in his *Lois Maritimes* an extract from it, namely a copy of the statutes of an association of patrons and sailors at Bayonne. Augustin Thierry succeeded in having it sent to Paris, where it was copied by Martial and Jules Delpit and afterwards returned. In 1841 they published a *Notice d'un Manuscrit de la Bibliothèque de Wolfenbüttel intitulé: Recogniciones Feodorum*. In this and also in volumes III. and V. of the *Archives Historiques de la Gironde* they published considerable extracts from it. Their copy, however, left much to be desired in the way of accuracy and the publication was by no means complete. It was therefore felt to be desirable that the work should be undertaken afresh and the present volume is the result.

A work of such great importance, executed from photographic plates by a scholar of such great and peculiar qualifications for the task as is M. Bémont, must be in a high degree welcome. The student of the history of southwestern France will find here a vast mine of information with all the apparatus to facilitate its ready exploitation.

F. B. MARSH.

The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538. By MADELEINE HOPE DODDS and RUTH DODDS. In two volumes. (Cambridge: University Press. 1915. Pp. viii, 388; 381.)

THIS is an admirable piece of work, which bids fair to remain the standard authority on the events with which it deals. The authors are obviously well equipped for the task they have undertaken. They have made full use of the documents in the Record Office and in the British Museum, and of the invaluable collection of *Letters and Papers*. They have read and digested the historical literature of the period, and have correlated such new material as they have found with what has been known before. They are strictly impartial, and their style is clear, convincing, and very agreeable. Nothing anywhere near as elaborate and thorough has previously been written on the Pilgrimage of Grace: further "finds" in local and family archives may modify some of the

details of the story as presented here, but we feel confident that the main lines will not be radically changed. Nor does the present book contain any very startling departures from the hitherto accepted account. There are no revolutionary conclusions. It rather confirms and substantiates with a wealth of new detail what we have hitherto been taught to believe; and it fills in a number of gaps. It emphasizes the great importance of the fact that the ranks of the Pilgrims contained both gentlemen and commons, that the movement, like the Great Rebellion of the seventeenth century, was the monopoly of no one class of society.

Many of the men who opposed Charles I were lineal descendants of the Pilgrims. Philip and Brian Stapleton, the great-great-grandsons of Christopher Stapleton, both distinguished themselves in the cause of the Parliament. Richard Aske, the great-great-grandson of young Robert Aske, the nephew and namesake of the grand captain, was one of the lawyers who drew up the indictment of Charles I. The great Lord Fairfax was descended on his father's side from Sir Nicholas Fairfax, an enthusiastic Pilgrim, and on his mother's from young Robert Aske. Sir William Constable, who signed the death-warrant of Charles I, was the great-great-grandson of Sir Robert Constable. These are not mere genealogical freaks. The spirit which had defied Henry VIII overwhelmed Charles I.

The wide divergence in the aims of the rebels—religious, agrarian, legal, and personal—the lack of leadership, and the supineness of the Church, which alone might have given the movement the unity indispensable to success, are also clearly brought out. The Duke of Norfolk receives full measure of well-merited abuse; Robert Aske is distinctly the hero of the story. The last two chapters on the White Rose Party and the Exeter Conspiracy of 1538, militate somewhat against the aesthetic unity of the book as a whole. The connection of the events there treated with the Pilgrimage is not sufficiently obvious to make it quite clear why they were “lugged in”. In themselves, however, they are excellently well done, and contain by far the best and fullest account of a hitherto neglected episode.

There is an article by Dr. G. T. Lapsley on “The Problem of the North” in volume V. of this journal, which the authors of the present book have apparently missed: they could have used it to advantage in writing on the Council of the North. In connection with their account of the origin of this interesting and important body, we venture to express the opinion that the Misses Dodd have failed adequately to emphasize the importance of the dispute between the Duke of Norfolk on the one hand and the king and Cromwell on the other about the class of men who were to compose it. The duke insisted that the task was one which only noblemen could adequately perform: “The wylde peple of all the Marches wolde not be kept in order unles one of good estimacion and nobilitie have the ordering thereof”; while Henry and his minister asserted that His Majesty had already been ill-served on the Borders

"by reason of controversy and variaunce depending between the great men that ly upon the same"—but that if His Majesty should appoint "the meanest man to rule and govern in that place" . . . his royal authority ought to be sufficient to cause all men to serve him "without respect of the very estate of the personage". An animated correspondence upon this topic continued from February to May, 1537; it was finally closed by the king in an epistle to which our authors refer as a "gracious letter of thanks to Norfolk for his services in the North" (II. 250); and they subsequently quote some of the earlier sentences thereof. But they stop short of what seems to us the vital clause of the whole matter—"For surely we woll not be bounde of a necessitie to be served there with lordes, but we wol be served with such men what degre soever they be of as we shall appointe to the same."—And this was much more than a triumph of the king's plebeian minister over the head of one of the most ancient families in the land. It was more even than the settlement of the composition of the Council of the North. It was perhaps the most striking exemplification that has come down to us of the way in which the principle of *Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos* was used to support the edifice of Tudor absolutism.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Les Protestants Anglais réfugiés à Genève au Temps de Calvin, 1555-1560. Par CHARLES MARTIN, Docteur en Théologie, Ancien Pasteur à Genève. (Geneva: A. Jullien. 1915. Pp. xv, 352.)

"THE Englishe Church and Congregation at Geneva" was of more importance than its duration, from 1555 to 1560, or its numbers would indicate. In the first place it furnished a working model of a free church choosing its own officers, creed, and liturgy, and of a Puritan church carrying out what Knox and his allies vainly attempted in Frankfort, especially the maintenance of a purer form of worship and a strict discipline approved by the "congregation" and enforced by representative ministers and laymen. M. Martin makes this clear in his first chapters.

In the second place, the church was prolific in publications. Its constitution, liturgy, and psalter (the Scottish *Book of Common Order*) spread through Scotland and England. The unflinching theology and pregnant notes of the Genevan Version, or "Breeches Bible", moulded the political philosophy, and its virile, rhythmic, Elizabethan English formed the ways of speech of England and America. The chapters on the influence of these books, with his scholarly bibliography of forty-four publications by the exiles, constitute the core of Martin's book and make it worth while. He agrees with Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* in including as translators of the Geneva Bible Whittingham, Gilby, Cole, Goodman, and Coverdale; but excludes Sampson, given by Wood, and

adds Kethe (translator of "Old Hundredth"), Baron, and Knox. Martin disagrees with the usual account of the immediate success of the translation, relying here largely on Whittingham's inaccurate statement in 1575 that it had not been reprinted. Martin himself records two separate editions of the New Testament and three of the whole Bible by 1570. He is however entirely correct in pointing out the decided increase of editions after the death of Archbishop Parker in 1575.

The political theories of "constitutional government, and the limited authority of 'superior powers'", as Mitchell has pointed out, were not only published and exemplified by these exiles but have been accepted by the English-speaking world. Here Martin is at home through previous publications, and one of his best chapters discusses the publications of Goodman, Gilby, and Knox.

The chapter on the work of the exiles after their return is perhaps as good an account as can be found in such brief compass. Especially significant is the comment in a letter to Calvin by Gallars, the pastor sent from Geneva to the French church in London, that the returned exiles "ne gardent aucune mesure". A list is given of a dozen exiles of the more moderate temper who were called to bishoprics or deaneries and shared directly in the ecclesiastical reorganization as revisers of the Prayer Book or Thirty-Nine Articles. The reader would have welcomed a fuller list of the positions, noteworthy in number and importance, held in the universities and the church. For such information, and for the names and activities of both the 186 members of the church and the twenty-six other English exiles in Geneva, one must still turn to scattered biographical material and to the lists in Mitchell (or Hyer) containing at least forty-one annotated names lacking in Martin's index. M. Martin has reprinted the *Livre des Anglois*, still preserved at Geneva, containing the "Membres of the Church", "Ministers, Seniors and Deacons yerely chosen", baptisms, marriages, and burials. Such entries at once suggest significant comparisons with colonial church records.

In spite of some minor errors and omissions—almost inevitable in such a mass of names and bibliographical data—the book gives evidence of both modesty and scholarship. Its author has rendered a service by combining documents and precise bibliographical material with a clear discussion of a significant illustration of the internationalism of Geneva and Puritanism.

HERBERT DARLING FOSTER.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews. By JOHN HERKLESS and ROBERT KERR HANNAY. Volume V. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1915. Pp. 268.)

THE fifth volume of the history of the archbishops of Saint Andrews continues on the lines of its predecessors and is devoted to the life of

John Hamilton, the last Roman Catholic archbishop. This volume tells an intricate and tragic story of rivalry, intrigue, strife, murder, and execution. Scotland, a poor and backward country, the scene of the rival efforts for influence of two great powers, France and England, was then in a position not unlike that of a Balkan state in modern times. Its natural development was checked by outside influences. Acute and violent religious strife divided its people. Old feuds separated the great landowners. The discipline of the Church had long been weak, for the results of the organizing genius of Innocent III. had hardly reached Scotland and its ecclesiastical disorders were a scandal for many scores of years before the Protestant movement began. In this respect there is the sharpest contrast between the primates in Scotland and the primates in England. Canterbury was staid and respectable, St. Andrews was dissolute. It is the contrast between two different stages of civilization.

The life of John Hamilton represents in outline the state of society in Scotland. He was the bastard son of the first Earl of Arran and himself, though an archbishop, the father of many bastards, whom he was not ashamed to acknowledge. When he was fourteen the pope named him to be abbot of the rich monastery of Paisley. He studied in Paris and brought back to Scotland some smatterings of French culture and an outlook broader than that of many of the ecclesiastics about him. Before he was forty he was archbishop of St. Andrews and primate of Scotland. This post made him the leader of the Scottish church during the great struggle with the Protestants under John Knox. By nature Hamilton was no persecutor, but his office made him one. Mylne, an old man of eighty, was burned for heresy at St. Andrews in 1558 and there was bitter comment upon the immoral life of Hamilton, his persecutor, compared with the character of the devout old man whose grey hairs might have protected him. The authors combat the received tradition that Hamilton was active in punishing Mylne. When the Scottish Parliament made Scotland officially Protestant Hamilton's position was difficult. He supported the Roman Catholic Queen Mary against her Protestant subjects and showed no scruple in his partizanship. Forces were gathering that involved civil war. When Mary was obliged to fly from the country Hamilton had little power. He took an active part in the plot which resulted in the murder of the regent Moray, and when accused admitted his guilt. The result was that, clothed in a full array of ecclesiastical vestments, the archbishop was hanged in the market-place of Stirling, April 6, 1571.

Such is the graphic story covered by this volume. There is, however, nothing graphic in the telling of the story. The authors have used conscientiously their authorities, state papers, acts of Parliament, registers, etc., with the result that they are able to construct almost an itinerary of Hamilton. But they have infused into this dead material no spark of the life which only imaginative insight would give. James

Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who murdered Moray and with whom the archbishop had dealings, was a picturesque villain who tried later to murder the Prince of Orange. What would not Robert Louis Stevenson have made of such material as that furnished by Bothwellhaugh, Châtellerauld, Queen Mary, Knox, and many others? Stevenson, of course, was a man of letters, but why should not the historian write literature? The volume is badly arranged. The same heading runs through the whole book, the chapters themselves have only dates for their titles, and no outline of the contents is to be found anywhere. The index, too, is without cross-references. Painstaking research and accuracy do not wholly compensate for these defects.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e Siècle (1494-1610).

Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon.
Volume IV. *Henri IV. (1589-1610).* (Paris: August Picard.
1916. Pp. xix, 223.)

WITH this work M. Hauser completes a labor of erudition which has occupied him for the past ten years, and which fills four volumes, covering the period of the Italian wars, the reigns of Francis I. and Henry II., the wars of religion, and finally the reign of Henry IV. Carlyle compared the pamphlet literature of the Cromwellian epoch to the mines of Potosí. The comparison applies with equal aptness, both for volume and for quality, to the sources of French history in the sixteenth century. One who has himself spent many months of research in the archives of the history of France in this period may be permitted to congratulate M. Hauser most heartily upon the accomplishment of a task of scholarship in which love and duty must often have been commingled sentiments.

The character of this poly-volumed *Manuel* was determined by the founder of the series, the late M. Auguste Molinier. It was primarily intended to be a critical catalogue of the narrative sources of French history, with some notice of those documentary and literary sources which were thought to be "indispensable", and which were somewhat unscientifically denominated "indirect". The bibliographical determinism of M. Molinier has obviously embarrassed M. Hauser in the arrangement and treatment of his material, but he has nevertheless, for the most part, loyally adhered to the original scheme. But the categories of medieval historical bibliography cannot be adapted to modern history. M. Bourgeois, in the volumes of this series devoted to the seventeenth century, frankly broke away from the original plan, being compelled so to do by the overwhelming mass of archive material in modern times, and the slight value of narrative material in comparison with it. It seems a pity that, for the sake of a theoretical unity of arrangement, which is manifestly inadequate for the epoch with which he is dealing, M. Hauser should have permitted himself to have been so inhibited in his labors.

Yet in spite of these self-imposed obligations of method M. Hauser has wonderfully succeeded in the accomplishment of his task. One knows him for an almost impeccable workman. This volume is no mere bibliographical finger-post; rather it is an *avant-courier* for the student of the history of the reign of Henry IV. of France. It seems hypercritical to notice omissions in so excellent a work. But I find no mention of the *Journal d'un Curé Ligueur (1588-1605)*, edited by Barthélemy (Paris, 1888); nor of *Notes on the Diplomatic Relations of England and France, 1603-1688*, by Professor Firth and Mrs. S. C. Lomas (Oxford, 1906). The appendix to the 37th *Report* of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, pages 180-197, also contains a list of the French ambassadors in England between 1519 and 1714, with references to manuscripts in the French archives, prepared by M. Baschet. Lists of transcripts of the correspondence of these ambassadors (to be found in the Record Office) are contained in *Reports*, 40-47, of the Deputy Keeper.

From the preface we learn that this book was completed before the war. In fact, it is dated August 1, 1914, from Dijon, perilously near the frontier. The Great War delayed publication for nearly a year, for M. Hauser under date of June 10, 1915, has added a second preface which is part of the cry of scholarship the world around:

La guerre n'a pas seulement troublé le travail scientifique, elle a momentanément suspendu, en France du moins, le travail des éditeurs. Pendant quelques mois, elle a même empêché la publication de la plupart des périodiques. Elle a supprimé toutes relations, même intellectuelles, avec les états belligérants. Nos bibliothèques ont cessé de recevoir les livres et les revues de nos ennemis. C'est, croyons-nous, la première fois dans l'histoire moderne qu'une lutte entre peuples revêt ce caractère inexpiable, s'étend jusqu'aux domaines de la science et de la critique. Le monde pensant est vraiment déchiré en deux parts. . . . Et tandis que les uns combattent, les autres, ceux qu'un sort jaloux retient au foyer, se disent que le devoir est de consacrer leurs forces intellectuelles à des oeuvres d'une utilité pratique immédiate. Pour s'intéresser encore à un livre comme celui-ci, il faut songer à la paix future, et la nécessité de maintenir, dans une Europe renouvelée, le prestige scientifique de notre France.

There is the true patriotism of scholarship.

JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON.

The English Factories in India, 1651-1654: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, Westminster. By WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xxxix, 324.)

It is fortunate that the Original Correspondence series at the India Office is so full for this period, as there are no documents for these years in any record office in India. The material as a whole can be analyzed under several main headings, though the chronological arrangement and the variety of interests often touched on in a single despatch require

a careful study of the great majority of the two hundred odd documents. For this work Mr. Foster's compact introduction and the excellent index are of value. In general, as volume after volume of this remarkable series appears, the reader who compares the essential characteristics of Anglo-Indian documents in the later eighteenth and in the nineteenth centuries with the letters of the seventeenth century cannot fail to wonder at the loss of naturalness on the part of the writers in the more recent century and a half. We gain a more intimate view from the sea-captains and commercial agents of the Stuart period than from the statesmen, generals, and bureaucrats of the Hanoverians. The earlier papers give not only a more human view but in many respects a wider, if more detailed, understanding of the facts in the case. Furthermore one has an impression of sincerity that is often lacking in some of the more philanthropic messages of the great governors. Yet this particular volume contains perhaps less material of this sort than some of its predecessors; and there is a vast amount of business figuring that is now chiefly valuable to the student of detailed commercial operations and the historian of the Anglo-Indian merchant marine. It is unnecessary at present to write much of such matters, particularly as in previous notices of this series the importance and quality of this aspect have already received attention. Yet as the Stuart period is usually regarded as the age of the joint-stock company it is worth while to note the vigorous attempts of one group of directors to restore the practice of a regulated company. This was perhaps, stimulated by the divisions and intrigues that gained among the officers of the company as civil dissensions continued in England.

Of a different character is the campaign for business expansion and financial advantage in Persia. It was a renewal of an old policy and also a challenge to the Dutch. Indeed for a time Russian ambassadors, an envoy of Charles II. of England seeking a loan, agents of the East India Company, and Portuguese and Dutch representatives bring their rivalries to the court of Shah Abbas. The outbreak of the Anglo-Dutch War in Europe was the signal for open hostilities in the Persian Gulf and along the coasts of India. A number of naval engagements took place and for a time trade was seriously damaged; this was particularly so in agencies on the west coast though on the east coast the Dutch practically cut off all communications for many months. The restoration of peace marked the end of disputes which had lasted for more than half a century. It also quite definitely stimulated the desire of the English to gain a permanent fortified base of their own, preferably on the west coast. Bombay is mentioned for the first time in this connection, and also the possible acquisition of a post from the Portuguese on the southeast coast of Africa. The most significant phrase is that the company ought to "procure a nationall interest in some towne in India to make the scale of trade for those parts".

Throughout the whole period there were frequent quarrels between

agents of the company, and at times, notably at Madras, factional struggles between native parties and castes created much disturbance. Naturally the old fights with local governors to secure relief from petty exactions continued; and envoys were often occupied at the imperial court itself in gaining special permits or seeking redress in long-drawn negotiations which required a liberal sprinkling with bribes and presents of all sorts. In short the documents give light on a sharp European struggle while they reveal the methods of Asiatic commercial diplomacy.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Keigwin's Rebellion (1683-4): an Episode in the History of Bombay. By RAY and OLIVER STRACHEY. [Oxford Historical and Literary Studies, vol. VI.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1916. Pp. xv, 184.)

OF all the results from the great revival of interest in colonial affairs, which the last quarter of a century has revealed, none has been of more interest than the re-discovery of the East India Company as a subject for historical inquiry. From the days of Bruce and Orme and Mill to those of Hunter a vast amount was written on the subject of the English in India, some of it very good, part of it excellent, much of it very bad; all of it devoted, in a surprising degree, not to the beginnings of English adventure but to the native history and to the later English advance. In general the history of the English in India seemed to begin with Clive and end with the Sepoy Mutiny. And while there were exceptions, and notable exceptions, to this rule, it was that period of almost precisely a century which absorbed by far the greater part of attention from historians.

More recently the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have begun to come into their own. To this result the labors of Birdwood and the publication of the Letters of the East India Company's servants have undoubtedly been a powerful stimulus. Economic, or rather commercial, history has contributed to the same result and, besides the labors of French and German scholars, such work as that done under Professor Cheyney's direction in this country has been a not inconsiderable factor in opening up this field. How untrodden are its paths is revealed in the first page of the preface of this study of Keigwin's rebellion, and no ambitious historical student eager for unworked archives can read without envy the list of virtually untouched manuscripts here recorded.

The authors of this little monograph are to be congratulated not merely in their choice of a subject but in their method of approach and presentation. In itself the revolt against the East India Company authorities which took place in 1683 under the leadership of Captain Richard Keigwin was not an earth-compelling event. Neither was its hero from the day when he arrived in Bombay as a "free planter" (1676) to the day when he "followed his bags of gold on board the

Charles the Second", "as Impudent as hell" in Josiah Child's somewhat vigorous modern phrase, to be compared with men like Pitt or his fellow-interlopers in his influence on the development of English interests in India. His picturesque career, which began with the Dutch War of 1666, continued with his share in the capture of St. Helena in 1673, where his daring exploit is still perpetuated in the name of Keigwin's Rock, which he scaled at the head of his landing party, and ended in his death during the attack on St. Christopher's in 1690, forms, indeed, an entertaining narrative. But about his seven years of life in India the authors have constructed an account of the company, its managers, especially the two Childs, its conduct, its environment, and its failures and successes, which is not merely extraordinarily illuminating but of great human interest. Something it lacks, or seems to lack, of a wider historical setting; but within its limits it is a model monograph. The peculiarly intimate knowledge of the characters and circumstances of the events which it narrates, and its readable quality, which does not disdain even an allusion to Mr. Arnold Bennett's labors in the social history of the Five Towns, make it a refreshing contrast to much other work of like scope but different character which takes its scholarship far too seriously.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Silesian Loan and Frederick the Great. By the Rt. Hon. Sir ERNEST SATOW, G.C.M.G., LL.D., D.C.L. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. xii, 436.)

THE Silesian Loan Case was not only an extremely interesting episode, or series of episodes, in the diplomatic relations of Great Britain and Prussia between 1734 and 1756 but it is a landmark in the development of the doctrines of reprisals, contraband, and the status of private property at sea during war. In Carlyle's *Frederick the Great* appears the best-known account, but it is full of inaccuracies. All works upon international law treat of the subject, Martens in his *Causes Célèbres du Droit des Gens* (second ed., 1856, II. 97-169) printing the two most important documents bearing upon it, the Memorial of Cocceji to Frederick, and the Report of the Law Officers of the Crown. The latter became in many respects, particularly through the reception of the doctrines of the Consolato del Mare as to enemy property at sea, the basis of the case-law and prize procedure of the United States. This document has recently been reprinted by Mr. Thomas Baty in his *Prize Law and Continuous Voyage*. With these exceptions the mass of documents bearing upon the subject has remained somewhat inaccessible. Sir Ernest Satow has rendered a considerable service not only in reprinting the two *pièces de résistance* with extracts from other printed papers, but in addition he has unearthed from the archives of the Foreign Office more than a hundred documents never before printed. These, supple-

mented by the results of researches at the Hague, have enabled the author to assemble as nearly complete a collection as could be made, omitting the manuscript resources at Berlin and Paris, which archives do not seem to have been drawn upon. Preceding the documents is a very careful narrative, in which precision of statement supplants that literary charm which might have inhered in the subject.

The Silesian loan was incurred by the Emperor Charles VI., who borrowed £250,000 from British subjects under license from George II. in 1734, giving as security for the interest an hypothecation of his Silesian revenues, and as security for the principal, maturing finally in 1746, a mortgage upon the imperial estates in Silesia. No interest was paid during the lifetime of the Emperor. Frederick the Great, becoming master of the territory, attempted to evade payment, and during the war between England and France, 1744-1748, threatened to confiscate the loan as against the English holders as an act of reprisal for the treatment accorded Prussian ships by the British, claiming a violation of verbal promises made at the beginning of the war, and subsequent infractions of Prussian neutral rights by an undue extension of the contraband list, and by the refusal of Great Britain to recognize the principle that free ships make free goods. Prussia further claimed that the decisions of British prize-courts "could not constitute any right or prejudice between two sovereign powers". The answer of Great Britain, embodying the Report of the Law Officers of the Crown, took the position that the British prize-court was governed by the law of nations (a doctrine lately affirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council), that this court was open to aggrieved neutral subjects, and that the British practice as to contraband and enemy property accorded with the law of nations. The author throws much new light upon the legal doctrines involved (there is an excellent chapter on prize-law in the first half of the eighteenth century) and greatly elaborates the diplomatic setting. The little-known mission of Legge in 1748 to propose an alliance between Prussia and Great Britain is well described, as are the somewhat equivocal actions of France, which having been asked in February, 1753, by Great Britain to exercise good offices with Prussia, attempted to play the part of an arbitrator. Direct negotiation led to the treaty of Westminster, January 16, 1756, by which a mutually satisfactory adjustment was made. Frederick managed to scale down the debt while the British sacrificed no principle for which they had contended. Rarely does there appear so scholarly a monograph upon such a special field in international legal history. It is admirably conceived and carefully executed.

JESSE S. REEVES.

The Making of British India, 1756-1858. Described in a Series of Dispatches, Treaties, Statutes, and Other Documents, selected and edited with Introductions and Notes. By RAMSAY MUIR, Professor of Modern History, University of Manchester. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, no. XXVIII.] (Manchester: University Press; London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1915. Pp. xiv, 398.)

THIS collection of extracts from printed documents relating to Anglo-Indian history is worthy of notice because of the excellent methods employed, because of the limitations of the book as a whole, and because of the usefulness of the material provided. The century which ended with the disappearance of the East India Company is very crowded. The proportion of introductions and notes to documents is by no means excessive and yet the editor has along certain main lines succeeded in supplying a sufficient narrative basis for an intelligent use of the material that he has selected. A general introduction is followed in each of the eleven chapters by a few pages of special explanation of the documents and general features of the particular period to be surveyed. The extracts are rarely more than a few pages in length and consequently by judicious selection and skillful arrangement the effect of an almost connected story is clearly suggested. The editorial work in this respect is distinctly clever.

The matter of proportions is, however, open to debate. Evidently Professor Muir believes that the work done by Clive, Hastings, Cornwallis, Shore, and Wellesley deserves more careful study than does the period from 1807 to 1858 when the real expansion of British rule took place. In this view he has been probably influenced by two other considerations. The latter half of the eighteenth century has been the period for special study in England and the documentary material is on the whole better and more available. But in this connection we should notice the deliberate omission of practically all reference to the Mutiny. This decision is defended (p. 379) because "it [the Mutiny] did not add to the territorial power of the Company, or alter its system of government". Even so, but the deeper causes of the Mutiny go far to exhibit certain fundamental characteristics of British rule and many features of Indian society; and the company finally staggered off the stage in that tragedy. A further point is the lack of material from any but official sources. The view is almost uniformly that of the English administrator in India. His power, his sincerity, and his mistakes are made clearer by the output of his governmental mind but if we except such important matters as the land-tax, settlement in Bengal, the abolition of *sati*, and Dalhousie's last minute in 1856, the book is almost barren for the study of economic conditions in India. Naturally we also fail to get a clear picture of the social basis of administration. In

other words this book marks no advance from the conventional viewpoint regarding the English in India. Their work remains eminently difficult, usually splendid, and thoroughly respectable and unselfish. Even the criticisms are those which are to be found in almost any general history of India.

But certainly any such limitations of this useful book arise partially from the character of the material which is most available in printed form. On the whole these sources are increasing in welcome if somewhat slow fashion, but undoubtedly much remains to be done, particularly in the period between Lord Minto and Lord Dalhousie. But Sir George Forrest and Mr. S. C. Hill for the earlier period, and occasional editors and biographers such as Arnold, for Dalhousie, and the editor of the *Wellesley Despatches*, have given us admirable excursions into the masses of unprinted material which await exploration. As a whole, therefore, these extracts are bound to be of value to many students who may not have the time or opportunity to go to the larger collections; and in a technical way the book is excellent.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

The Evolution of Prussia: the Making of an Empire. By J. A. R. MARRIOTT, M.A., Fellow and Modern History Tutor, Worcester College, and C. GRANT ROBERTSON, Fellow of All Souls and Modern History Tutor, Magdalen College. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. 459.)

THIS is the first of a series of *Histories of the Belligerents* planned by the Clarendon Press. By a rather brilliant *tour de force* the authors have sought to give within the compass of 450 pages the main outlines of the story of the rise and development of Brandenburg-Prussia and the later Prussianization of Germany under the Hohenzollern dynasty. They begin with Albert the Bear and close nominally with the fall of Bismarck, though a brief epilogue indicates the most important events from 1890 to 1914. Such a work is necessarily sketchy, but the lines of the sketch, as to relative emphasis, interpretation, and condensation of statement, are firmly and effectively drawn. This is particularly true of the first third of the volume, on the development of Brandenburg-Prussia to the death of Frederick the Great. The Great Elector "surpasses all the rulers of his house save one, Frederick II., and the difference between these two is the difference between great talents and indisputable genius" (p. 96). Frederick William I.'s reign was the period "in which all the most unlovely and forbidding qualities were scourged into the kingdom. . . . His court was a barrack, his kingdom a combination of the farm-yard and the parade-ground, and he viewed both with the eye of the non-commissioned officer and the stud-groom" (pp. 101-102).

The authors have aimed to be guided by their regard for historical scholarship rather than by their British sympathies. Though their point

of view and some of their phrases have been influenced naturally enough by what has been said and done since August, 1914, though they attribute to the Great Elector conscious and consistent Treitschkean motives which he probably did not have, though they criticize Frederick the Great for failing to appreciate, as they think, the new eighteenth-century spirit in France, and though they exaggerate the hatred with which he was regarded in the latter part of his life, their account, on the whole, is admirably objective and unbiassed. In passing ethical judgments, however, on the Hohenzollerns of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it would have been fairer and more historically-minded to test them by the standard of their own age rather than by what has come to be regarded by English-speaking people as a twentieth-century standard of political morality. It is only fair, that is, to suggest that Frederick the Great, for instance, was little better and little worse in his political morals than Catherine II. or than many of his less-famous contemporaries who were less successful in their results but not less unscrupulous in their aims and methods.

Where the authors touch upon institutions they appear to follow the somewhat antiquated accounts of Bornhak, Isaacsohn, and Droysen rather than the more recent studies of Hintze, Koser, Hass, Holtze, Stölzel, and others. Thus, in summing up (pp. 66-67) the internal administration from 1440 to 1618 it is misleading to speak of "the introduction of the Roman law by Elector Joachim I". The new council created in 1604 was not called a Staatsrat but a Geheimer Rat. It was not created so much to weaken the power of the Diet as to aid the elector in his foreign policy. This period does not mark "the waning of the power of the estates" but just the opposite.

In their otherwise excellent analysis of the characteristics of Hohenzollern rule the authors do not sufficiently emphasize two features which have been fairly characteristic of most of the Hohenzollerns of the last three centuries—their confidence in God and their work for the social welfare of their subjects. The Great Elector's remark, "I am convinced that I owe the preservation of my position and my territories to God, and next to God, to the standing army", was sincerely meant, and might have come just as well from the lips of any of his successors, except Frederick the Great. Similarly the Great Elector's zeal for the material welfare of his subjects, which he sought to promote by innumerable edicts, initiated a state policy followed fairly consistently by most of his descendants down to the state socialism of our own day.

The volume ought to prove a useful introduction to the study of Prussian-German history—a field where short works in English are scarce—and it affords a good brief background to one aspect of the present war. It is more concise and interpretative than Henderson's *Short History*, more consistent and readable than the piecemeal chapters in the *Cambridge Modern History*, and more extensive in treatment than Priest's *Germany since 1740*.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution. By THORSTEIN VEBLEN. (New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. viii, 324.)

THIS book is a study from the standpoint of sociology of the complete and sudden transfer to Germany of the industrial and commercial processes developed in England since the Elizabethan age. The problem treated is that of the co-operation and mutual reaction of machine industry and a feudal, military, dynastic Imperial-State. What is the result when the modern economic order based on technological methods is amalgamated with a social and political order still essentially medieval?

The author begins his theme "doubtfully and far away" in the neolithic age, to show that the races of northern Europe were of the same hybrid stock and free borrowers. To this is added a discussion of borrowing by one group or nation from another. The people which develops anything does it in spite of all sorts of social inhibitions from existing wont and custom which hamper its uncompromised and logical acceptance. The borrowing nation takes it over and sets it in a new matrix where these hindrances are almost entirely lacking. It therefore reaches quickly in the borrowing nation a more perfect development and the borrowers receive in a single generation benefits and results not achieved by the parent nation in four generations, if ever.

The Industrial Revolution in England in its first one hundred years under free competition and a governmental laissez-faire policy gave England a considerable "depauperate" working population whose physical deterioration has affected later generations. She is not able to rid herself summarily of antiquated machinery and industrial plants suffering by depreciation from obsolescence. "The technological knowledge and proficiency gained by the community [England] in the course of modern times primarily serves, by right of ownership, the pecuniary gain of the business men in control and only secondarily contributes to the welfare of the population." The beneficiaries have developed an elaborate technique of consumption based on the social propriety of "conspicuous waste". It costs time and money to develop "a gentleman" and "the English today lead the Christian world both in the volume of their gentility and its cost per unit". In all this half-heartedly accepted order, England differs from the Continental peoples and especially from the Germans who have "retained conventional virtues in a more archaic material civilization. Hence a discrepancy in 'culture' that has become irreconcilable."

A chapter on the dynastic state traces its development from primitive insubordination and anarchy to group solidarity which approves the aggrandizement of its accredited leader to the point of irresponsibility. A euphemism makes subjection bear the name of "duty", "flunkkeyism dignified with a metaphysical nimbus".

In the nineteenth century, Germany, a community habituated to a belief in divine rights and led by a state "with no cultural traits other than a medieval militarism resting on a feudally servile agrarian system", took over the English technological system. The new business development made for the larger Germany. The state removed the barriers while rigidly pruning back inimical political popular sentiment and distributing favors to the masses by class legislation. The industrial leaders did not need to spend their time on being gentlemen. That social position was already monopolized by the feudal nobility whose traditions made it easy for the Imperial-State to organize them as military specialists. Military traditions, not wholly Prussian, were carefully kept and discipline and tutelage fitted well into the scheme of a large-scale production. But the result is to leave Germany as a cultural community "in an eminently unstable transitional phase". She has not forgotten enough of the old nor fully assimilated western civilization. The Imperial-State has directed the new development into a new form of the old dynastic state aggression. It can now neither get along with nor without machine industry. The present offensive defensive war for dominion may give personal government reprieve, and "the movement for cultural reversion", even if it nominally loses, stands to gain "by the arrest of Western civilization at large".

Professor Veblen is, nevertheless, mildly optimistic as to the results of the war but with no constructive suggestions as to the new order.

It is a brilliant book and well worth reading. The grim, sardonic, subtle, scholastic irony on every page including the foot-notes conveys more than the author seems free to say and more than any brief notice can reproduce. It is an objective application of antidotes for self-satisfaction in any national group.

GUY STANTON FORD.

The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century. By PAUL THUREAU-DANGIN, Secrétaire Perpétuel de l'Académie Française. Revised and re-edited from a translation by the late Wilfred Wilberforce. In two volumes. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1916. lxiv, 468; xv, 642.)

AMONG histories of religious movement and religious thought in England M. Paul Thureau-Dangin's *The English Catholic Revival in the Nineteenth Century* must take a first place by reason of its comprehensiveness and of the thoroughness with which the work has been done. The greater part of these two volumes is devoted to the Oxford movement and the Ritualistic movement in the Church of England that developed out of the Oxford movement. But in recounting, always with sympathy and always with clear and painstaking detail, the history of these two movements, M. Thureau-Dangin also tells to a considerable extent the history of the revival of the Catholic Church in England—

the revival that came after Catholic enfranchisement in 1829, and particularly in the period after 1850 during which Wiseman, Manning, and Vaughan were successively archbishops of Westminster. In his long introductory chapter—one of the most strikingly interesting chapters in a book that holds interest from the introduction to the closing pages—M. Thureau-Dangin describes the position of the Roman Catholic Church in England at the opening of the nineteenth century, and contrasts it with the position in 1899, the year when the introductory chapter was written. There are no exact statistics of the strength of the English adherents of the old faith in the first three decades of the nineteenth century. Before the Irish immigration to England began to assume large proportions in the thirties and the forties, Catholicism was mainly represented by the English families, mostly of the landed classes, which had steadfastly adhered to the old faith from the Reformation. Some of these Catholics were still living in retirement and social isolation on their country estates. Others were scattered, and merged in the populations of the large cities. All told, they did not, in 1814, exceed 160,000. England was then a mission. There were no bishops and only four vicars apostolic, with about four hundred priests, who lived as unobtrusively as possible, "remembering all too well the days of persecution, and scarcely daring to wear a dress which would reveal their character". Chapels were few, without exterior distinction, and hidden away in the most obscure corners of the towns. M. Thureau-Dangin's introduction was written nearly half a century after the regular hierarchy in England had been re-established in 1850, when Wiseman was made Archbishop of Westminster, and England was divided into twelve Roman Catholic sees.

At the time M. Thureau-Dangin wrote there were a million and a half adherents of the old faith in England, exclusive of those in Ireland and Scotland; and in place of the four vicars apostolic and their four hundred priests of the mission period of the first three decades of the nineteenth century, there were seventeen bishops, an archbishop, three thousand priests, and religious orders of every kind. How this revival was brought about, what it has meant religiously, politically, intellectually, and socially for the adherents of the old faith, what part Wiseman had in it, what part Manning had in it and how it was aided first by the Oxford movement, and later by the Ritualist movement, form one of the most interesting and enlightening portions of M. Thureau-Dangin's book. It is more than the history of a religious movement. It contributes a part, and an important and essential part, to the general history of England in the era which began in 1832, and ended with the beginning of the Great War. In no existing volume has this history been more faithfully recounted. What may be described as the other two divisions of the book—the history of the Oxford movement and the history of the Ritualistic movement—are equally well done, and are even more characterized by comprehensiveness than the history of the

new era in England for the Roman Catholics. There can scarcely be a source for the history of these movements that has escaped the attention of M. Thureau-Dangin. The actual literature of the Oxford movement—the tracts themselves, the letters and memoirs of Newman, Pusey, Manning, Ward, and of all the other men who were directly or indirectly concerned in it, and the newspapers and reviews of the period—have all been drawn upon, and the abundance of material they offered admirably interwoven into the text. Much the same can be said concerning the history of the Ritualistic movement; and here court records, debates in Parliament, bills that failed and bills that passed, such as the Public Worship Regulation Act of 1870 and the records of the English Church Union and the Church Association, have been drawn upon, in addition to sources similar to those used in the history of the Oxford movement.

M. Thureau-Dangin's sympathies are almost lovingly with the adherents of the old faith in the new era that opened in 1850. His sympathies are also with Newman and Manning, and other men of the Oxford movement; and almost equally with the clergy of the Established Church who were of the Ritualistic movement, particularly with those who suffered at the hands of the Church Association. Another characteristic of the book that ensures it a permanent value is the series of pen-portraits of the men of all three movements. These are admirable; and it is not always necessary to accept to the full M. Thureau-Dangin's estimates of men to appreciate the portraits drawn of them. One lack of the book is obvious. There is no bibliography. It would have been an unusually long one had it been added; but the wide range of sources on which M. Thureau-Dangin has so carefully drawn makes the lack of a bibliography all the more noticeable.

The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

By BECKLES WILLSON. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 543; 533.)

Strathcona and the Making of Canada. By W. T. R. PRESTON. (New York: McBride, Nast, and Company. 1915. Pp. xi, 324.)

FOLLOWING quickly upon the death of Lord Strathcona these two lives have appeared, Mr. Willson's a eulogy, Mr. Preston's the opposite. Mr. Willson thinks that Lord Strathcona was so great a factor in the life of Canada that his name was "long synonymous throughout the British Empire with Canada itself"; Mr. Preston considers Lord Strathcona an opportunist, bent on creating a fortune, the servant of great financial interests, the corrupter of political morality in Canada by the lavish use of money in elections. Mr. Willson has had the advantage of access to Lord Strathcona's papers and is, of course, highly official in tone; Mr. Preston writes as an outside critic who has lived

through the events he describes. Mr. Willson is diffuse, in two volumes, Mr. Preston is brief and sometimes pungent.

Donald Alexander Smith, a penniless Scot with an education good for business purposes, went to Canada in 1838 and entered the service of the great Hudson's Bay Company, which promptly sent him to Labrador. There he remained for twenty-six years without returning to Scotland. He was efficient, honest, enterprising, and so absorbed in his tasks that he never felt boredom on that uninviting coast. He spent little, saved money, and invested it shrewdly. By 1865 we find him established at Montreal, already an important figure in financial circles. In 1869 the company which he served sold its proprietary interest in the Hudson Bay territory to the new Canadian federation for \$1,500,000, but retained the right to vast areas of land. When there was trouble at what is now Winnipeg about the transfer to Canada a movement was set on foot to annex the whole territory to the United States, and urgent appeals were made to President Grant to save the liberties of the American settlers in the country by refusing to permit the transfer to Canada. The whole affair was so badly bungled by the Canadian authorities that it was necessary to send to the West a military expedition under the late Lord Wolseley. During the trouble Smith was of service as commissioner for the Canadian government and the incident marked his entrance to the world of politics.

His next great interest was in building railways. He joined Mr. J. J. Hill in acquiring the nucleus of what has become the Great Northern Railway and made a great fortune. In 1880 he became a leader in the company which built the Canadian Pacific Railway from ocean to ocean. During the period of railway enterprise he was a member of the Canadian Parliament and railways were his chief interest. In 1895, when already long past seventy, he entered upon the third great phase of his career and became the official representative of Canada in London. He possessed, as has been said of bishops, every virtue but resignation, for he clung tenaciously to office, and he was something of a Vicar of Bray, in that he supported now one party, now the other. He died in harness in 1913. He deeply loved being in the public eye. Every year he presided at the great banquet in London on July 1, the anniversary of the founding of the Canadian federation. There the present writer heard him speak for the last time, almost inaudibly, but still with striking acuteness of intellect, at the age of ninety-three, only a few months before he died. He had piled up colossal wealth and, when occasion required, he knew how to spend money freely. He was made a peer as Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, soon after going to London. He lived in considerable state both in London and in the country and also kept up two or three houses in Canada. He equipped at his own cost a troop of horse during the South African War; he spent \$40,000 on a huge feast to celebrate his lord rectorship of the University of Aberdeen; he was chancellor of McGill University, Mon-

treasuries, and gave it large sums; he helped to found a women's college and a great hospital in Montreal; he left half a million dollars to Yale University, and so on. Altogether a remarkable career.

But had he in his hands, in any real sense, "the making of Canada", to quote Mr. Preston's title-page? So many people have had to do with the supposed making of Canada that it is time the phrase itself was abandoned. To Mr. Preston he unmade Canada by debauching its politics and bringing in the reign of the great interests. Mr. Preston alleges that Strathcona exercised a sinister financial influence on both the Liberal and the Conservative parties in Canada, and his book is based chiefly on his own personal knowledge, as an official of the Liberal party, of the working of the power of money. Clearly he has a grudge against Lord Strathcona and probably reads a bad meaning into matters really quite innocent. But what he says is not to be wholly ignored. Personally Strathcona was, without doubt, an honorable man, but honorable men sometimes wink at dark things in politics from which they profit. It was easy to give money to a political friend and not to inquire how it was spent; or to give financial favors which implied political support by the man favored. To Mr. Willson, on the other hand, Strathcona is always right and his book is based chiefly on speeches and on letters by or to his hero. The big book lacks discrimination.

The truth about Strathcona appears to be that he was an able man who would have succeeded in anything which he attempted; that he had the virtues of tenacity, caution, and rectitude in business affairs and that, as he often saw much farther than his contemporaries, he won, by insight and patience, astounding success. He saw the real value of the great prairie country when even able men derided it as bleak and barren, and he understood what railways would do for it and also for those who built them. There is nothing to show that he was a statesman in the large sense of reading the vital needs of a political society or that he was prepared to face defeat and loss for the sake of high political ideals. His politics were the politics of material development, his utterances those of a safe political creed, content with things as they are. He was usually moderate and kindly towards opponents, and never at any time was other than master of himself. Living to such a great age he came to occupy a unique position not only in Canada but also in England, where even King Edward spoke of him as "dear old Uncle Donald". Many were his acts of kindness even to the unworthy, and he was sincerely religious. He was, however, not a great but only a successful man. He had no deep ponderings on the meaning of life or on the defects of society. He read few great books, thought no great thoughts. Had he not piled up a vast fortune he would be already forgotten like many other equally able men. It is safe to say that Mr. Willson has said of him the last word of appreciation and Mr. Preston the last word of censure.

GEORGE M. WRONG.

The Balkans: a History of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, Rumania, Turkey. By NEVILL FORBES, ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, D. MITRANY, and D. G. HOGARTH. (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1915. Pp. 407.)

WHEN the common cover is the only effective bond of union in the collaborated product of four authors, it may be affirmed that the maladjustment of style and matter to be expected in this sort of enterprise has exceeded the permissible limit. The preface offers an apology for the disjointed handiwork: "widely separated, engaged on other duties, and pressed for time, we have had no opportunity for interchange of views". Admitting the difficulty of co-operating under these circumstances the question may be asked: why co-operate at all? The answer is not far to seek. The book before us is a war-book, hurriedly put together by four scattered British students to meet an immediate demand of the British public for historical information concerning one of the focal interests of the present war, the Balkan Peninsula. Naturally enough the book presents the long story of the peninsula pretty consistently from a British angle, but with a degree of fervor varying from man to man. Nevill Forbes, the historian of Bulgaria and Serbia, is the most insular of the group of authors. His tale of Bulgars and Serbs is punctuated with sudden explosions of wrath against Britain's foes which we may assume he will be the first to regret when peace has again restored the disturbed balance of his soul. D. Mitrany, lord of the Rumanian destiny, is noticeably cooler than Nevill Forbes; and Arnold J. Toynbee, writing on Greece, has almost completely succeeded in banishing the special animosities of the moment from his pages. The palm for objectivity and serenity of outlook must, however, be accorded to D. G. Hogarth, in whose close-woven story of the rise and decline of the Ottoman power there does not appear as much as a faint edge of disdain born of the developments of the present war.

Since each author composed his section in proud ignorance and disregard of all the other sections, the contribution of each stands on its own merits and should in fairness be judged as a separate work. Mr. Forbes pursued as his ideal the old-fashioned chronology: facts are the article that he felt called on to deliver. Accordingly, parts of his work on Bulgaria read like monastic annals whose thin medieval stream has been hopelessly cluttered with data requisitioned at random from a well-stocked modern library. The Serb section, it should be stated, moves far more smoothly. But only when the author turns his attention to recent developments among Serbs and Bulgars does he project himself into the realm of reality, though even then the world which he evokes is rather the hectic product of the journalist's fevered brain than the patiently and steadily evolved organism of the historian. Mr. Mitrany's presentation of Rumania has a far more professional quality. Very capricious, however, is this author's practice of inclusions and omissions.

For example, the Jews in Rumania are well known to be a portentous issue frequently made the occasion of international negotiations. Mr. Mitrany dismisses the matter in a foot-note (p. 298) with the remark that it is "too controversial to be dealt with in a few lines". Again, Rumania's conduct in the War of 1913, which even friends of the country have usually characterized as both foolish and treacherous, is buried under a denunciation of the improper activities of Austria (pp. 502-504). Can it be that these are complaisances by which the British Clio seeks to avoid giving offense in war-time? The really valuable contributions in this volume are supplied by Mr. Toynbee (Greece) and Mr. Hogarth (Turkey). These men, taking wise account of the imposed limitations of space, undertook to write not histories of their respective peoples but historical essays. They have been remarkably successful, composing sketches that are vivacious, sympathetic, and fairly bristling with original and penetrating interpretations of the Byzantine and Ottoman empires and of the two peoples that in the main supported these towering fabrics. Being profoundly convinced, Mr. Toynbee of the mental alertness of the Greek townsmen of our day and Mr. Hogarth of the solid virtues of the Anatolian peasantry, they clash in their estimate of the opponents of their respective clients, but it is an honest difference of opinion perfectly reasonable in this world of doubt and error. An interesting fact is that Mr. Toynbee more fervently than any of his collaborators looks forward to a Balkan federation as the solution of the present chaos. The intense animosities between race and race, which he acknowledges must be lived down before a practicable union can be realized, he hopes, somewhat fantastically, to see dispersed by the repatriated Greeks, Bulgars, Albanians, and Montenegrins who have been mentally made over in the course of an apprenticeship as emigrant laborers in the United States. Mr. Hogarth is apparently loath to see Turkey take its departure from this world, and, strange to say, quite as much on governmental as on racial grounds. He points out certain factors in the Ottoman situation and character that make the partition that seems to lie in the plans of the Allies not only undesirable but also very difficult. One need not agree with Mr. Toynbee's or Mr. Hogarth's estimate of the present and forecast of the future, but one will find their attitude throughout marked by good temper and inspired by practical and at the same time generous considerations.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Diplomatic Background of the War, 1870-1914. By CHARLES SEYMOUR, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History, Yale University. (New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press. 1916. Pp. xv, 311.)

AMONG studies dealing with the general causes of the Great War this volume is in character and execution the most scholarly one that

has come to the attention of the reviewer. It would be easy to enumerate books on this subject written more vividly and bearing more evident marks of intimate knowledge of the peoples and conditions with which the authors deal—such as Gibbons's *New Map of Europe*, Bullard's *Diplomacy of the Great War*, Allen's *The Great War*, and Davenport's *History of the Great War*—but if this is not the work of one with the obvious qualifications of traveller, correspondent, or resident abroad, it is clearly the result of serious and careful study by a writer having primarily the point of view of the trained historian, who has examined to advantage the sources and literature of the recent history of Europe. And there is besides what the critical reader is certain to desire and what he will vainly seek in most of the books so far written in this new field, a wealth of annotative and bibliographical information. A serviceable index is appended.

For the most part the study is what it purports to be, a history of European diplomacy in the last generation; and it affords, probably, one of the ablest brief accounts in English. More properly, I think, than Bullard, who took as his starting-point the Congress of Berlin, the author begins with the triumph of Bismarck in 1870. He maintains the immediate political results, prodigious as they were, to have been less important than the moral effects of the methods employed in the unification of Germany, which did not result from the application of liberal and nationalistic principles, as the earlier idealists had hoped, but, in direct contravention, through triumph of trickery and force, so that the German people afterwards came above all to venerate might and power. Bismarck's success in upholding the hegemony of Germany after 1870 was no less striking than that which he had previously achieved in its unification; and this lordship was maintained thereafter less obviously but with as real ability by William II., of whom there is striking characterization. There is an excellent account of the development of the Triple Alliance, of the Dual Alliance, and finally of the Triple Entente, as well as of the crises which arose after 1904 when Germany was endeavoring to reassert her primacy, which had been disturbed by the diplomatic revolution effected by Delcassé and Edward VII.

The narrative pertaining to the diplomacy and action immediately preceding the catastrophe is clear, decisive, and, I think, sound. The author asserts that Germany and Austria were determined to overthrow the settlement made by the treaty of Bucharest, and waited for an opportunity to attempt this. The Teutonic powers, he thinks, were convinced that Russia would not go to war in Serbia's behalf, and when Russia made it plain that she would resist, Austria receded, whereupon Germany at once intervened decisively and forced the issue. Throughout the volume runs the central thesis that Germany's advance as a world power depended upon the maintenance of her primacy in Europe, and this position she was resolved at all costs to uphold.

The book is not without blemishes though relatively free from them.

There is a certain amount of repetition which becomes unpleasant when employed in similes and striking expressions; occasionally there is statement which might better be conjecture; the name of the capital of Bosnia is given two different ways (pp. 244, 256); it is scarcely correct to say that Servia accepted absolutely eight of the ten demands of Austria (p. 258); the spelling of such names as Skobeleff and Sazonoff would be nearer the Russian if in translation the final consonant were not doubled (pp. 124, 261).

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

The Great War. By GEORGE H. ALLEN, Ph.D. With an Introduction by WILLIAM HOWARD TAFT. Volume I. *Causes of and Motives for.* (Philadelphia: George Barrie's Sons. 1915. Pp. xxx, 377.)

DURING the earlier months of the European war writing about it was necessarily for the most part hasty, partizan, and controversial; but with the lapse of some time and the continuous and increasing interest of so many people, better books have begun to appear. For the general causes of the conflict there are now Gibbons's *New Map of Europe* and Bullard's *Diplomacy of the Great War*; for the immediate causes and diplomatic correspondence Headlam's *History of Twelve Days* and Stowell's *Diplomacy of the War of 1914*. These books are informing and all of them meritorious, but each deals with some particular aspects of the entire subject. The publishers of the present work have designed a comprehensive popular history, beginning with the general and immediate causes of strife, which are dealt with in the volume here reviewed, to be followed by other volumes narrating the incidents and results of the struggle.

The publishers have executed their part of the task very creditably. The book is handsomely printed and finely made, though somewhat heavy to hold; and it is illustrated with nearly a hundred maps and photographs, some of the former, like that of the Bagdad railway and the distribution of Mohammedan populations, being excellent, many of the latter representing Teutonic personages. But it must be observed that Mr. Taft, whose name appears so prominently on the cover, has only contributed a pleasant introduction of a few pages, and that the publishers ascribe the author to the department of history in the University of Pennsylvania, with which institution his connection has been rather slight.

In the opinion of the reviewer Dr. Allen has done his work well. His account of the recent history of the world is, I think, the best brief account which has been written, and probably as useful as any which the general reader can obtain; though the Dual Alliance, the development of the Entente Cordiale, and the meaning and importance of Pan-Germanism are treated in a manner inferior to what one might expect. The character and purpose of the volume make it impossible that the

story of the immediate causes of the war and the interplay of diplomacy in the last critical days should be as large or as minutely critical as the accounts given in Price, Stowell, or Headlam; but the narrative is very clear and fair, and apparently no happening of importance has been omitted. Here the author makes his contribution when he suggests the decisive importance of the acceptance or refusal by Austria of M. Sazonof's formula of July 30. The author defends the course followed by England, and affixes to Germany the blame for violation of the neutrality of Belgium. The direct responsibility for the great catastrophe he ascribes principally to the Teutonic nations, though he is less certain that they deliberately provoked a conflict than that they saw in the circumstances of 1914 a favorable opportunity to obtain without fighting that which they desired. In controverted matters both positions are properly stated, and he is at all times eminently fair and judicial.

Not only is the author a careful and capable writer, but an evident acquaintance with the places and peoples of Europe gives value and reality to his descriptions. I have noticed especially his comments upon Alsace-Lorraine, the account of the world's resources of iron and the position of Germany in respect thereof, the remark about the attitude of Germans toward foreign languages, the immense importance of German reforms in the nineteenth century, which he thinks only less momentous than those directly inspired by the French Revolution, the *bloc* in French politics, the electoral system in Prussian government, the progress of German agriculture, the relations of Germany and Russia in the early part of the Russo-Japanese War, the description of German newspapers, the estimate of the commercial importance of Constantinople as compared with its strategic value, the purpose of Abdul Hamid, the relations of Croatia with Hungary, political parties in Italy, and the meaning and consequences of militarism wherever it becomes a dominating force. The account of the negotiations between Austria and Italy in 1914-1915 is excellent.

The unpleasant but necessary task of pointing out errors is not in this case an onerous one. The Triple Alliance was formed in 1882 not in 1883 (p. 31); the English electoral reform law of 1867 extended the franchise not merely to the better class of laborers in the towns (p. 35) but to tenant farmers as well; I doubt whether decrease in German emigration had any connection with the growth of the German colonial empire (p. 122); "pan" is not a preposition (p. 125); the communication of Baron Greindl is not quite correctly summarized (p. 262); *Novoye Vremya* (p. 195) and the names of Count Szápáry (p. 233) and of M. Sazonof (p. 240) are not correctly spelled.

The writing is always clear, usually pleasant, and sometimes good, though there are not wanting slips and awkward expressions. If the remaining volumes are as good as this first one, both author and publishers will have performed a welcome service.

EDWARD RAYMOND TURNER.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

American State Trials: a Collection of the Important and Interesting Criminal Trials which have taken place in the United States, from the Beginning of our Government to the Present Day. By JOHN D. LAWSON, LL.D. Volumes IV., V. (St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Book Company. 1915, 1916. Pp. xv, 879; xx, 943.)

THE last two volumes of this invaluable collection edited by Dr. Lawson are even more interesting than those which preceded them. The most conspicuous case there reported is the famous trial of Professor Webster for the murder of Dr. Parkman. This probably attracted more attention than any trial for murder in the United States before that of Guiteau, and since the guilt of the convict was subsequently established by his confession it is one of the best illustrations of the reliability of circumstantial evidence and its effectiveness as an instrument of justice. A long, although not a complete, bibliography has been added by the editor. It would have been well to have included the report of the proceedings on the hearing upon the petition for a writ of error and upon the application to the executive for a pardon. Dr. Putnam's description of the confession is an excellent illustration of the religious practices of the time. These, together with letters by the defendant to his counsel, in which he apologizes for his criticism of them upon the trial, and a letter by Attorney-General Clifford defending Dr. Parkman's character from the aspersions by the plaintiff's counsel, are to be found in the report published by Cockcroft which is mentioned in the bibliography of Dr. Lawson. In the biographical notice of Dr. Palfrey it would have been wise to have mentioned the only one of his writings that is still read, a *History of New England* during the colonial period. Not long after Webster's execution an advocate sought to make the testimony of a witness more impressive by proving that the latter was a Harvard professor. His opponent, General Butler, interrupted with the remark "we hung one of them the other day". Stendhal would have been fascinated by the trial of the Italian painter Lawrence Piamovi, who was convicted by a jury *de medietate lingue*, in New York in 1818, for biting off his wife's nose because of a jealousy which seems to have been based upon a sound foundation. The manners of the time are well illustrated by the testimony and arguments upon the trials of the South Carolina pirates, twenty-three of whom were convicted and hanged in 1718, not long after some of their crew had swaggered through some of the main streets of Charleston while they le-ied ransom for the lives of two leading citizens whom they had captured. There seems to be no reason, however, why the editor should have omitted parts of the reports of these cases, published in Howell's *State Trials*. He displays an unusual lack

of care in his remark that this was "the first and oldest trial in America for piracy" (IV. 652). Howell also reports the previous trial of nine pirates in Massachusetts in 1704 at a vice-admiralty court over which Governor Dudley presided while his son acted as prosecutor. This Dr. Lawson seems to have subsequently discovered and to have consequently inserted in volume V. instead of in its more appropriate place, the pages just before the South Carolina cases.

The trials arising out of the killing of Lovejoy, when his defenders and assailants were successively acquitted, are valuable since the first editions of the same are scarce. They reveal a provocation which most historians ignore: Lovejoy was not lynched but shot while defending, with an armed force and with arms in his own hands, his printing-press from destruction, after one of the attacking crowd had been killed by Lovejoy's comrades while Lovejoy himself led a sally against one of the assailants, whom he tried to shoot. His previous untruthful abuse of the Roman Catholic religion in his St. Louis newspaper, from which quotations are made by Dr. Lawson, proves his love for notoriety and his fondness for insulting those who differed with him. Next to these trials is published the famous case of the fugitive slave Anthony Burns before Commissioner Loring in Massachusetts in 1854. In the other parts of the two volumes, instead of next to these where they properly belong, are the less-known criminal prosecutions of John and Sara Robertson, colored people of Massachusetts, who in 1819 were found guilty of kidnapping a negro girl from a family who had taken her from Alabama, and of Joseph Fulford in New York in the same year for an attempt to kidnap a black woman and sell her into slavery in Cuba. It would have been appropriate to insert with them other leading fugitive-slave cases and prosecutions for kidnapping blacks, or at least a reference to some of them. Such are the trial of Thomas Sims, a fugitive slave in 1851 before Commissioner George Ticknor Curtis in Massachusetts, who ordered him to be sent back to the South (Boston, 1851); the fugitive-slave cases in Pennsylvania in 1851 (*The Christiana Riot and the Treason Trials of 1851: an Historical Sketch*, by W. U. Hensel, Lancaster, Pa., 1911); the trial during the same year of Charles G. Davis, who was acquitted by Commissioner Hallett of the charge of aiding and abetting in the rescue of the fugitive Shadrach (Boston, 1851); the case of Henry Clay prosecuted in Illinois in 1862 under the state statute to prevent the immigration of free negroes into that state ("A Case under an Illinois Black Law", by J. N. Gridley, *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 1912); the civil suit of Ruel Daggs against Elihu Frazier and others in the District Court of the United States in Iowa in 1850, when a verdict of \$2900 damages was awarded against six defendants for rescuing and aiding in the escape of nine fugitive slaves who had escaped into Iowa from Missouri (Burlington, 1850); the trial in New York in 1850 of United States Deputy Marshal Henry W. Allen, who was acquitted at the recommendation of Judge

Marvin upon the charge of kidnapping a colored man when acting under the fugitive-slave law (Syracuse, 1852). Interesting also is the trial in Maryland of William Lloyd Garrison when he was convicted, fined \$100, and sent to jail under an indictment for a criminal libel on Francis Todd of Newburyport, Massachusetts, whom he charged with committing a crime by carrying a cargo of slaves from Baltimore to New Orleans (Boston, 1834).

The cases of Dred Scott (19 Howard 392), and *Lemmon v. People* (20 N. Y. 562, affirming 26 Barber 270), are probably omitted because they are so easily accessible in the official reports, but many interesting anecdotes about the actors in them might have been included. The trial of John Brown we presume will be published in a later volume.

The editor has very wisely taken three from Dr. Wharton's *State Trials* with that editor's notes.

The arrangement of the contents of the books seems to be modelled upon that of Tristram Shandy. It is neither chronological nor topical and appears to be haphazard. In the middle of volume IV. is *Trevett v. Weeden*, one of the first cases holding a statute to be unconstitutional, followed by the unsuccessful proceedings for the removal of the judges who made it. This is copied from the report in Chandler's *Criminal Trials*. Dr. Lawson repeats Chandler's mistake in writing the name of the defendant as *Wheedon* and in altering the punctuation of the title of General Varnum's pamphlet. He omits in the bibliography any reference to the *Providence Gazette* of October 7, 1786, and the *American Museum*, V. 36, as well as to the reports in Professor James B. Thayer's *Cases on Constitutional Law*, I. 73, and Coxe, *Judicial Power and Unconstitutional Legislation*, p. 223. An historical note referring to the other early cases upon the subject would have been very convenient to the reader and, since they have been so often cited, easy for Dr. Lawson to have compiled.

The biographical notes show more care and research than do those in the previous volumes. That of William M. Price of New York is especially interesting (p. 360). That of Oakey Hall might well have been longer and mentioned his acquittal of a charge of complicity with the embezzlements by the Tweed Ring.

ROGER FOSTER.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1619-1658/59.
Edited by H. R. McILWAINE. (Richmond, 1915, pp. 1, 283.)

Of 333 pages in this volume, fifty are occupied with introductions, 150 with a full and elaborate index to the whole series of the Burgesses' journals. Of that series, begun a dozen years ago, this is the thirteenth and concluding volume. Mr. John P. Kennedy, the predecessor of Dr. McIlwaine as librarian of the Virginia State Library, and to whose enterprise the inception of the series was due, began with the issue of the journals for 1773-1776, the latest in chronological order, and worked

backward. This was because that latest material was all known and readily accessible, whereas the material for the earliest years of the House of Burgesses was little known, and its collection and preparation was a work of time and difficulty, which could be postponed if one wished to show immediate fruits of the undertaking. Now that the whole is completed, it constitutes an achievement of which the state and the State Library may well be proud; for it much more than doubles the amount of printed original material on the colonial history of Virginia, the scholarship of Dr. McIlwaine's editing is all that could be desired, and in mechanical execution the volumes are models of beauty. In a sense they are *too* handsome. One such series is a joy to look at; but no one could recommend state legislatures to make a practice of spending so much money upon paper and binding and handsome record type, when an economical management of these details would give the world of historical students twice as much material for the same appropriation. Yet let us be grateful for one fine and stately example; at any rate its beauty is not, as in some American instances, out of proportion to the intrinsic value of the text.

Formal journals of the House of Burgesses as a separate body begin in 1680, in a manuscript series at the Public Record Office in London extending almost complete from that date to 1732, followed by a printed series in Virginia extending almost complete from 1732 to 1776. For the period from 1619 to 1658/9, as for the first twenty years (1659-1679) of the last preceding volume, we have almost no formal journals of the Burgesses, or even fragments of documents bearing precisely that character. Dr. McIlwaine has supplied their place by printing (pp. 1-131) such papers of the House of Burgesses, or of the General or Grand Assembly as a whole, as are extant and have been found by him. These include petitions, statements, and letters sent by the House or by the Assembly to the authorities in England, communications made to the Assembly, and orders of the Assembly—as distinguished from the laws, of which Hening printed nearly all. The most notable of such documents, still, is that report of the first General Assembly, of 1619, which Secretary John Pory sent home to the authorities of the Virginia Company, and which is still preserved in the Public Record Office and has often been printed. Papers of some twenty-two other sessions follow, extending through the periods of the Company, Charles I., the Commonwealth, and the Protectorate, and derived from the British repository named, the Bancroft transcripts in the New York Public Library, the *Virginia Magazine of History*, Hening, Neill, Stith, Burk, the pamphlet called the *Colonial Records of Virginia*, and manuscripts in the Library of Congress, especially volume III. (unfortunately never yet printed in its entirety) of the "Records of the Virginia Company". In the case of the pieces from the Bancroft transcripts, the *Virginia Magazine*, and Neill, the editor ought to have given specific references to the original sources, still accessible, from which each was derived.

Though much of this material for the period of Virginia history before the Restoration is already well known, much of it is new, and a valuable contribution to our knowledge of events. To our knowledge of the constitutional history of the legislature and the history of its procedure the contribution is less than if we had a series of formal journals; yet the course of development can often be inferred. Thus, perhaps from 1638, apparently from the session of 1650/1, certainly from that of 1654/5, the House of Burgesses and the Council sat separately. The journals of the Council, much less voluminous than those of the Burgesses, are to follow, and will doubtless add proportionately to our knowledge.

Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century: Studies in Spanish Colonial History and Administration. By HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON, Professor of American History, University of California. [University of California Publications in History, vol. III.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1915. Pp. x, 501.)

PROFESSOR BOLTON'S characterization of the present volume as "not a history . . . rather, a collection of special studies, closely related in . . . subject-matter, and designed to throw light upon a neglected period in the history of one of the most important of Spain's northern provinces" is a modest summing-up of an important piece of work.

The principal divisions are : I. A General Survey, 1731-1788, which summarizes the general history of Texas during the period indicated; II. The San Xavier Missions, 1745-1758; III. The Reorganization of the Lower Gulf Coast, 1746-1763; IV. Spanish Activities on the Lower Trinity River, 1746-1771; V. The Removal from and the Reoccupation of Eastern Texas, 1773-1779.

One of the most satisfying characteristics of the book is the sharpness of its geographical definition: the clearness and definiteness with which eighteenth-century activities are interpreted in terms of twentieth-century geography. Particularly is this true of the San Xavier mission group, in the fixing of whose sites Professor Bolton is a pioneer. Part II., it is made clear, concerns chiefly the country about Rockdale, in the region now termed Central Texas; part III., the Gulf country between and including Matagorda Bay and the Rio Grande, inland as far as Goliad and Laredo; part IV., the low, geologically young region in the vicinity of Houston; and part V., the part of eastern Texas lying about Nacogdoches.

Although these studies necessarily deal largely with the details of the ecclesiastical and civil occupation of the regions under discussion, measures for their defense, and their vicissitudes of fortune, yet these phases by no means exhaust the interest and value of the treatment. Civil and ecclesiastical administration, economic conditions, French-

Spanish international relations, Spanish-Indian policy, receive their due share of attention; more notable than any of these, perhaps, is the contribution of the studies to ethnological knowledge.

The twelve maps and plans are an exceedingly valuable part of the work. Ten are copies of contemporary maps, ranging in date from 1717 to 1771; of these, eight have never before been published, being here reproduced from tracings or photographs of the originals in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville, and the Archivo General, Mexico. The other two, a small map of the San Xavier missions and a large general reference map, are compilations of the author, based upon fresh source-material and upon personal explorations. The reference map shows the coast-line and drainage, but no relief features; it shows also missions, presidios, Spanish towns, a few French settlements in western Louisiana, Indian villages, explorers' routes, the distribution of the principal Indian tribal groups, and the boundaries of Texas as shown in the La Fora map of 1771.

It is to be regretted that the epoch-making map last mentioned, the eastern part of which is shown on page 382, is reproduced on so small a scale that the title and the *explicación* are illegible without a glass. In view of the intrinsic value of this map and of its close relation to Rubí's recommendations, which were so important as to form the basis of the *Reglamento de Presidios* of 1772, and which are dwelt upon at length in Professor Bolton's text, one feels that he should be able to study it in mental ease and physical comfort.

In the present condition of Southwestern historical work, it is precisely the type of intensive study embodied in this volume, based almost wholly upon hitherto unused material, which is most useful; as will be the case for many years to come. It is to be hoped that the other centres of early Spanish settlement, especially San Antonio, may soon be studied with the same painstaking care from material as fresh, by as able a student.

In this, as in other printed work, Dr. Bolton has shown himself the pathfinder; the worthy successor of the two lamented pioneers in scientific study of Southwestern historical study—Lester G. Bugbee, his predecessor, and George P. Garrison, his chief—in the University of Texas, where his own work in Southwestern history began, not quite fifteen years ago; a leader in the younger school of historical writers and students in this field.

The bibliography, although not annotated, is an excellent guide to material for the period under consideration; and there is an adequate index.

The Life of Henry Laurens: with a Sketch of the Life of Lieutenant Colonel John Laurens. By DAVID DUNCAN WALLACE, Ph.D., Professor of History and Economics, Wofford College, S. C. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1925. Pp. xi, 539.)

IN biographical writing there is a happy mean between the work which buries the activities of the hero in a mass of contemporary conditions or events, and the book which too much subordinates the hero's historical setting to those intimate personal details having human interest but failing to reveal the hero's place in history. Mr. Wallace has not found this happy middle ground in the biographical field, and yet it seems ungracious in reviewing so thorough and scholarly a work to go the way of all the servile, mercenary Swiss of the critical art, and to find fault with what is after all a matter of artistic sense and not of scholarship. The author is beyond question too anxious to make use of all the by-products of his enterprise—as for example, in the most extreme case, at the end of chapter VII., where he throws in *gratis* two pages on the Cherokees with no other apparent reason than that he knew something about them—but, nevertheless, this very weakness has furnished us with a number of most interesting studies of Southern life and history in the colonial period. With great fullness of knowledge, he is thorough, judicious, and discriminating. At times he displays a little too much solicitude for the fair reputation of his hero, who is a worthy one, needing no apology if his whole career and not a few mere incidents of his life be considered. It would be hard to convince an English historian that Laurens's conduct was not bad in the matter of the Saratoga Convention, and in the Deane controversy his prejudices affected his conduct unworthily, though he was not a blind anti-Deane partizan like Richard Henry Lee. He does not come out heroically in his trying experience as prisoner in the Tower of London, yet on the whole he was a gentleman, high-minded, honorable, and worthy of his state and his country.

To the reviewer, the most interesting part of Laurens's career is that preceding the Revolutionary War, wherein one sees the process by which he became a Patriot rather than a Loyalist. This gouty, land-hungry planter and trader dealt in rum, beer, wine, deer-skins, rice, indigo, slaves, and indentured servants. He sent his ships to English ports, to Jamaica, Barbados, St. Kitts, and Antigua, to Lisbon, Madrid, Nantes, Bordeaux, and Rotterdam, or to Boston, New York, and Philadelphia. He showed a real solicitude for the welfare of his slaves, and gave up the slave-trade—though a little ashamed of his soft-heartedness—because he could not prevent the barbarous acts of the masters of the slave-ships. An excellent example of the best type of Southern planter, he was not by nature a rebellious subject. It was his boast at the end of his career that he had never intentionally violated

the British navigation laws. From his earliest days he displayed a reasonable conservatism, which did not prevent his appearing among the leaders for constitutional freedom. He refused to vote for delegates to the Stamp Act Congress, not liking "those inglorious feats of riot and dissipation which have been performed to the Northward of us", but two years later his troubles with the collector of the ports and the vice-admiralty courts lighted in him deep fires of indignation against the violations of American liberty. Then, several years later, a long residence in England gave him the opportunity to discover how unworthy of ruling over any upright and moral people "were the English governing classes". He became convinced that "good health, a tolerable share of understanding, a sound conscience with good rice fields are preferable to the title of Sir Toby Tribble procured by bribery, perjury and fraud". Toward public office he was a stern Coriolanus, refusing to seek any man's favor. "Today a grand barbacue is given by a very grand simpleton", he writes, "at which the members for Charlestown are to be determined upon. Therefore, if you hear that I am no longer a Parliament man, let not your Excellency wonder, for I walk in the old road, give no barbacue, nor ask any man for votes." Gadsden, the "grand simpleton" and favorite of the mechanics of Charleston, was too radical to please Laurens. When the tea controversy arose Laurens took much the stand taken by Franklin, and would have had all the colonies pay for the Boston tea. "I won't say the people have proceeded too far in drowning and forcing back the tea . . . but at present I commend the proceeding at Charlestown in preference to all the rest; the consignees refuse the commissions; the people will not purchase the commodity." He liked the "constitutional stubbornness" in such conduct. Laurens would not approve the persecution of those who refused to sign the Association. Nothing could convince him, writes Mr. Wallace, that men whom he had known for life as good citizens were deserving of tar, feathers, confiscation, and banishment because they did not view the problems of the times just as he did. If his fellow-citizens were to rebel, he wished them to go about it soberly.

Oh, that I could but effectually alarm my countrymen at this important crisis to be firm, frugal and virtuous, to put away from them all trifling amusements and to prepare to stand the shock of living in homely economy within themselves. . . . Mischief is hatching for us; the King is very angry—the whole ministerial band inimical to the liberties of America.

To the last he counselled his British friends to yield.

Before the rising of your house repeal all those laws which are calculated for raising a revenue on the colonists without their consent. They are galling to the Americans, yield no benefit to the mother country, you disagree among yourselves concerning the *right*, and every man sees the inexpediency of such taxation.

He warned them that they were contending for "imaginary emolu-

ment at the risk of thousands of lives and millions of pounds, possibly of the dignity of the British Empire". When the struggle was inevitable, he accepted it, and gave himself devotedly to its successful consummation.

There are several appendixes, the first of them being a sketch of the life of Lieut.-Col. John Laurens. An excellent bibliography and a useful index add to the value of the volume.

C. H. VAN TYNE.

A History of Currency in the United States: with a Brief Description of the Currency Systems of all Commercial Nations. By A. BARTON HEPBURN, LL.D. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1915. Pp. xv 552.)

THE present volume is an enlargement of an earlier work published in 1903, entitled *History of Currency and Coinage in the United States and the Perennial Contest for Sound Money*. The chief additions consist of brief chapters on colonial and continental currency, and a series of chapters dealing with the inception and form of the Federal Reserve Act. The older work began with the enactment of the coinage system of 1876 and ended with the passage of the Gold Standard Law of 1900, while the new book begins with colonial currency and ends with the passage of the Federal Reserve Act. The central part of the book remains essentially unchanged although since 1903 several important works on the topics discussed have appeared. In the chapters dealing with the First and the Second Banks of the United States, for example, no use has been made of Catterall's notable monograph and Holdsworth's *First Bank of the United States* has been entirely neglected.

Mr. Hepburn's book is unique in that it covers the history of all forms of American currency—metallic money, government paper money, bank-notes, and even the more unusual forms of currency used in colonial times. Other writers in this field have limited their treatment to some one form of currency. Obviously the latter plan has distinct advantages from the viewpoint of the economist, since the principles underlying bank-note circulation are, for example, distinct from those underlying government paper money. Mr. Hepburn's probable reason for including all forms of currency in a single book is suggested by the subtitle of the earlier work: *The Perennial Contest for Sound Money*. It has been his purpose to write the history of the struggles to maintain a sound currency. Since the contest for sound money has at times concerned bank money, at other times, metallic money, and at still other times, government paper money, a warrant is found for a study of the entire field of currency.

Mr. Hepburn describes the chief events in this long contest with accuracy and impartiality. It can hardly be said, however, that he has added to our knowledge of the causes of the "perennial contest". Such economic explanations as are offered—for example, the confusion

in the popular mind between the need for capital and the need for currency—have already been fully exploited. The author lays most stress on the importance of national control as a factor in determining the character of the currency and as an influence upon prosperity. This essentially sound idea is, however, at times, pressed to ridiculous extremes. He says, for example,

It will appear in the following history that whenever national sentiment and national influence have moulded legislation and controlled the general government, enhanced prosperity has ensued, as during the periods of the first and second United States banks and that of the national banking system. Whenever the disintegrating influence involved in the doctrine of state sovereignty has been paramount, adverse conditions have prevailed, as during the period following the expiration of the charter of the first United States Bank (1811) until the second bank was well under way, and the period between the expiration of the charter of the second bank (1836) and the creation of the national banking system (1863).

This theory of prosperity is comparable in its simplicity to the theories of the protective tariff advocates who formerly in campaign arguments were accustomed to ascribe all industrial depressions to downward revisions of the tariff.

The part of the book to which the student will turn with greatest expectation consists of the chapters dealing with the establishment of the Federal Reserve Act. Mr. Hepburn was chairman of the Currency Commission of the American Bankers' Association and was intimately connected with the movement for a reform of the American banking system. The reader will find, however, nothing new in his account of the origin of the system or in his critical comment on the act. His chief criticism of the act—that the federal reserve notes are made obligations of the government—has already been amply discussed in other places.

In brief, then, the book may be said to be a useful compilation of the chief facts in the legislative history of the American currency based upon well-known authorities. Little attempt is made to get at the economic and social factors and no one of the chapters can be said to give the best available account of the subject therein treated. As a handy reference-book, however, covering a large field, it will serve a limited usefulness, to which the elaborate statistical tables will contribute no small part.

GEORGE E. BARNETT.

Papers of James A. Bayard. Edited by ELIZABETH DONNAN. [Eleventh Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1913, vol. II.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1915. Pp. 539.)

THIS volume of papers is a valuable and welcome contribution to the history of two important episodes in American history: the election of

1800-1801, and the negotiations with Great Britain, 1813-1815; incidentally it casts side-lights on political and social conditions in both America and Europe. It cannot be said, however, that it makes any very significant revelations as to politics or diplomacy which will compel readjustments of existing views of persons or events. In this connection the admirable work of the editor, both in the foot-notes and in the preface, deserves special commendation.

More nearly than certain of his political contemporaries of much greater distinction, James A. Bayard deserves to be called typically American, the average citizen at his best. The upward expansion of his virtues as citizen, lawyer, and public servant never took him to the heights of personal heroism, of originality and vision, or of great statesmanship. The present volume shows, on the other hand, that the very balance of his mediocrity, when set alongside the erratic, frigid, or irascible brilliancy of men like Burr, John Quincy Adams, Clay, and Gallatin, became a national asset. His moderation, tenacity, and judiciousness as a non-Brahminical Federalist, his conscientious, though unenthusiastic, patriotism, his steady high-mindedness, and his warm-hearted loyalty to his family and his friends are abundantly illustrated in his letters, and justify the characterization of him by Dashkov, the Russian minister to the United States, as a man who belonged "à la classe la plus respectable des Américains, autant par ses talens que par le rang qu'il occupe dans la société" (p. 210).

The papers in this volume were derived chiefly from the collection of Richard H. Bayard, a great-grandson of James A. Bayard, and are supplementary to the smaller body of Bayard letters already published by the New York Public Library (1900) and the Delaware Historical Society (1901). They fall into four groups, not entirely segregated, of which only the last three are directly concerned with the senator-diplomat. About one-fifth of the volume, or nearly one hundred pages, is given up to fourteen letters of Robert Goodloe Harper to his constituents in the congressional district of South Carolina which he represented from 1795 to 1801. These summaries or expositions of the political and economic movements of that lively period of six years are interesting additions to similar discussions in the *Annals of Congress* and in the correspondence of other public men of the time.

The second group, comprising Bayard's letters from 1797 to 1813, deals with the same subjects as the Harper papers, but in less formal fashion, notably the Jefferson-Burr contest for the presidency, in which Bayard took a decisive part while keeping in touch with Alexander Hamilton, whom he calls "our *Father confessor* in politics" (p. 115).

The third section—much the largest, filling 180 pages—contains the correspondence of Bayard, both personal and official, from April, 1813, to May, 1815, including some new matter relating to confidential paragraphs in instructions to the American Commissioners to negotiate with Great Britain, *e. g.*, in relation to Canada (pp. 228, 263). Not quite

one-third of the material in this section is the work of Bayard himself. Nine letters from the fertile-minded Erick Bollman to Bayard are here printed. Taken as a whole, this section of the volume is disappointing as a contribution to the materials for diplomatic history.

The last 132 pages of the *Papers* are devoted to the Diary which Bayard kept from the day he embarked for St. Petersburg, May, 1813, to November 17, 1814, a prosaic but not uninteresting chronicle containing much weather and many complaints about accommodations, accounts of many dinners, receptions, and calls in the Russian capital, and descriptions of places visited in St. Petersburg and vicinity and of the "terrific" overland winter journey of fifteen hundred miles to Amsterdam. This part of the volume suffers from inevitable comparison with the diary of Adams, covering the same period; to the student of European society, transportation, and public characters, it will furnish some material, but to the student of American history practically nothing at all.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

William Branch Giles: a Study in the Politics of Virginia and the Nation from 1790 to 1830. By DICE ROBINS ANDERSON, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Professor and Head of the Department of History and Political Science, Richmond College, Richmond, Va. (Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Company. 1915. Pp. 271.)

THERE is nothing in this book to contradict Henry Adams's saying that "Giles exceeded every other prominent partisan on either side by the severity of his imputations". In fact, Professor Anderson presents this distinguished Virginian obstructionist as "a constitutional and inevitable critic" (p. 153). He does not spare his subject's feelings, although he is as tender as he could be in displaying his faults. He gives us the portrait of a narrow, wrong-headed, passionate, violent, and selfish man who persistently sought to accomplish his ends through the methods of the political bully. Of him we can say only the good word that he had persistency, courage, and ability in presenting his views, qualities which are good or bad as they are supported by good or bad intentions.

Giles's opposition to the appointment of Gallatin to the secretaryship of state is a notable illustration of his political methods. He wished the post himself and formed a concerted plan with Samuel Smith and George Clinton by which the three used their influence to prevent Gallatin's confirmation. Giles hoped that when Gallatin failed the office might be offered to him, or to some other member of the cabal. The only objection he alleged against Gallatin was that Gallatin was a foreigner. He affected to believe that Great Britain and France, standing out for inalienable citizenship, would not carry on diplomatic business with a man whom they must consider a citizen of Geneva. It was

a mere pretext to cover Giles's ambitions. Importuned to relent, he said that he "could not justify to himself permitting Gallatin to be Secretary of State if his vote would prevent it". His hopes were badly founded. He had served the Republican party in his violent way long and valiantly, though not always with docility; and he had received little for his services. But he was not the man for the place he aspired to fill, and the mention of his name aroused slight interest. Says Professor Anderson: "The endeavor to picture Giles writing cool, diplomatic notes, inflicting the truth but avoiding imprudence or angry expressions, is all that is necessary to settle the question of his choice for such a responsible and delicate position."

The secret of Giles's popularity was his ability to play upon the fears of the small farmers of Virginia. In a day when it was virtue to declare that Federalists sought to effect "the total destruction of the liberty of the people", he was a favorite orator. His speeches abounded in strong language and ready figures. They carried audiences by their fiery assumptions of facts. They won popular confidence in the days of the Alien and Sedition laws as well as in the era of assumption of state debts. After the Republicans had been in power for a decade the leaders were less given to denouncing privilege. Nationalism and practical measures of social improvement were appealing to the people. In these days Giles found himself left by the trend of public opinion, and he resigned his seat in the Senate rather than be openly defeated.

Gallatin, Macon, and John Randolph, all prominent colleagues of Giles, have long since had their biographers; but Giles has had to wait more than a century from the time when he retired from the Congress in which his career was made. The cause is not accidental. He was a hero in his day, but not a hero of the men who read or wrote books. Moreover, he did little that was constructive. His life is important chiefly because it shows to what extent partizan bitterness went in the days when our political life was receiving its first impression through practical affairs. Happily, we learned some lessons in those two decades that we have not had to learn since. Giles was a man of a discarded and forgotten state of political action. It is only the more minute research of a more scholarly age that demands that his life be written.

Professor Anderson has discharged his duty creditably under many difficulties. Very little intimate material is preserved on the career of Giles. If he left letters and papers they have been destroyed. His biographer has, therefore, been thrown back on documents, newspapers, printed books, and a few letters that are preserved by chance in the collections of other men. For example, in the chapter on the Smith Faction there are seventy-four foot-notes, mostly citations; but only five of them refer to manuscript materials and five to newspapers. Of the others the large majority refer to the *Annals of Congress*. It is disappointing that we have in this chapter little light on the intimate rela-

tions between Giles and Smith. In fact, the book does not give us an intimate life of Giles. Nevertheless, industry and good judgment characterize the work of the biographer. It is regrettable that the publishers have used poor paper and bad type, which with poor binding give us an inferior piece of workmanship.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

The Early Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Mexico. By WILLIAM R. MANNING, Adjunct Professor of Latin-American History, University of Texas. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1913.] (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1916. Pp. xi, 406.)

THIS stout little book appears to be a syllabus for the Albert Shaw lectures to which the title refers, for it is apparent that it cannot possibly give the exact language used in addressing the young gentlemen of Johns Hopkins University. Professor Manning's style is not colloquial nor is it calculated to render the book "easy reading". He is a leader among those stern and uncompromising historians who are sedulous in banishing from their writings every trace of wit, of humor, of anecdote, or of allusion; in a word, every trace of anything which could betray a "literary" tendency in their work.

Those who may venture to peruse this volume may as well be warned at the outset that its pages are as dry, and its contents as "scientific", as any treatise on chemistry. It is by no means a book to give pleasure to the casual reader, unless he happens to be so unfortunate as to suffer from insomnia. In that case, indeed,

"Not peppy, nor mandragora,
Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world",

will prove more efficacious for his complaint.

This is by no means a disparagement of the author, who simply carries out unapologetically the tenets of his school. But if Professor Manning fails to charm by the form in which he tells his story, he makes ample amends to those who have the courage and endurance to follow the tale to its conclusion. The period covered—from about 1821 to 1830—includes the term of service of Joel R. Poinsett, the first minister from the United States to Mexico, and the book is, in great measure, the *apologia* for that ill-fated diplomatist.

The work begins with a chapter on the early Mexican representatives in Washington, the first of whom, Señor Manuel Zozaya, arrived in the United States and was received by the President as early as 1822. It is stated that the intention of the provisional junta to send a representative had been previously announced by a letter from "a citizen of the United States by the name of Willcocks". Professor Manning might have added that Mr. Willcocks was not unknown to the State Department. He was for some time the duly appointed agent of the United

States for seamen and commerce in Mexico. He later became consul-general, and in General Jackson's administration signalized himself by presenting charges violently attacking the manners and morals of Butler—Poinsett's successor as minister in Mexico.

The second chapter relates how, owing chiefly to the fact that Monroe and the members of his administration wished to use the place of American minister in Mexico in the presidential contest of 1824, the position went begging for months after the recognition of Mexican independence. The choice finally fell on Poinsett, and "probably no man in the country had the knowledge and experience which could have so well qualified him for the place".

The third chapter deals with British Influence in Mexico and Poinsett's Struggles against it. The origin and growth of the influence of Britain in Mexican affairs is well explained. Previous American writers have laid too little stress upon the extent and success of Canning's early efforts to promote British interests in Mexico. Unfortunately, Poinsett was possessed with the fallacious idea that the duty had been laid on him to counteract all efforts of European representatives, and he actually went so far as to form a party opposed to British influences. Just how Poinsett accomplished his purposes is not made to appear, but it does appear that his interference in local affairs aroused the enmity of important Mexicans, and thus laid the foundation of the general unpopularity of which he was later the victim.

The succeeding chapters of Professor Manning's work deal with separate topics, such as Cuba saved to Spain, Diplomacy concerning the Opening of the Santa Fé Trail, Obstacles in the Way of Concluding a Commercial Treaty, and Texas and the Boundary Issue. The highly controversial questions: Denunciation of Poinsett because of his Relations with the York Masons and Public Attacks on Poinsett and his Recall, constitute the substance of two relatively short chapters, which are separated from one another by many pages—an arrangement by no means conducive to clearness.

The chapter relating to Cuba is the longest and one of the most interesting in the book, though the connection of its subject with diplomatic relations between the United States and Mexico was slight. The chapter dealing with the opening of the Santa Fé trail contains much that is novel and gives an illuminating account of the tortuous methods which have always characterized Mexican diplomacy.

The whole work exhibits abundant evidence of long-continued and fruitful researches among the archives in Washington and Mexico. It is clearly designed for the special student and not for the general reader, and as such is worthy of high commendation.

G. L. RIVES.

The Monroe Doctrine: an Interpretation. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, Ph.D., Litt.D., LL.D., Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University. (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company. 1916. Pp. vi, 403.)

THE present volume deals with the Monroe Doctrine in a very comprehensive manner. The author regards it not as a "question of theory", but as one of "fact". It is, as he affirms, "founded in the state of things in the western hemisphere"; but as the "conditions of the problem change from decade to decade", he admits that any doctrine "which is to endure in the midst of these changing conditions must undergo corresponding alterations". He thus recognizes the fact that the phrases of Monroe have undergone not a little distortion. "Indeed", he declares (p. 141), "both in its extent and intent, the Monroe Doctrine was not a term but a treatise; not a statement, but a literature; not an event but an historic development. The term Monroe Doctrine has at various times been set up as precluding every form of interference by European powers, from kidnapping a policeman to conquering an empire; and to every parcel of territory from the Pribyloff Islands to Tierra Del Fuego". At the same time, he states that there is a "perpetual national policy which needs no authority from President Monroe" to make it valid, and that is "the daily common-sense recognition of the geographic and political fact that the United States of America is by fact and by right more interested in American affairs, both on the northern and southern continents, than any European power can possibly be". It is probable, however, that cartographers would not be unanimous in regarding the United States as having a paramount interest by reason of physical proximity to the more southern countries of South America, or admit that this can be proved even by "the formal statements of ten presidents and twenty secretaries of state". Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that the repeated assertion by the United States of a paramount political interest in the fate of countries of the western hemisphere has resulted in or been attended by an assumption of geographical proximity which is as to some of them unfounded.

A careful examination of the volume has failed to disclose the omission of anything that the title may fairly be supposed to comprehend. It is indeed exceedingly full and suggestive; and there can be no doubt that the author comprehends and has clearly stated the striking developments and expansions of policy that have been associated with the name of Monroe rather than with anything that Monroe and his advisers ever said or dreamt of. The author, however, in his preface frankly states that some "errors" in the text may have escaped attention, and these he will no doubt desire to correct in a future edition. As to matters of opinion, authorities will necessarily differ. For instance, when the policy of our earlier presidents is spoken of as a doctrine of "isolation", there are some persons, among whom is the reviewer, who regard the

term as wholly misleading. In reality, the word "isolation" is meant to denote the absence of political entanglements, conventional or otherwise. In any other sense, the United States was no more isolated in the first twenty-five years of its history than it is to-day.

The author points out (p. 78) the erroneous supposition that the desire to secure the West Indian trade was the controlling motive of Monroe and his Secretary of State, John Quincy Adams. Russia, however, did not make "a claim to the whole north Pacific Ocean and Bering Sea" (p. 88); she suggested that she might have made it, but stated that she preferred to assert only her "essential rights". Again (p. 103), we find the statement: "'The Argentine Nation', as Buenos Aires came to be called, showed the greatest prosperity and the strongest sense of the money value of an orderly government, among all the Latin-American states." This statement relates to the period 1827-1844, which is largely covered by the reign of tyranny and disorder under the long and melancholy dictatorship of Rosas, to which no Argentine to-day likes to refer. The state of Buenos Aires once seceded from the Argentine nation, but never was supposed to be coextensive with it. The treaties between Great Britain and Spain of 1783 and 1786, far from requiring the English to give up (p. 117) their logwood-cutting "foothold", expressly confirmed it.

A popular impression no doubt prevailed and probably still prevails in the United States that the Hungarians, when they "rose against their masters . . . proclaimed a republic" (p. 121); but Dudley Mann, who was in Europe at the time, could scarcely have shared this impression, nor did he get nearer "the scene" than Vienna. The release of Koszta was not demanded (p. 123) because he had lived in the United States two years and "filed his first papers". A singular injustice is done to Marcy in classing him (p. 134) with those who supported the "Ostend Manifesto" and sought to "browbeat" Spain into the sale of Cuba, or (p. 140) with those who pursued a "radical and aggressive" policy towards Central America; for he publicly punctured the "Manifesto", brought about S  ul  s resignation by frustrating his machinations at Madrid, and strongly opposed and resented the recognition of the Walker-Rivas government in Nicaragua. The controversy as to the Danish sound dues was adjusted by Marcy, not by Cass (p. 139), the United States accepting, in the treaty signed but not negotiated by Cass, the terms arranged by the European conference. Marcy's feeling toward the Declaration of Paris of 1856, far from being "muddled" (p. 139), proceeded from a perfectly clear conception of the problem. "Solana" Bay (p. 151) should be "Samana". The call for the Pan-American Conference in 1888 can hardly be treated as "one of the few indications that President Cleveland was interested in Latin America" (p. 189), his want of sympathy in this instance being pointedly attested by permitting the bill to become a law without his signature. Uruguay, instead of being unrepresented (p. 189), had a delegate in the

conference from October 2, 1889, till February 10, 1890. Among the tangible results of the conference may be mentioned not only the Bureau of the American Republics (p. 190), but the Intercontinental Railway Commission, the record of whose surveys and other work, down to 1898, may be found in the general report, in seven volumes, made in that year, while the late A. J. Cassatt was president of the commission. Between 1859 and 1892 there were several occasions when "hostilities with a Latin-American neighbor" (p. 191) were threatened. The claims against Venezuela in 1903 were not submitted to the Hague Court (p. 231); only the question of preferential payment was so referred. So far as concerns order and stability, greater discrimination is due (p. 249) to the governments of Latin America. Calvo was an Argentine, not a Brazilian (pp. 245, 262). The "pacific blockade" (p. 277) of Venezuelan ports in 1903 was soon converted into a hostile blockade.

Fifty Years of American Idealism: the New York Nation, 1865-1915: Selections and Comments. By GUSTAV POLLAK. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. ix, 468.)

It was in July, 1865, that the *Nation* made its bow to the American public. Last year, to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of its birth, an extraordinarily interesting issue of the journal recounted its half-century of history, with the aid of many of its old-time collaborators and friends. The desire to create a more permanent memorial of its fifty years' activity in cleansing the Augean stables of American politics has led to the preparation of a volume entitled *Fifty Years of American Idealism*, under the editorship of Mr. Gustav Pollak, a veteran staff contributor. What Charles Eliot Norton would have called the "modest audacity" of this title is justified by the record. The *Nation* has been, throughout its entire career, the spokesman of American idealism in art and literature, as well as in politics and social life. Its steadfast refusal to act the time-server, or to bow to the gusts of popular passion, and its persistence in holding its rudder true amid the tempests of controversy, have won for it a clientèle of devoted friends, and even the familiar gibe of its enemies that it "made virtue repulsive" is a striking tribute to the effectiveness of its work. The present writer feels competent to bear witness in the case, having read every number of the *Nation* for the past thirty-two years. Many are the ardent spirits who in youth made the acquaintance of the *Nation*, and found in it the counsellor and guide which answered to their deepest needs while threading their way through the labyrinth of modern life and thought, which carried on for them the intellectual development that college had begun, or which gave them a substitute for the academic opportunities that circumstances had denied them, and a frequently recurring note in the grateful tributes which they have paid to its influences is that which recognizes this function of

a "continuing university", ever at hand to resolve the perplexities of the mind whose paramount desires are clarity of vision and rectitude of thought. In this sense, the rousing of the *Nation's* fifty years' term becomes comparable in significance with the secular anniversary of a great institution of learning.

The prospectus declared that the aim of the journal was to "make an earnest effort to bring to the discussion of political and social questions a really critical spirit, and to wage war upon the vices of violence, exaggeration, and misrepresentation by which so much of the political writing of the day is marred". From the cloud of witnesses who have come forward to testify to the keeping of this pledge, we may quote the words of Lord Bryce, who wrote to Godkin in 1895: "I am sure it is not friendship, but such little knowledge as I have gained, that makes me feel that no person in this generation has done so much to stem the current of evil and preach a high ideal of public duty and of political honesty as you have."

The present volume has three sections. Mr. Pollak's historical sketch is followed by about 150 pages of running commentary upon the events of the last fifty years, entitled "*The Nation's Weekly Comments*", and consisting of extracts from the editorial columns, presumably Godkin's own writing for the most part. Finally, we have a selection of twenty-four reprinted "*Representative Essays*", filling upwards of 200 pages, and exemplifying in striking fashion the character of the scholarship and literary art which were always at the service of the *Nation*. Among the more notable of these essays may be mentioned Lounsbury's review of Taine's *English Literature*, W. P. Garrison's tribute to his father, the great abolitionist, A. V. Dicey's "An English View of American Conservatism", C. S. Pierce's essay on Helmholtz, Lord Bryce's essay on Gladstone, William James's essay on Herbert Spencer, Stuart P. Sherman's essay on Mark Twain, and Paul Shorey's "American Scholarship", which fluttered the docuocotes of German university circles five years ago. As offering a cross-section of the ripest American thought of the last half-century, this volume has a considerable claim to be considered as a work of lasting value.

WILLIAM MORTON PAYNE.

A History of American Literature since 1870. By FRED LEWIS PATTEE, Professor of the English Language and Literature, Pennsylvania State College. (New York: The Century Company. 1915. Pp. 449.)

THE title is misleading, for Professor Pattee confines himself to "authors who did their first distinctive work before 1892", and therefore omits even such writers as Edith Wharton and William Vaughn Moody. His main thesis is that the Civil War, by uniting and remaking the country, first gave us "a really national literature", and that this creative impulse had exhausted itself by the end of the century.

The first chapter, the Second Discovery of America, presents this view in outline; and the remaining chapters describe literary movements and individual authors from this standpoint, the literature of the South and the West receiving most attention.

The work was worth doing, though perhaps not at such length, and in some ways it has been done well. American literature from the Civil War to the end of the century is surveyed with a unity and a sweep of view that are illuminating and impressive, and its distinctively American quality for the first time receives due emphasis.

But the book has two serious faults. Ardor for his thesis has caused the author greatly to underrate the amount of Americanism in our literature before 1865, and also to exaggerate the effect of the war, largely ignoring other influences, many of them world-wide. A similar bias results from his theory that good literature must have a "message" and spring from "life", which he practically identifies with contemporary and national life. His judgment of individual works is warped by this theory; he often declares that mediocre poems and tales, which "voice" the life of the times, are "immortal", while of Poe's tales he can say that "they . . . lack sharpness of outline", and of Emily Dickinson's poems, that "they should have been allowed to perish". If he had not been obsessed by his theory, Professor Pattee could never have delivered this solemn judgment on the whimsical Stockton: "He wrote little that touches any of the real problems of his time or that has in it anything to grip or even to move the reader; even his murders are gentle affairs."

There are also more superficial errors and blemishes. The list of twenty-five writers who produced "the new literature from the West and the South" (p. 18) includes six who neither lived in nor wrote of those sections, while Lanier is omitted. On page 381 we learn that most recent American fiction consists of short stories because "he who would deal with crude characters in a bare environment can not prolong his story without danger of attenuation", and Miss Murfree's novels are cited; but on page 315 this explanation of her failure was expressly rejected, and it was pointed out that Hardy "had chosen for his novels a region and a people just as primitive". The style, although in general fresh and strong, often lacks simplicity and naturalness, and is marred by constant use of the stock phrases of current criticism, as "convincing", "compelling", "gripping", "rings true", and "hot from a man's heart". There are a few misprints: *With the Allies* is dated 1814 (p. 384); the youthful Riley is said (p. 325) to have gone about the country with "a patient medicine 'doctor'".

WALTER C. BRONSON.

The Life and Letters of John Hay. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. x, 456; 448.)

MR. THAYER warns the reader of his purpose and his limitations. It is a "personal biography" which he has sought to produce, rather

than a "public history". Yet in the case of John Hay the two are inextricably blended. His life was "affected with a public interest". Otherwise it would never have been written on the scale of these volumes. Charming as he was in private, genial in his friendships, skilled with his pen, this full record would not have been required for the man of rather meagre literary output, had he not also been famous as Secretary of State. It is mainly because all that he became by education and experience was poured into the final mould of his work in diplomacy that we are interested to trace his beginnings and progress. Hence it is that the "public history" is necessarily forced upon his biographer. But with it an awkwardness is also forced upon him. For the whole story cannot yet be told. The official archives still jealously guard their secrets. The years of Hay's work at the Department of State cannot be dealt with as Mr. Thayer had previously dealt with the work of Cavour—a thing complete in a time remote, with masses of available material. Consequently, all that he attempts in the *Life of John Hay* is to sketch in a background against which Hay's letters and other utterances may stand out clear.

Mrs. Hay in her lifetime had privately printed copious selections from her husband's letters and diaries. These are naturally Mr. Thayer's chief dependence, though he has enlarged his sources even of this kind. And it is an engaging picture of an original talent that emerges in these pages. Particularly welcome is the light thrown on Hay's family, his Illinois environment, his career at Brown University. Early waking to the consciousness of his own powers—belief in which was common among his boyhood's acquaintances and classmates—John Hay had his period of uncertain feeling after his work in life, concerning which his constitutional tendency, as it appears, to melancholy often made him take despondent views. The Civil War and his good fortune in being appointed one of Lincoln's private secretaries snatched him out of himself and made a man of the youth. Such a great experience could not fail to prepare him, though Hay at the time had but the dimmest apprehension of this, for dealing in a large spirit with important matters of state. On the interval it is not necessary long to dwell. Hay had his contacts with life in Europe, officially and as traveller and lover of art. He early got more of an international mind than most of his generation. Convictions and, if one insists, prejudices were formed in him during those years in which his views of different European nations were forming, which came out later in the Secretary of State. His ventures in literature and in journalism never seem to have taken deep hold on him, though they had their value to him both in the way of shaping the instrument of his style and in winning him warm friendships. It was not till McKinley's election in 1896 that the career was opened to Hay for which all his life had been an unconscious preparation.

Hay's brief service as ambassador to England fell at a critical time, and was, no doubt, useful to his country. Diplomatically he was cor-

rect and successful, socially he was in the way of becoming influential, and in time, he might have been able, by addresses on public occasions and at literary celebrations, to make himself something like an American ambassador to the British people. But as the case stands, it seems an exaggeration for Mr. Thayer to assert that "John Hay's ambassadorship ranks in importance next after that of Charles Francis Adams". A plea could be put in for either Lowell or Phelps or Bayard, before Hay. Certainly the matter is not to be decided by Queen Victoria's saying to Lord Pauncefote that Hay was "the most interesting of all the Ambassadors [meaning, presumably, from the United States] I have known". This might argue merely that Hay had been as adroit as Disraeli in using his pretty talent for flattery at Windsor.

There can be no dispute that to the Department of State Hay brought peculiar aptitudes and capacities. He was cosmopolitan yet downright American. He knew the European point of view, while always ready to maintain that of his own country. In personal diplomatic intercourse he had grace and wit and skill to carry his point. Moreover, there was in him something, as it has been said, of the amateur spirit. He was not an old functionary promoted; he was a man unfettered by a narrow official training, with fresh and even daring ideas, and still with spring and hope enough in him to venture upon new paths. These qualities appear in the two outstanding achievements of John Hay, secretary of state. These are his negotiations to secure the integrity of China, at a time when it looked as if she were to be dismembered, and his triumph in obtaining from Great Britain a surrender of her right to control jointly with the United States the construction and operation of an Isthmian Canal. The former stroke of diplomacy was the more showy. It was audacious, to say the least, to raise an American shield to protect China. The novelty of Hay's procedure left European diplomacy in something like a daze of wonder; and it made, as if in the first moments of surprise, concessions and vague promises which were not perhaps intended to be binding. But the whole made a great sensation at the time and did much to heighten Hay's prestige. But it was the other affair into which he put ability and labor in a way to make both his repute and the results lasting. To have quietly and amicably induced the British Foreign Office to agree to the repeal of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty was a work of which any secretary might have been proud, and which was great enough to make the fame of any. In Hay's case, it was attended by many vexations and disappointments. He did not get on well with senators, and resented the way in which they snipped at his handiwork. Upon the rejection by the Senate of the first form of the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty, the Secretary, in a moment of chagrin, offered his resignation. But President McKinley had the patience necessary in dealing with the Congressional mind, and refused to part with Hay. The end finally crowned the work; and at Panama

a monument will stand to diplomacy, more enduring than any other that easily comes to recollection.

Mr. Thayer is to be thanked for the good taste and fairness and, on the whole, due sense of proportion, with which he has written these volumes. They can hardly rank with his *Life of Cavour*, but the skill and pains which were put into that, appear in this definitive biography of John Hay.

Charles Francis Adams, 1835-1915; an Autobiography. Prepared for the Massachusetts Historical Society. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1916. Pp. lx, 224.)

THE late Samuel Rawson Gardiner set it down for us, with characteristic sagacity, that the first step toward learning what a man's character was is to discover what he seemed to himself to be. If only it were also the final and conclusive step, every autobiography of a public man would be an invaluable source of historical knowledge perfectly decisive of many matters now dubious. But alas, the student most devoted to this class of books is forced to confess that they have to be subjected to many drastic processes of winnowing before they become either digestible or nutritious. Too often the autobiography can only be described as a biography by the one witness most fully acquainted with the facts and most certain to misrepresent them. The misrepresentation lies of course on the side of magnifying the writer's qualities and achievements, of showing him to have been always virtuous in a world where others were strangely indifferent to virtue, the one infallibly wise man in a shortsighted generation, a hero uniformly heroic, perhaps uniformly successful. From Tiglathpileser I. to Theodore Roosevelt and Joseph Foraker, the autobiographies of public men worry the reader with their distinct and unflinching remembrance of having been always right. It is therefore a most refreshing thing to encounter such an autobiography as this of Charles Francis Adams, of which the most outstanding quality is its perfect candor, its freedom from illusions respecting its subject.

At times the candor toward others is somewhat overdone. It is allowable to say that one's father made great blunders about one's education, and ought to have arrived at the court of St. James six weeks earlier than he did—very likely he ought; but there is no need to be quite so frank about the failings of one's colonels, though it makes vivid portraiture. But after all the main matter of the book is the portrait of the author himself. Frans Hals could not have made it more vivid; and to the present reviewer it seems very exact and lifelike, except that Mr. Adams might well have rated his achievements and successes higher, and need not have supposed that the frequent gruffness of his manner had much concealed from those around him the real kindness of his disposition. His remarks on such defects and their results are a little pathetic. Still they are not abject. He was aware,

as if it had been another person, that the subject of his book, if he had not played his cards to their best, had had a good hand to start with, and had won some distinct successes with it. It is a manly, straightforward book, written in the best style of a very effective writer, who had shown himself, in his *Dana* especially, a skillful biographer.

The life which the book describes is that of one who served his country well as a young officer in the Civil War, who made a deep mark upon its later history by pioneer work of great intelligence in the governmental regulation of railroads, who rendered valuable service in laying out Boston's park system, who wrote much excellent history, especially for the Massachusetts Historical Society, and who in public affairs, of town, state, or nation, could be counted upon to raise, frequently and with wholesome effect, a clear, candid, pungent, and always independent voice. It is a pity that the government could not have had more use of his unusual powers, or that, in a country having no House of Lords, his qualities were not such as to bring him into some of those high places where he could have served so admirably.

As a contribution to American history the volume suffers somewhat from the fact that Mr. Adams, as president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, had already set forth in print his remembrances and thoughts concerning several of the chief events, mainly of the Civil War period, with which his life had brought him into contact, and these descriptions he does not choose to repeat. But nearly a third of the book is given to the years 1860 and 1861—a summer campaign journey with Seward, a month in Washington, February 18–March 13, 1861 (what month in Washington's history more to be chosen, for such a young man!), and from April to October six months of slow gravitation toward entrance into the army. All this is intensely interesting. In particular, the candid description (aided by a diary, and with plenty of Boston background) of the young man's progress toward the resolve to apply for a commission is as good as anything in the volume, and casts light on a much broader area than that of one life or character.

The autobiography having been finished in March, 1912, Mr. W. C. Ford has added a few pages on the remaining three years of Mr. Adams's life. A memorial address by Senator Lodge is prefixed to the book. There is a good portrait, and the form of the book is in all respects suitable to the biography of a gentleman of distinction, dignity, and good taste.

Notes of a Busy Life. By JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER. In two volumes. (Cincinnati: Stewart and Kidd Company. 1916. Pp. xv, 511; vi, 584.)

JOSEPH BENSON FORAKER has been treated by fate less kindly than any of his political associates. Presidents Garfield and McKinley won the martyr's crown. John Sherman was still in public life when physically incapacitated for service; and if he did not achieve the height of

his ambition by becoming President, he wrote his name as a financier under the names of Hamilton and Gallatin. Mr. Taft's star was in the ascendant until after the chief political prize had been won, and he is still a political factor. Mark Hanna's career as a political manipulator was in full swing when death called him. Had Senator Foraker's physical end come before his defeat for re-election to the Senate (made possible by the disclosure by Hearst of relations with the Standard Oil Company as legal adviser), his fame would have been greater. But in that case we should not have had the two bulky volumes wherein are recorded the minute details of political activities that, originating in Ohio, had a predominating influence throughout the country.

Senator Foraker's estimates of men are usually erroneous. Often he extols men of little or no importance; but his mind never met the minds of the other leaders and for this reason his characterizations of them are never sympathetic. He records frequent occasions when he has hewn wood and carried water for the political masters, only to experience their ingratitude. The fact is, they felt that he could not be trusted to play the political game. At the same time he had to be considered, because he represented the discontented element in the party, and political success could be achieved only when that element could be cajoled into supporting the ticket.

The secret of Mr. Foraker's strength lay in his power as an orator. He could move an audience as a great violinist or singer does. He could influence men against their wills and convictions. Yet he was compelling rather than persuasive. When the spell passed, the reaction came. In campaigns his abuse of opponents qualified his usefulness on the stump; and yet he was regarded as a great campaign speaker and was much sought after throughout the country. It is impossible to appreciate Mr. Foraker's oratorical powers from reading the speeches given in the memoirs. They have no literary quality; and their historical or philosophical content is negligible. They are simply impassioned utterances of a speaker moved by his cause and desirous of producing immediate effects. The appeal is to patriotism, to party loyalty, or to the emotions.

The value of the Foraker memoirs, therefore, lies not in their judgments, but rather in their citations from correspondence and contemporary newspapers. And even here the student of history must walk circumspectly. It is essential to know the political equation; for a slight error on one side of the equality sign is apt to produce ludicrously inaccurate results. Politicians have a correspondence language of their own; they use words to conceal thoughts, and protest friendship most when they exercise it least; they rarely commit important matters to paper, preferring a personal interview or a discreet messenger. Their communications relate largely to appointments to office or to securing nominations for themselves or their supporters. They conduct their affairs according to the primitive methods of barter. Bribery, as the outsider

knows it, is uncommon. Friendship, loyalty to class, or to large interests, or to organizations, are controlling motives within party lines. Members of the third parties (who have not the protection afforded by the restraints imposed by regular organizations) are peculiarly liable to be swayed by influences other than the dictates of experience or reason, and thus are subject to manipulation. The politician usually is an opportunist. To him questions of government are decided primarily on the basis of their effect on party success. All statesmen have to be politicians; but all politicians do not become statesmen, even after death.

Mr. Foraker lived and moved and had his being among politicians. His busy life, the varied incidents of which he recounts, was concerned largely with state politics and with national politics in so far as the latter had their roots in Ohio. While the memoirs supply valuable raw material for the political history of the country from Hayes to Wilson, they are valuable chiefly as guide-posts, showing the way to the student's destination. As a record of political morals and the machinery of politics they are unsurpassed.

Mr. Foraker is eminently a "practical" politician. He has no sympathy for idealists, free-traders, professors, or dudes, to use his own classification. Mr. Lodge is ridiculed because of his antipathy to split infinitives; and yet Senator Lodge's speeches already form a considerable part of the political history of the times. The tariff reformers are sneered at; and the idea that offices should not be bestowed as political favors is not entertained for a moment. Yet there are flashes of good nature, of legal acumen, of sympathy for the under dog, all of which go far to account for the devotion of the senator's following. There is also running through the memoirs an admiration for the successful politician, a desire to stand well with the powers that be, and, above all, a longing for justification before posterity—qualities which counterbalance the evident endeavor to punish the author's enemies, dead and alive. Discriminatingly used, the work is an illuminating contribution to the political history of the past forty years.

C. M.

The Canadian Iron and Steel Industry: a Study in the Economic History of a Protected Industry. By W. J. A. DONALD, Ph.D. [Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize Essays, vol. XIX.] (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1915. Pp. xv, 376.)

THE object of this study of the birth, growth, and present condition of the Canadian iron and steel industry is twofold: in the first place to present the economic history of a particular Canadian industry; in the second place to inquire into the relation between the policy of protection and the growth of iron and steel production, to what extent this policy has been successful, and whether the result has justified the cost.

Dr. Donald says in his preface that an economic history of Canada cannot be written until we know more about the development of the various units concerned, and he is right. We have had too many ill-considered and ill-digested accounts of Canada's economic progress, generally written for a political purpose and with little or no criticism of the mistakes made or the weaknesses revealed. This book is a very welcome antidote to that sort of thing. The author tells us that he has tried to present an impartial and exhaustive study of a particular industry and he has fully redeemed his promise.

He opens his subject by pointing out the causes that have retarded the industrial development of Canada, causes which are partly social, partly political, and partly a result of the dominating and overshadowing influence of the United States. Canada did not really begin the race until the late nineties. An excellent account of the natural resources of the iron and steel industry follows. This includes a description of the geographical areas where coal, iron ore, and limestone are found, and the probable value of these deposits.

The history of the industry itself is considered chronologically and during three periods. The first of these extends to 1879. This date is chosen because it is the year when the Conservatives adopted the protective or "national" policy, as they like to call it. Previous to 1879 the industry had made very little progress because of largely limited markets, lack of capital, transportation difficulties, and divergent provincial interests. In 1879 and afterward rather high protective tariffs on iron and steel products were imposed. The producers of finished products complained that the duties on their raw materials made profitable production impossible. As a result the duties were diminished and in 1884 bounties were granted. The protective system did not aid the primary industry but probably had a considerable influence in encouraging the output of finished products. Was the cost worth while? The average unthinking Canadian says "Yes", but Dr. Donald feels considerable doubt about it.

In 1896 a so-called Liberal and free-trade government was returned to power. Considerable tinkering with the tariff resulted and there followed a slight reduction in iron and steel duties, offset, however, by a marked extension of the bounty system. The granting of the bounties was essentially a political makeshift. The government hoped to win the support of the free-trade and agricultural West by lowering the duties on certain finished commodities, notably agricultural machinery and wire-fencing, while retaining the allegiance of the manufacturing East by means of the bounties. In neither case were they wholly successful. The West was discontented at the failure to grant any marked reductions and the eastern manufacturers turned against the government in the reciprocity election of 1911, a year before the bounties were discontinued. If any protection is granted, the free-trader prefers to do so by means of bounties. The burden is plain and

they are not likely to be long continued. For these reasons the true protectionist does not like them. Since the bounties expired, the protectionists in Canada have clamored for an increase in duties and they have been successful. This is notably true of the iron and steel producers, who received special treatment before the war and general favors under the so-called war tariff increase.

Dr. Donald has added a voluminous bibliography and several valuable appendixes to his study. One of these, dealing with the combination movement in the iron and steel industry, is particularly interesting. A chart is given showing the system of interlocking directorates and a list of amalgamations follows. Most Canadians have little or no idea of the extent to which the majority of their goods are controlled by trusts, the manner in which prices are fixed, markets determined, and competition controlled. Upon the whole, this book is a most valuable aid to those of us who are interested in Canada's economic development. In addition it is a fair and unbiassed account of the effect of bounties and protective tariffs on a particular industry.

J. C. HEMMEON.

MINOR NOTICES

La Race Chamitique. Par Théodore Vibert. Préface de Paul Vibert. (Paris, Ernest Leroux, 1916, pp. xiii, 415.) Forty years ago the eccentric author of this book occupied in France a position comparable to that enjoyed by Mr. Ignatius Donnelly in America. The notoriety he acquired by his epic on the Girondists was kept alive by the quarrels in which its publication involved him, and by his strange adventures in the borderlands of scholarship.

The present volume was left in manuscript on the author's death in 1885, and now appears owing to the loyalty of M. Paul Vibert, the writer's son. The book is meant to supplement an earlier one—*La Race Sémitique*—which sought to present the world with a basis for the history of the white races of mankind. In *La Race Chamitique* a similar attempt is made to lay a foundation for the study of the black races. As the writer reckons the Egyptians among *les races noirs*, and derives the Chinese from them, the task he sets himself is no small one. It is somewhat simplified for the author by his conviction that the Egyptians spoke Hebrew (p. 224)! After an introduction in which a violent attack is launched against Sardou, M. Vibert begins his inquiry with a discourse on the origin of the world, and a series of *déluge-prolégomènes*. Creation established, Egyptian origins are approached, and shown to be less complex than the pedants would have us believe. A brief section on Iberia and Colchis presents those areas as transitional ones between Egypt and China, and the reader is then overwhelmed with a farrago of facts and conjectures relating to the Far East. By way of climax a comparison is instituted between the Chinese

and Egyptian vocabularies. The tabulated results (p. 226 *et seq.*) may be judged by one random example: "Dérivé chinois—*Piromi*, tombeau d'Adam à Ceylon ⇌ Racines, hébraïques—*Pour*, détruit, mort: *Omah*, group d'hommes ⇌ Egyptian—*Piromis*, hommes purs, tombeau"! The last 170 pages of the volume consist of reading-notes which were to have been incorporated in the text. It is hard to conceive that such a book could have been produced in a country where Hamitic studies have been raised to a level elsewhere unknown.

ORIC BATES.

The Social Legislation of the Primitive Semites. By Henry Schaeffer, Ph.D. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1915, pp. xiv, 245.) We are just beginning to recognize the outline features of the primitive Semites. Vast quantities of new cuneiform inscriptional material have been made available within the last few decades to aid us in filling out the form of that primitive human.

Schaeffer's book attempts to utilize such information as bears on the social customs and so-called legislation of the Semites from the earliest Babylonians down to the modern Arab. The phases that he discusses in fourteen chapters embrace the form and composition of primitive society and its economic problems. The chapters might be more logically and naturally re-arranged in two general divisions—first, the social life and, second, the economic life. Under the *first*, we should arrange matriarchy, patriarchy, agnation, next of kin, slavery, poor laws, sabbatical year, and year of jubilee; under the *second*, interest, pledges and security, the prophets' view of landed property, taxation and tribute, individual land ownership in Israel, and, as an appendix, Ezekiel's ideal plan of allotment. Such an arrangement of the material would present a normal advance under each part.

Again, we must demur at the author's method of aligning his evidence under several of his chapters. The scientific value of his methods and conclusions must be discounted if we are to base our ideas of the social character of the primitive Semites upon the prevalence of any given custom among the modern Arabs. In other words, while the modern Arab is an important factor in Semitic social research, the chasm of over four thousand years between early Semitic times in Babylonia, and this day cannot with certainty be bridged by so short a process. It is true that the East moved slowly, but we should not shoulder upon that fact a practically stationary condition of the Orient in the social sphere. We know from the laws of Hammurabi that there was decisive advance in many phases of custom and law. The author's treatment of individual chapters and the numerous foot-notes show that the literature of the subject has been carefully studied. The use of the latest researches, and their value in this investigation, mark the book as worthy the consideration of every student of early social development. Only in monographs on each or any of the themes of any of the

chapters here treated, does one find more detailed information, and in none of them does he find any more reliable collection of up-to-date facts. Indefatigable industry shows itself on every page, and within the space treated we know of no work that compares with it in compactness and comprehensiveness.

We venture even in so brief a notice to point out a few little items that could be improved. On page 148 we find: "The social problem, as viewed by the prophets, resolves itself for the most part into a question of property in land." Reflection and study of the prophets ought to change that statement. On pages 145, 146, 160, the printing of the Hebrew words needs repairs. On page 173, foot-note 47, the Hebrew transliteration likewise should be corrected.

The mechanical construction of the book is a credit to the Yale University Press.

IRA MAURICE PRICE.

The Life of Saint Boniface by Willibald. Translated into English for the First Time with Introduction and Notes by George W. Robinson, Secretary of the Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences. [Harvard Translations.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1916, pp. 114.) The historical value of Willibald's *Life of St. Boniface* has long been appreciated and Mr. Robinson by translating it, has done a second service to the study of medieval history in America, commensurate to that made by his translation of the *Life of St. Severinus*. The rendition into English is at the same time both literal and smooth. In chapter VI., dealing with the famous felling of the Oak of Geismar, Mr. Robinson has made a distinct contribution by clearing up the confusion of the Latin terms used. He takes the words *succidisset* and *præciso* to be technical terms of medieval woodcraft and makes the first apply to the deep lower notch cut by woodsmen to the centre of the tree while the second is applied to the upper notch cut in the "back" of the tree in order to prevent its shivering as it fell.

Some of the notes appended to the text might have been profitably amplified. For example, page 28, note 1, on the *chorévêque* ought to refer to Pepin's inquiry in 746 of Pope Zachary (*Epist. Merov. et Karol. Aevi*, I. 480) and to Boniface's own letter (Ep. 78) in which he cites the canon of Antioch on the subject. The history of the port of Wijk bij Duurstede, near Utrecht, mentioned in chapter IV., has been more fully written since Soetbeer wrote, by Vogel, *Die Normannen*, by Parisot, *Lorraine sous les Carolingiens*, and by Wilkens, *Zur Geschichte des Niederländischen Handels im Mittelalter* (cf. article on the "Commerce of France in the Ninth Century", *Journal of Political Economy*, November, 1915, p. 860). On page 49, note, Roth's *Beneficialwesen* is referred to for the military administration of the Exarchate, whereas Diehl's treatment is far fuller. (He cites Willibald on p. 356.) On page 76, note 1, Mr. Robinson inserts a note in the form of a sentence

from Ep. 50 of Boniface, which he has translated. I think, however, that he misses Boniface's primary thought. It was not so much the lapse of synods and archbishops which Boniface deplored as the decline of ecclesiastical authority. In his eyes an archbishop was very different from the ancient metropolitan of Merovingian Gaul.

The introduction is a brief critical appreciation. In appendix is a list of editions and translations of the *Life*. Eichstätt, page 17, note, does not appear in the index, which is good.

J. W. T.

Notae Latinae: an Account of Abbreviations in Latin MSS. of the Early Minuscule Period (c. 700-850). By W. M. Lindsay, F.E.A., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France, Sanders Reader in Palaeography in the University of Cambridge, 1910, Professor of Humanity in the University of St. Andrews. (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, pp. xxiv, 500.) In dealing with any text, ancient or medieval, an editor is bound to inquire into the date and origin of his manuscript or manuscripts, since such knowledge is often an aid in reconstructing the history of the text itself. And as abbreviations often throw light upon the history of a manuscript an accurate knowledge of their use and development is indispensable to anyone whose researches take him to first sources.

The historical method of dealing with abbreviations was introduced by Traube, whose *Perrona Scottorum*, with its study of the *noter*-abbreviations, marks an epoch in Latin palaeography. In his *Nomina Sacra* Traube gave us the model for all researches in this field. The present work was inspired by that model and takes up the subject where Traube leaves it off.

The history of the *nomina sacra* is practically the history of Latin abbreviations prior to the eighth century. The century and a half that follows, which sees the birth of various minuscule scripts, is also the creative period for abbreviations. It is with this period that the present book deals. It is divided into three chapters, followed by an appendix. Chapter I. begins with a discussion of the origin of minuscule symbols (pp. 1-5), which is followed by an alphabetical list of the regular stock of abbreviations in early minuscule manuscripts (pp. 6-394). Chapter II. (pp. 395-412) deals with the *nomina sacra* (*deus, dominus, Christus, Iesus*, etc.), and their derivatives. Chapter III. (pp. 413-443) deals with the *notae iuris*, technical symbols and capricious abbreviations such as are found in familiar or recurrent phrases. The scope of the treatment may be judged from the fact that *autem* has 13 full pages devoted to it, *per, prae, pro* 12 pages, *dico* and its forms 18 pages. The appendix (pp. 444-494) contains a descriptive list of the manuscripts used, arranged alphabetically, according to libraries. To the palaeographer these fifty pages are worth their weight in gold; for they constitute a most accurate and valuable guide to the manuscript material of

the period (A. D. 700-850). The work ends with tables of symbols arranged alphabetically and grouped according to locality.

Professor Lindsay's book is a monument of erudition, patience, and indefatigable zeal. It embodies the results of an investigation in which practically all the extant material has been examined. No other living scholar could have given us this work.

E. A. LOEW.

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, third series, volume IX. (London, the Society, 1915, pp. vii, 242.) So large a part of these volumes is taken up with lists of members and publications and other formal matter, that it contains only 174 pages of historical reading. Professor Firth devotes his presidential address to a brief history of English wars in Belgium and their causes and of the relations between Great Britain and the Low Countries. Aside from this address and a short history of the Canadian archives by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty, there are in the volume six historical essays. Mr. J. Conway Davies writes of the Despenser War in Glamorgan (1321) which minute and competent knowledge, Mr. Maurice Wilkinson of a Provincial Assembly during the League, namely the estates of Burgundy meeting at Semur in October, 1590, and the rival organization of the League. Rev. P. H. Ditchfield essays to controvert the Errors of Lord Macaulay in his Estimation of the Squires and Parsons of the Seventeenth Century (in the third chapter of the *History*), but rather by matching assertion against assertion than by adducing any considerable array of additional facts. If the importance of historical events and processes is measured by the scale of their results, the most important subject treated in the volume is that of Mr. F. A. Kirkpatrick, Municipal Administration in the Spanish Dominions in America, but the paper is not more than a sketch. Madame Inna Lubimenko discourses interestingly upon the correspondence of Queen Elizabeth with the Russian czars, and makes proposals as to its publication. Mr. Alfred Anscombe, in a long paper on the Historical Side of the Old English Poem of *Widsith*, presents a "revised text" (without having examined the original manuscript at Exeter), identifies Guthere with Gundihari, king of the Burgundians (d. 451), Casere and the Creacas with the Count Caesarius (d. 448) and an Alemannic tribe settled about Craster in Northumberland, and lectures the philologists *de haut en bas*.

Robert of Chester's Latin Translation of the Algebra of Al-Khowarizmi. With an Introduction, Critical Notes, and an English Version by Louis Charles Karpinski, University of Michigan. [University of Michigan Studies, Humanistic Series, vol. XI., Contributions to the History of Science.] (New York, the Macmillan Company, 1915, pp. 164.) Mohammed ibn Musa Al-Khowarizmi, declares Professor Karpinski, influenced mathematical science in Europe more vitally "than any other writer from the time of the Greeks to Regiomontanus.

Through his arithmetic, presenting the Hindu art of reckoning, he revolutionized the common processes of calculation and through his algebra he laid the foundation for modern analysis." He has also a place in the history of trigonometry, as appears from his astronomical tables, translated by Adelard of Bath in 1126 and recently edited by Suter. His treatise on algebra, written *ca.* 825, is preserved in the Arabic original and in two Latin versions of the twelfth century, one of which, due to Robert of Chester, is here published for the first time. Besides a critical edition of the Latin text and its accompanying geometrical figures, Professor Karpinski gives an English version with modern notation and a number of judicious notes. His introduction makes clear the place of the treatise in the history of algebraic studies and brings together what is known respecting the translator, an Englishman who took a leading part in making Arabic knowledge available for Latin Europe but whose biography is very inadequately known. The editor has given what is essential; one could wish that he would describe more fully, at least on its mathematical side, the extent and course of this movement of translation and adaptation of Saracen science. The volume is the result of much patient labor, historical and linguistic as well as mathematical, and marks an achievement of American scholarship in a direction in which its contributions have so far been few. Fortunately there are in our universities some signs of a new interest in the history of science, and there is no historical field where the opportunity is greater for profitable investigation.

C. H. H.

The Caliphs' Last Heritage: a Short History of the Turkish Empire. By Lt.-Col. Sir Mark Sykes, Bart., M. P. (London, Macmillan and Company, 1915, pp. xii, 538.) The alternative title of this book is inappropriate. Hardly sixteen pages are given to the history of the Ottoman Turks, and the summary reaches only to the year 1535. Moreover, it is somewhat inaccurate: Constantinople had ceased to be in any large sense "a centre of world finance, a pool of gold", long before its capture in 1453; their inheritance from the Byzantine Empire was only one among several elements which gave stability to the Ottoman line; Selim I. did not conquer Aden. The main title, however, is well chosen: it bears relation to each of the dissimilar halves of the book, which consist of a sketch of the history of the Levant from the accession of Cyrus to the reign of Suleiman I., and a record of personal observations during the years 1906 to 1913.

The first half is introduced by a brief geographical survey. Earlier history having been dismissed in a sentence, the narrative is sketched rapidly, except for the period of a quarter-millennium after the birth of Mohammed. Practically no authorities are mentioned, and the traditional accounts are followed uncritically. But the story is told with fire and life, and an actual contribution to knowledge is made by explaining

former events in the light of personal observations. A few positive errors occur, as that "the First Crusade followed almost identically the line of Alexander's army"; the Mongols and Finns are separately accused of destroying the irrigation system of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley, whereas the former probably found it far gone in decay.

The second half of the book might well have stood alone, as a third in Sir Mark's series of accounts of travels in Asiatic Turkey. The author presents in individual and incisive language a selection from his experiences, and gives many admirable descriptions of country, people, and conditions. Fond of Bedawi, Kurds, and Anatolian peasants, he dislikes Armenians, city-bred Turks, Germans, and the Bagdad Railway. Conservative, Catholic, and aristocratic, he believes that Turkish reformers have done much harm by replacing feudal lords with appointed officials and by inducing nomads to settle; that the education of Turks by "brain-clogged" schoolmasters and of Armenians by American Protestant missionaries is worse than useless; that in general western influences spoil Orientals. The Young Turks, under their "addle-pated Constitution", are "Gallic and Teutonic: Gallic in negation of religion, in insane attachment to phrases, in superficial logic, in purposeless irreverence; Teutonic in obstinate rigidity, in uncompromising woodenness, in brutal assertiveness".

The appendix contains a descriptive list of Kurdish tribes, based on much careful inquiry, but loosely classified, and revealing little study of the investigations of numerous predecessors. The Jenwis, legends of whom puzzled Sir Mark, were probably the Genoese. Many maps, prepared by the author, illustrate both portions of the book. The analytical index occupies forty-six pages.

A. H. LYBYER.

A Thousand Years of Russian History. By Sonia E. Howe. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1915, pp. xiv, 432.) *A Thousand Years of Russian History* begins with the year 862, the coming of Rurik, and ends with 1862, presumably so as to make it come out an even thousand. In order, however, not to leave the reader altogether up in the air there is a short supplementary chapter, "The Link", which gives in chronological order the important events in Russian history from 1862 to 1915. This is followed by chapters on the Dnieper and Don Cossacks, the Baltic Provinces, Poland, and Finland. The book is well got up, fully illustrated with thirteen full-page plates, twenty-eight other interesting illustrations, eight maps, and four historical charts.

The book is not a scholarly piece of work and it makes no contribution of any kind. Mrs. Howe is not a trained historian, she is not even deeply read in the subject which she treats. She wrote the book with the "bright hope of a closer alliance . . . between two mighty nations to both of which I belong—the one by birth, the other, no less, by mar-

riage". A kind Russian friend showed her "short-cuts to knowledge by guiding me to the right sources of information", which are, so far as the reviewer is able to determine, the ordinary texts, studies by known and unknown writers, and diplomatic gossip. The author does not always know which of her sources to accept and which to reject and this lack of discrimination has led her to make, to put it charitably, a number of amusing statements, as, for example, "In 1809 he [Alexander I.] even wrote about his plan to George Washington" (p. 239); and when she quotes a diplomatist to the effect that Peter's marginal notes were "in so distinct a handwriting and so clear a style that even a child can comprehend them" (p. 99). Investigators are pretty much agreed that it is difficult to find a more illegible script than Peter's. There are no foot-notes, and the "List of Authorities" in the back does not help because neither the date nor the place of publication is given, and, in a few cases, not even the first name of the author.

From what has just been said it is quite evident that one should not apply the ordinary canons of historical criticism to this work. It is not a book for scholars and it was not intended for them. The aim of the author, as stated in the preface, was,

to convey general impressions of the various stages passed through by Russia in the course of her evolution, and to give sketches of the lives of those rulers who have stamped their era with the mark of their personality . . . [and] to supply in some measure information regarding certain historical and economic facts on matters which puzzle the man in the street.

Judged by this standard the author has attained the object sought and has produced a popular book for the average reader, for the man in the street, for the woman in the reading circle. The book reads well and the many delicate feminine touches add a certain flavor.

F. A. GOLDER.

Marco Sanudo, Conqueror of the Archipelago. By John Knight Fotheringham, M.A., D.Lit., Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, Reader in Ancient History, University of London, assisted by Laurence Frederic Rushbrook Williams, B.Litt., B.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1925, pp. 150.) Scholars interested in the Fourth Crusade will recall Fotheringham's article on "Genoa and the Fourth Crusade" in the *English Historical Review* six years ago. That article is the core of the present work and, except for the introductory paragraphs, is reprinted almost verbatim in chapters II., III., and IV.; there are some slight changes and a few pages are added. The remainder of the book is composed of a chapter on the origin of the House of Sanudo and two chapters on the career of Marco Sanudo in the Archipelago and in Crete; these chapters are almost entirely new. The appendix contains twenty pages of extracts from the authorities, of which the most important are from Venetian

manuscripts. The list of works cited takes eight pages and there is a very full index covering sixteen pages.

In the words of the author the book "professes to be not history but historical research". Among the subjects on which he has "attempted to throw light" are,

the origins of the Venetian families of Candiano and Sanudo, and, incidentally, the legend of the foundation of Venice and of Heraclea, and the topography of the neighbourhood of Ravenna; the relations of Guglielmo and Raynerio of Montferrat to the court of Constantinople and the nature of their fief or fiefs at Thessalonica; the policy of Venice in promoting the election of Baldwin as emperor and in negotiating the treaty of Adrianople with Boniface of Montferrat; the relations of the Venetian colony at Constantinople to the mother-city, and the policy adopted by Venice for conquests to be made either by the city or by its citizens; the attempts made by Genoa to secure a foothold in Romania; the conquest and organization of the Archipelago; the different Venetian, Genoese, and Naxiote expeditions to Crete during the career of Marco Sanudo, and, of course, the whole career of Marco Sanudo himself.

These quotations and the summary given above indicate the character of the work. It is distinctly a book of reference for a student and will have no charm for "the general reader". The author's opinion on a controverted subject will carry weight because of his critical study and use of sources hitherto neglected. Best of all, he gives full references both to the sources and to the secondary works so that the student can form his own opinion. The book is a valuable contributor.

DANA C. MUNRO.

A Short History of Belgium. By Leon Van der Essen, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, University of Louvain. (Chicago, University Press, 1915, pp. 168.) In June, 1915, according to the *New York Times*, there was a scarcity of books on Belgium, and that statement induced the University of Chicago to suggest to her guest-lecturer, Professor Van der Essen of Louvain, that he should supply the deficiency for the American public. The result of his work is a pleasant little volume covering the long story from the period of Julius Caesar's historic explanation of the reason why the Belgians were braver than other clans—namely, on account of their vicinity to the German frontier, down to the German Chancellor's equally famous explanation of the military necessity for the late intrusion over that same frontier. Naturally the narrative has, in its compactness, the defects of its qualities. For instance, the statement that Anthony of Brabant annexed Luxemburg to his other two duchies in 1409 by virtue of his marriage with Elizabeth of Görlitz, with the implication that from that date Luxemburg formed part of the Burgundian territories, is rather misleading as a description of the actual transfer of the duchy from one family of overlords to another. A different story is suggested by the series of complicated

mortgages and temporary cessions, in consideration of money loaned or due from one cause or another, by which the duchy, treated as a mere estate, was held or claimed during thirty-five years before Elizabeth of Görlitz, an unprotected widow, ceded her rights to Philip of Burgundy, *bien qu'il ait voulu s'excuser*, for a large sum—not to speak of the other moneys that changed hands before the pretensions of William of Saxony, Ladislas Posthumus, Charles VII., and others were satisfied. Still Luxemburg is only fractionally linked with modern Belgium and the completed story, even in outline, might have infringed the limitations of space.

Again, in a trifling matter, an ancient tradition is permitted a foothold where it were better omitted—the tale of the Black Prince taking his feathers and device from the blind King of Bohemia, John of Luxemburg. It seems fairly well proved that *Ich Dien* was never a device of the Luxemburg family, and that the feathers worn by Count John were not waving ostrich plumes, familiar as the badge of the heirs to the English crown, but two stiff black vulture's wings. The application of the term *pennae* to both kinds of feathers probably caused the confusion.

The latter part of the narrative (pp. 119-167) is the most interesting. The experiences undergone by Belgium from the time of the Archdukes until she reached her independent and neutralized existence, were varied and interesting, while so little understood that their presentation in this simple concise form by an eminent authority on his own national history is very valuable and should be appreciated.

The Register of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, commonly called the Black Book. Edited by G. J. Turner, M.A., and Rev. H. E. Salter, M.A. Part I. [Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales, vol. II.] (London, Oxford University Press, the British Academy, 1915, pp. xlv, 377.) The Black Book of St. Augustine's, which is probably known more commonly as Faustina A I of the Cottonian collection, is a monastic register of exceptional interest. It "was for the most part compiled in the closing years of the thirteenth century, but numerous entries of later date" have been inserted (p. xiii). About four-fifths of that portion of the register printed in this volume consists of rentals and custumals of the estates of the abbey. These contribute some bits of evidence relative to urban life and commerce, such, for example, as lists of tolls charged at markets and ports (pp. 28; 29, 138) and an early copy of the customs of Fordwich (pp. 145-154); but they are chiefly valuable for the vast mass of detailed information about various aspects of manorial and agrarian organization. They are especially full on many slightly known manorial rents and services and they throw much light also on the Kentish field-system and methods of land-measurement. Some of this material has already been utilized to advantage by Vinogradoff, Neilson, and Gray, but it

will richly repay further study. The remainder is made up of charters, royal writs dealing with the privileges, the exemptions, and the fiscal obligations of the abbey, accounts for taxes and other payments due the crown, valuations of property for the purpose of taxation, pleas in the king's courts, lists of knights' fees, ordinations of vicarages, and a few miscellaneous items.

The editors have done their work with the care and skill for which they are so justly noted. The text, with the exception of a few documents of later date and minor importance which are summarized in English, is reproduced in full, and, if the comparison of a dozen pages with photographs of the original gives sufficient basis for judgment, with great accuracy. The introduction written by Mr. Turner is devoted to a review of the charters by which the abbey acquired its estates. Most of these purport to have been issued in the Anglo-Saxon period, but the originals have been lost, and the copies now available present so many textual difficulties that suspicion has been cast upon their authenticity. Kemble brands many of them as probable forgeries, but Mr. Turner believes them genuine with few exceptions. He finds no motive for their forgery by the monks and contends that forgers would have described the boundaries of the monastic lands in terms clearer than those actually found in the charters. The "false names, wrong dates, interpolations and omissions" he ascribes to the work of blundering copyists. His critical analysis of the charters seems amply to justify his cautious conclusion that "until these charters have undergone minute criticism, we can draw few safe inferences from them in matters of detail; but we shall probably not be far wrong in accepting them as in the main a good provisional basis for the history of the estates of the abbey" (pp. x:x, xx).

W. E. LUNT.

Conversations with Luther. Selections from the recently published Sources of the Table-Talk, translated and edited by Preserved Smith, Ph.D., and Herbert Percival Gallingier, Ph.D., Associate Professor of History, Amherst College. (Boston, New York, and Chicago, the Pilgrim Press, 1915, pp. xxvii, 250.) If such a book was now to be compiled, Dr. Smith had good claim to a hand in it. His Columbia thesis (1907) is the best study in English of the sources for a knowledge of this table-talk; and his later books attest his possession of that familiarity with Luther's life and writings which alone could make safe the editor's task. This equipment shows in many a helpful note and in the sure touch of the sprightly introduction. It shows in the choice of matter. That matter is by no means all new; but even what is familiar appears now in the more authentic phrasing of its earliest reporter, and in place of the theological rubrics of the older collections we have now such more vital themes as "Luther's Childhood", "The Diet of Worms", "Contemporary Politics", "How the Table-Talk was Collected". And

franker far than any earlier collection: is this in its betrayal of the great man's failings—his superstition, his intolerance, his violence, his coarseness.

But was there now need for such a book? Nothing has like the Table-Talk fed the Luther legend—whether the legend of those who adore or the legend of those who detest. Imagine in our own day a series of student boarders taking down in their note-books every chance utterance of their professorial host, of course with all possible degrees of misapprehension and misquotation, and of course with especial attention to everything that flattered a prejudice or could lend a spice to gossip. Then imagine these notes, a score of years after the master's death, edited for the press by the laziest, the most heedless, the most inventive of all the note-takers. Gustav Kawerau said of Aurifaber a few months ago that a modern editor who should take such liberties with his materials would be rated a forger. True, the work of modern scholars has brought to light many a manuscript whose contents antedate, as a whole or in part, this fusing and confusing editor. True, as the present editors urge, these earlier elements are now accessible in print and in large part have been critically edited for the great Weimar edition of Luther. But the three volumes there published of the Table-Talk not only lack all the dated jottings after 1538 and the great mass of undated ones; they lack the editors' studies as to the evolution of the collection and the relative authenticity of its parts; they lack the indexes which will first make possible any fruitful comparative study. The note-takers themselves betray to us how their officious activity dismayed the judicious Melancthon and irritated loyal Frau Käthe. Even their hero, it is clear, tolerated them with a half-amused contempt. The sober historian must grieve that a man who as no other in history stands revealed to us through his own pen and through able contemporaries, friend and foe, should still become known through such irresponsible tattle. Yet it is something that it now finds editors so honest.

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Official Papers of Sir Nathaniel Bacon of Stiffkey, Norfolk, as Justice of the Peace, 1580-1620. Selected and edited for the Royal Historical Society from Original Papers formerly in the Collection of the Marquess Townsend, by H. W. Saunders, M.A., F.R. Hist. S. [Camden Third Series, vol. XXVI.] (London, the Society, 1915, pp. xlii, 255.) We are familiar with the general statement that the justices of the peace of Tudor and Stuart times were busy officials. This volume gives abundant proof of the truth of that statement. The gentry who were placed on the commission of the peace were also given various other duties by an active and ambitious government which had few officials at its disposal except these gentlemen of the locality. It is not always easy therefore to distinguish between their services performed as justices of the peace and those performed as commissioners for musters

or for the search for recusants or for restraining the export of corn or wool or for collecting subsidies or for making purveyance for the royal household or for administering the poor law or for impressing mariners for the navy. In all of these local affairs, Sir Nathaniel Bacon, son of Sir Nicholas and half-brother of Francis, a typical member of the rural gentry and justice of the peace of the county of Norfolk, was busy in the years from 1580 to 1620. He was also twice sheriff of the county, four times member of Parliament, and for thirty years one of the government commissioners for the building, repairing, and extension of dikes and piers, and for the collection of funds for the purpose in that seaboard region.

The 150 documents published in this volume are selected from a collection of more than twice that number, themselves the surviving part of a still larger body of records of Bacon's activity, a part of which has been lost. A large proportion represent negotiations initiated originally by the Privy Council. They give therefore in a certain sense the converse of the *Acts of the Privy Council*, the actual results of the orders issued by that body. It is plainly to be seen from them, what we already know from other sources, not only that the council interested itself deeply in local affairs, but that the intentions of the central government of the Tudors and Stuarts, strong as that government was, were frequently blocked by the silent opposition of local authorities.

One of the most interesting and suggestive groups of documents is the series concerning the collection of subsidies. The persistent and extreme under-assessment of landowners and the steady decline of the amount of these taxes during a period when the value of land was rapidly increasing is one of the puzzles of the period. If the land-owning classes had been fully assessed the income of Elizabeth and James would have been beyond the needs of their government, and their revenue would have risen more rapidly than the growing expenses of government. Why was this not done? The papers published here and the editorial comment upon them make the facts of this low assessment clear; they do nothing toward explaining it. The editorial work of Mr. Saunders in this volume is excellently done, the documents are grouped in such a way as best to bring out their significance, there are some useful notes, and there is a good explanatory introduction.

E. P. CHEYNEY.

Angliiskaia Palata Obshchin pri Tudorakh i Stuartakh. By K. A. Kuznetsov. (Odessa, 1915, pp. xxiv, 320.) Mr. Kuznetsov's dissertation is based upon exceedingly thorough study, not only of the usual books and of the pamphlet literature of the period concerned, but of a great number of manuscripts in the British Museum and the Public Record Office, especially a considerable number of the many manuscript reports of debates in the parliaments of James I. and Charles I., kept by individual members of Parliament. So many quotations from the latter

are made in English in the foot-notes, that even a student who knows no Russian may derive valuable items of knowledge from the book. It treats, more fully and more thoroughly than anyone has hitherto treated in English, the whole range of law and practice respecting the House of Commons in Tudor and Stuart times—the constitution of the House (including representation and elections), its powers, privileges, and procedure. There is no index.

A History of South Africa from the Earliest Days to Union. By William Charles Scully. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. xv, 327.) Mr. W. C. Scully aims in this book to provide the student and the general reader with a "concise, consecutive narrative" of the history of South Africa in a single volume. It makes no pretense to originality, drawing its material avowedly from the standard histories of Theal and Cory and from Leibbrandt's précis of the archives. It should be borne in mind, however, that as a pioneer and magistrate the author works on a background of wide experience. Yet, in some respects, his special equipment for his task is not without its disadvantages. It leads him to take too many things for granted; for example, the distinction between Bushmen, Hottentots, Kaffirs, Zulus, and various other colored folk in South Africa, and the meaning of various terms such as landdrost. A word of explanation on such points would have been more to the purpose than to enlighten the reader on the Edict of Nantes. Indeed, the sense of proportion is decidedly faulty. Numberless inconsequential jottings might have been spared, particularly since the Boer War is disposed of in less than a paragraph. On the other hand, the causes of the outbreak are outlined clearly and with conspicuous fairness. In general, Mr. Scully wields an impartial pen, though the standpoint of an administrator is manifest in his strictures on those, missionaries and others, who have idealized the natives. The book seems to be commendably free from errors; nevertheless it is misleading to speak of the war of the Spanish Succession as "the twelve years' war between Holland and France" (p. 53).

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

The French Army before Napoleon. Lectures delivered before the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1914. By Spenser Wilkinson, Chichele Professor of Military History, Fellow of All Souls College. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1915, pp. 151.) The seven lectures brought together by Professor Wilkinson in book form are of somewhat unequal quality. The second is by far the best. In this he rescues the Duc de Broglie from quite unmerited oblivion and exposes lucidly, with sympathy and understanding, the considerable place which this general merits in the evolution of the military art. And we think the author right in emphasizing Broglie, and his quartermaster Bourcet, among the teachers whom Napoleon followed. The remaining lectures are

not so good. Nor is there a convincingly built up central current of ideas. Professor Wilkinson has been one of the few responsible persons in England who has during the present war pointed out that the training of the officer is the mainspring of the modern army. He might well have shown what were the conditions in the eighteenth century that enabled armies to operate with officers of low training, and what were the conditions that made for an increasing demand that this defect should be remedied. In this he would have found a connecting link between the past and the present. As it is one feels that his work is somewhat lacking in theoretical cohesion.

J.

Geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche Volk. Door P. J. Blok. Tweede Druk. Vierde Deel. (Leiden, A. W. Sijthoff, [1916], pp. 588.) The seventh and eighth volumes of the standard history of the Netherlands, by Professor Blok of Leiden, were published in 1907 and 1908 respectively. This fourth volume of the second edition embraces the material contained in volumes VII. and VIII. of the first, with very little change. The period of Dutch history covered, that extending from the organization of the Batavian Republic in 1795 to the present day, has not been remade by any revolutionary discoveries during the past eight years. In most pages the only difference between the two editions is that, for the earlier period, the twenty years from the extinction of the stadholderate to the erection of the monarchy, Professor Blok can now refer in his foot-notes to Dr. Colenbrander's *De Bataafsche Republiek* (1908) and still more to the remarkable and voluminous collection of *Gedenkstukken*, edited by that same industrious scholar, which forms such a model of organization for documentary collections in national and international history and such a mine for the historian. For the years 1813-1815, new information is derived from General Koolemans Beijnen's *Historisch Gedenkboek* and Dr. Colenbrander's *Ontstaan der Grondwet*. But the chief addition is in the few pages setting forth, soberly and discreetly, the history of the last eight years, even to the measures for guarding neutrality in the present war. The appendixes on the sources of knowledge have been revised; the excellent maps are repeated without change. The typographical appearance of the second edition is somewhat less attractive than that of the first; but the substantial merits of Professor Blok's well-established work are all there and still conspicuous—learning, insight, judgment, fairness of mind, breadth of view over the national life, a proper perspective in international relations, and a clear and dignified though neither imaginative nor distinguished style.

La Science Française. Two volumes. (Paris, Ministère de l'Instruction Publique, 1915, pp. 397, 405.) The French Ministry of Public Instruction prepared, as a part of its exhibit at the San Francisco Exposition, a library of those books which might be said to constitute the

chief landmarks and results of the progress of the sciences in France. It was a large and impressive collection. The thirty-three essays which compose the two volumes under notice were prepared to accompany the respective sections of that library. Each presents an account of the history of a particular science in France, followed by a bibliography of French achievement in that department, including the volumes in the special collection referred to, together with others, and accompanied by excellent portraits of the chief luminaries. It is a goodly company; and it is useful to remember, in a year when American sympathy and admiration for French character and action are at their highest, the boundless debt which the modern world owes also to the achievements of the French intellect. As one turns these pages, he is reminded of Frenchmen who have been the founders of whole branches of science, of Descartes, Lavoisier, Champollion, Ampère, Lamarck, Pasteur; of historians, students of literature, philologists; of fields in which Frenchmen have been supreme—Sinology, let us say, or Egyptology; of those qualities of sanity, repose, measure, clarity, grace, which the French mind has brought to every field; in a word, of a mature and deep-based culture which does not require a special definition of the word. The surveys of the individual sciences are by competent hands—that of French historical work by M. Langlois, for instance, that of classical archaeology by M. Max Collignon, that of Greek studies by M. Alfred Croiset—and serve in almost every instance to bring out clearly the peculiar quality of the French contribution to the particular branch of knowledge. Indeed, it is a French quality that can make, out of what is by origin a handbook to a section of a fair, a work attractive and valuable to the student of the history of science and of scholarship.

Government and Politics of the German Empire. By Fritz-Konrad Krüger, Doktor der Staatswissenschaften. [Government Handbooks, edited by David P. Barrows and Thomas H. Reed.] (Yonkers-on-Hudson and New York, World Book Company, 1915, pp. xi, 340.) Without hesitation one may concur in the opinion of the editors of the *Government Handbooks* series that the attention of the American people "has been too exclusively fixed upon their own government and its problems". And equally without hesitation one may express commendation of the enterprise which lies behind the preparation of the forthcoming series and of the general plan which is proposed to be followed. Should the quality attained in the initial volume be sustained throughout the series, the project will have been worth while. The plan as announced imposes the requirement that the volumes shall be "handbooks". In Dr. Krüger's *Government and Politics of the German Empire* one, accordingly, does not expect to discover a monumental, or even a comprehensive, treatise. What one does look for, and find, is a series of brief chapters setting forth the salient facts of German constitutional history, political structure, administrative functions and processes, party organization, and

foreign policy. To one who is conversant with German public affairs the book offers very little that is new; although its characterizations of institutions and its summaries of developments are likely to prove useful. Younger students and persons in quest of easily accessible information—and for such Dr. Krüger has written—will find the book satisfactorily arranged, of such degree of readableness as is consistent with the bald enumeration of facts, and exceptionally free from inaccuracies of statement. The author is of German extraction, and the book has been written from the German viewpoint. Since almost all other writings on the German governmental system which are available in English are the work of non-Germans, this is fortunate. To Dr. Krüger's credit it must be said that most of the time he is as moderate and impartial as one should wish him to be. There are, however, lapses. In glorifying Emperor William II. as a guardian of international peace, and in emphasizing the necessity of Germany's military and naval aggrandizement, it would have been well to hint that these are matters upon which opinion is divided. And in dealing with the domestic politics of the Empire sympathy lies somewhat too plainly with the National Liberal party. Personal opinion, which has proper place in most kinds of books on political subjects, is hardly to be desired in a manual. Appended to the text is a critical bibliography which is reasonably complete and substantially accurate. The author appears not to have been aware (p. 278) that before his book was published an English translation of Treitschke's *Deutsche Geschichte* was in press.

FREDERIC AUSTIN OGG.

North America during the Eighteenth Century: a Geographical History. By T. Crockett, M.A., and B. C. Wallis, B.Sc. (Cambridge, University Press, 1915, pp. viii, 116.) A condensed, interesting discussion of the settlement of North America, of the long struggle between the French and the English for possession of the continent, and of the War for American Independence is here presented. Of the twelve brief chapters, ten are almost wholly historical and two are mainly geographical. Into the historical chapters more than the usual amount of geography is woven. While the little book is a commendable effort to correlate history and geography, it is not quite clear why it was written. It presents nothing new in facts or in principles. Miss Semple's *American History and its Geographic Conditions* treats most of the same topics and with greater fullness.

Several of the sketch maps are helpful (figs. 1, 3, 10, 11, 14, and 22), but some of them seem much distorted because they are not oriented. Only one of the maps contains a scale of miles. Every map should contain a scale of miles and *north* should be toward the top of the map. If the latter is seriously inconvenient, then the customary index arrow should indicate the north. The disregard of these conventions robs any map of a large part of its value.

Some errors have crept in: *i. g.*, we are told that the Mohawk joins the Hudson at the 100-foot level (p. 4). The junction is at the 20-foot level. Again (p. 8), we are told that an embayed coast-line indicates that "the land is encroaching upon the sea", while, as a matter of fact, it shows the opposite. The map, figure 15, places Wyoming in western New York. This Wyoming is of later origin; the Wyoming of colonial days is the one in eastern Pennsylvania.

A feature of the book which deserves high commendation is its fairness to those who were enemies of the English. The writers, both Englishmen, bestow praise and censure with equal fairness upon French, English, or Americans.

R. H. WHITBECK.

An American Garland, being a Collection of Ballads relating to America, 1563-1759. Edited with Introduction and Notes by C. H. Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, University of Oxford. (Oxford, B. H. Blackwell, 1915, pp. xlvii, 91.) This attractive and scholarly little volume is concerned with the popular ballads which were printed on broadsides and passed from hand to hand, or given a somewhat longer lease of life by being posted on the walls of houses or inns. As Professor Firth points out in his interesting introduction, the preserving and collecting of these fugitive pieces was a favorite diversion of many distinguished Englishmen of our colonial era, including Selden, Pepys, Dryden, and that hardheaded Tory politician, Robert Harley, earl of Oxford. Many of these collections have naturally disappeared, but others are still preserved in the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, and other depositories. From various sources, including his own notable collection, the editor has drawn twenty-two pieces of considerable interest to students of colonial history, though no attempt has been made to include the contemporary products of the American press. A majority of them have been reprinted before but they are as a rule not accessible except in large libraries.

After extended searches, Professor Firth has reached the conclusion that comparatively few of these seventeenth- and eighteenth-century ballads dealt with American themes. In general the pieces here printed fall into four groups. The first begins with a highly idealized portrait of that picturesque Elizabethan adventurer Thomas Stukeley, and ends in 1612, with "London's Lotter.e", written in the interest of the newly reorganized Virginia colony. Their main motive is the awakening of interest in America as a fit field for English energy and patriotism, with the final note: "We hope to plant a nation where none before hath stood". The second group depicts the Puritan and Quaker emigration from the point of view of the Cavalier or the unregenerate "man in the street" who thought England none the worse off for the departure of "all that putrified sect", the "counterfeit elect". There is a similar cynical note in the "Quakers' Farewel to England". The Quakers

were to give the Indians the benefit of their new "Lights", but always with an eye to the main chance, their "fill of riches and great possessions". The unwilling emigrants and the unhappy fate of the indentured servants apparently made a marked impression on their contemporaries at home and are commemorated in six of Mr. Firth's ballads. There are the "Maydens of London" who apparently withdrew under some pressure from the Puritan authorities, the scold whose husband found relief in shipping her to "Virginny", and the unlucky lad who was banished by a "hardhearted judge" and "sold for a slave in Virginia". Except for the ballad of "The Four Indian Kings" suggested by the well-known visit of the Iroquois chiefs to Queen Anne, the dramatic possibilities of the French and Indian Wars apparently were not much appreciated until the struggle was nearly over, when the death of Wolfe in the supreme moment of victory at last stirred the popular imagination, calling forth five of the ballads here printed, all from the editor's own collection.

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XVII. *Transactions*, 1913-1914. (Boston, the Society, 1915, pp. xi, 458.) No volumes of transactions of any American historical society, perhaps no volumes of any historical society in the world, are better edited than those of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. They reflect the greatest credit upon the work of Mr. Albert Matthews as editor. One always finds the statements of the texts accompanied by every needed reference or other annotation; the index is singularly complete; and all matters of form are regulated with much nicety and good taste. In respect to the substance of these *Transactions*, one has to remember that the field of Massachusetts history prior to 1775 is already the best-raked field in American history. It is therefore refreshing to come upon such a paper as that of Professor Turner, now president of the society, an inquiry into the First Official Frontier of the Massachusetts Bay, made from the point of view of a constant student of the "Significance of the Frontier", and marked everywhere by penetrating insight into frontier conditions. The paper studies the official definitions and regulations of the frontier, especially about the close of the seventeenth century, the relation of military defense and extension of settlement, the sequence of frontier types, the progressive expansion of the settled area and advance of its boundary, the economic and political resemblances to the subsequent evolution of the West.

Of some 400 pages of text in the volume, one hundred is occupied with Mr. Matthews's Notes on the Massachusetts Royal Commissions, 1681-1775, illuminating with minute and accurate detail the history of each of the documents presented in the society's recent volume of commissions. Another hundred pages consists of Mr. Matthews's discussion of the Term Pilgrim Fathers and Early Celebrations of Forefathers' Day. In this paper, by patient and careful study of a multitude of

passages from writings and newspapers of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, especially of accounts of the celebrations, Mr. Matthews furnishes the reader with much exact information regarding the origin of the term Pilgrim Fathers, a term apparently unknown till near the close of the eighteenth century, regarding the history of the term, its propriety and meaning, and regarding the reasons for the distinction commonly drawn between Pilgrim and Puritan. In this last field the need of exact data has been great; assertions of various sorts have habitually been made with the utmost positiveness, for which there is no sufficient foundation.

Among the other contents of the volume may be noted a text, supplied by Mr. W. C. Ford, of the diary kept by Washington from May 1 to July 31, 1786; a paper by Mr. Matthews on French at Harvard College before 1750; and a statement by Mr. Andrew M. Davis concerning the history of the state's edition of the *Acts and Resolves of the Province of Massachusetts Bay*.

George Washington, Farmer: being an Account of his Home Life and Agricultural Activities. By Paul Leland Haworth. (Indianapolis, the Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1915, pp. 336.) Mr. Haworth has written a readable book on his subject, and it is frankly intended to be readable rather than a guide to the agriculture of Mount Vernon. Items from Washington's account-books, extracts from his correspondence, and opinions drawn from contemporary visitors give a firm foundation to the chapters on farming; to which is added not a little decoration obtained from tradition and gossip, the quality not always of the best. Mr. Haworth claims that Washington was "one of the first experimental agriculturalists, always alert for better methods, willing to take any amount of pains to find the best fertilizer, the best way to avoid plant diseases, the best methods of cultivation". He begins by showing how Washington obtained his vast land holdings and in ten chapters considers him as a student of agriculture, as a man anxious to improve the soil and produce, an anxiety sharpened by necessity, a master of overseers and slaves, and a proprietor of an estate intended to contain within itself the elegancies, conveniences, and economic independence which tradition gave to an English estate, but much modified by Virginian conditions and long periods of absentee management. Mr. Haworth believes that Washington was a successful farmer, but he judges more by the home or Mount Vernon estate than by the returns from the entire property, and the occasional figures given are not convincing, in face of the opinions of trained English farmers and Washington's regular note of complaint of not being able to make good his expenditures. There is room for a careful study of plantation economy in Virginia for this period of change from tobacco to grain, and the Washington papers will be the best source of exact information. Mr. Haworth has prepared an interesting sketch of the situation,

but his book concerns Washington at Mount Vernon rather than Washington as a farmer.

G. U. E.

The United States Navy, from the Revolution to Date. By Francis J. Reynolds. (New York, P. F. Collier and Son, 1915, folio, pp. 144.) This book is a pictorial history of the American navy, and covers the period from 1775 until the present time. Its pictures illustrate every phase of naval activity. Many of them are reproductions of early prints found in the collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, U. S. Navy Department, Washington, D. C. Of recent pictures, many are from the copyrights of E. Muller, jr., and a few from the bureaus of the Navy Department in Washington and from the Naval Training Station at Newport. The selection embraces not only such usual subjects as naval portraits, naval vessels, and sea-fights, but also the less common ones of mines, hospital service, wireless telegraphy, wrecks, torpedoes, torpedo-boats, target practice, submarines, mines, aviation, coaling, and the naval academy. The choice of pictures is most excellent, and the reproductions are skillfully done.

Accompanying the pictures is a brief sketch of the navy, and an introduction by Rear-Admiral Austin M. Knight, president of the Naval War College. Touching upon the present war and the rivalry between the submarine and the battleship, Admiral Knight makes some exceedingly interesting comments. He is of the opinion that the spectacular successes of the submarine have greatly exaggerated its importance, and that the dreadnought, which he calls the "backbone of the fleet", is not likely to be superseded.

The Recognition Policy of the United States. By Julius Goebel, jr., Ph.D. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University, vol. LXVI., no. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1915, pp. 228.) This monograph undertakes the examination of two distinct problems: the first attempts a legal theory of recognition, the second traces the policy of the United States in the recognition of new states and governments. The recognition of belligerency finds no place in either part, having, the author thinks, "but slight relation to the main problem both for theoretical and historical reasons". This is by no means obvious, for it would seem that in the United States, at least, recognition of belligerency, and of insurgency also, is in fact closely related to the recognition of new states and governments. In the first chapter are set forth the successive stages through which the doctrine of legitimacy has passed: dynastic, monarchic, and the legitimacy of existing governments, to which may be added a fourth, the legitimacy of government resting upon some theory, as, *e. g.*, the consent of the governed. When the writer attempts a juristic basis for recognition he is not so easily followed. The

terminology of Jellinek is not easily turned into English, and without some background of *Das Recht des Modernen Staates* the author's endeavors to frame a theory will not be readily responded to. Yet he has a theory, and to that extent he makes a contribution. The origins of all states are formally illegal; the breach of law is healed "by virtue of the two great motive forces, the normative power of facts and the transference into political reality of abstract legal principles". Recognition is neither constitutive, as Bonfilis would have it, nor a mere formality, as Jellinek says, but something in between—not the admission into a society of states, as Huber maintains, nor an agreement, according to Triepel—but a "self-imposed obligation to regard as binding those processes which had gone on within the new state itself", *i. e.*, "by recognition the legal breach caused by the creation of the new state is formally healed". Some might say that this is a painful elaboration of the obvious.

Turning to the historical part we learn some new things: France's action in 1778 was not premature recognition; *de facto* recognition is not, as is generally thought, the result of a doctrine of non-intervention nor an outgrowth of the underlying principles of neutrality, but a development of the Jeffersonian principle of the right of revolution. That "the Spanish negotiations were of ultimate importance in the recognition of South America" (p. 142) is at least naïve, for it is the main thesis of Professor Paxson's well-known book, which although cited in the bibliography is not elsewhere referred to. Jackson's message of February 6, 1837, has, the writer thinks, "never been fully appreciated" (p. 163), but surely a good deal of attention has been paid to it since it was uttered. In many respects one wishes the writer had given fewer expressions of personal opinion and greater attention to the more or less normative force of facts.

J. S. R.

Voting in the Field: a Forgotten Chapter of the Civil War. By Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D. (Boston, privately printed, 1915, pp. 332.) This is an adequate study of an important phase of Civil War history. The subject is treated from every aspect, the constitutional question, the mechanics of the various systems, and politics, being the most important. It is one of the few monographs that treats the country as a whole, discussing identical questions arising in the Northern and Southern states. The material is definitive as far as it goes, and the gaps are recognized, and are such as can be filled in only by accidental discoveries. Especially commendable is the extensive use of judicial decisions. The body of the work consists of detailed studies of the several states, arranged in an order which the reviewer cannot understand. The summary chapters at the beginning and end are less satisfactory. Chapter III., entitled Small Union Majority, is somewhat misleading in classifying the Unionists of the Border as Republicans, but this classification is not

unsound for the purposes for which it is used. On the first line of page 161 "Republican" should be "Democratic".

The author calls attention to the fact that the soldier vote was smaller than might have been expected. It was largest proportionately in Iowa, and tended to be larger in the West than in the East. It determined very few elections, but among them was that abolishing slavery in Maryland, and one of considerable importance electing a chief justice in Wisconsin. Mr. Benton, who finds the period treated "very near" to him, uses language of some vigor in dealing with the Democratic opposition to granting the soldier the right to vote, but it is not stronger than the subject seems to demand. In justice to the Democratic masses, as opposed to their leaders, however, he might have pointed out that whenever the question came to popular vote, although the opposition vote was undoubtedly, as he says, almost, if not wholly, Democratic, it was never so large as the normal Democratic vote. Thousands of Democrats refused to follow the partizan tactics of their leaders on this, as on many other questions. On controverted points he is generally convincing, in fact he carried the reviewer at every point. The background is not always sure, but detracts little from the essential merit of the contribution.

CARL RUSSELL FISH.

Theodore Roosevelt: the Logic of his Career. By Charles G. Washburn. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, pp. 245.) We are told on the "jacket" of this volume that it is,

a book that stands alone as a fresh, graphic character study of piquant frankness. Written with a zest that recalls the style of the Ex-president himself, it will have a popular appeal such as few biographies possess, while the fresh light it throws on the Colonel's career will be a revelation to his closest followers.

As a matter of fact, ten minutes' reading will suffice to disprove every assertion in the foregoing statement. It is pure advertising cant. In the first place, the book is in no sense a biography, for it comprises only a thinly sketched outline of the subject's career, taking for granted in the reader a knowledge of all the actual events. In the second place, it is not a record of personal association, for beyond a paltry interchange of a few letters, it has nothing in the nature of a friend's reminiscences and cannot for an instant be compared to such a work as Riis's. Not only is there nothing that "will be a revelation to his closest followers," but there is nothing that the public does not already know abundantly. In the third place, the style recalls nothing so little as that of the Ex-President. It is so moderate and colorless as to make the contrast with the numerous quotations of full Rooseveltian pungency almost ludicrous. The only conceivable "popular appeal" to be found in the book, lies in the utterances of the Colonel there embedded, not in the text. Such fatuous advertising discredits the book and the firm that publishes it.

The author's true purpose seems to be to set forth the "logic" or, in other words, logical consistency of Mr. Roosevelt's career by means of marshalling his utterances upon public questions and showing their substantial soundness as well as their rectitude and honesty. Great attention is devoted to elucidating his favorable attitude toward capital and labor, and so far as possible toward the tariff, through quotations, mainly brief. "Preparedness" and the "Big Stick" are brought well to the front and the doctrine of the recall of judicial decisions is shown in its true light as harmless. If the book was not written to show the essential conservatism underlying Roosevelt's record and his fitness to deserve the confidence of all financially responsible elements, as well as those desirous of a vigorous foreign policy—in other words, to support his candidacy for the Republican nomination at this juncture—its appearance can only be described as an interesting coincidence. While the tone of the book is not wholly uncritical in places, it is plainly that of a firm believer in the true modesty and self-sacrifice of Mr. Roosevelt's career, and it certainly fails to suggest, even remotely, the more aggressive and combative features of his record.

T. C. SMITH.

The Tin-Plate Industry: a Comparative Study of its Growth in the United States and in Wales. By D. E. Dunbar. [Hart, Schaffner, and Marx Prize Essays, vol. XX.] (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1915, pp. 133.) The origin of the tin-plate industry being coincident with the enactment of a protective duty on tin plate by the McKinley Act of 1890, the industry has been treated by protectionists in the United States as a classic example of what the protective tariff can accomplish by way of planting an entirely new industry which, starting with nothing, has in the short space of two decades grown to the extent of meeting the entire domestic demand for its product and is now competing for the world markets with its once formidable Welsh rival.

The author's viewpoint is frankly anti-protectionist. His conclusions, however, are not based on dogmatic argumentation, but on a thorough presentation of facts, giving the reader abundant opportunity to form his own judgment of the causes of the phenomenal success of our tin-plate industry.

A sketch of the origin and growth of tin-plate making takes us back to the seventeenth century and describes each step in the technical process as practised in Europe and particularly in Wales, which enjoyed practically a monopoly of tin-plate making until the leadership was wrested from it by the United States. Chapter II. reviews the growth of the industry throughout the world since 1890 and is replete with statistical data showing production, number of workers employed, exports, imports, etc. This is followed by a review of the technical development during that period as influenced particularly by the improve-

ments in machinery and methods of production introduced in the United States.

In the chapter (IV.) on Labor we are shown how in the face of increased tariff rates wages of various grades of labor have either barely held their own or but slightly advanced, while improvements in machinery were greatly reducing the labor cost. The next chapter shows how, with the aid of the tariff, combinations, followed by complete monopolistic control through the consolidation of all the plants in the industry in the American Tin Plate Company, resulted in the piling up of enormous profits on a fourfold overcapitalized industry. The complete elimination of the once powerful labor union as a factor in the determination of terms of employment followed the absorption of the American Tin Plate Company by the United States Steel Corporation.

In contrast with that, the author shows how under free trade the industry in Wales, first staggering under the blow of the loss of the American market, has regained its former prosperity under competitive conditions, with labor continuing a strong factor in the industry and increasing its wages from 25 to 33 per cent.

The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of the American tariff and throws much light on many mooted questions in economics. It should equally appeal to the student of labor problems, to the student of economic history, and to those interested in questions of industrial efficiency.

N. I. STONE.

The County Archives of the State of Illinois. By Theodore Calvin Pease. [Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, vol. XII., Bibliographical Series, vol. II.] (Springfield, Ill., Illinois State Historical Library, 1915, pp. xiv, 730.) The present work is the result of the efforts of several workers employed by the Illinois Historical Survey scattered over a period of four years, and the one in whose name it is put out explains that his relation to it has been in large measure that of editor of material supplied him by others. The volume consists of a somewhat exhaustive report upon the archives of the 102 counties of Illinois, together with the general conclusions deduced from the detailed collection of data thus set forth. The investigation was undertaken for the twofold purpose of compiling "a detailed account of the materials of interest to the social scientist to be found in the various county court-houses", and of determining whether the conditions surrounding these records "are such as will insure their preservation". Both objects would seem to have been amply realized. As to the latter of the two, the investigation reveals that in Illinois in a large proportion of cases all too little is being done to secure the preservation of the county records. Of ninety-five court-houses, forty-one are "apparently fireproof"; ten are "doubtful"; and forty-four "make no pretense of

being fireproof". Remembering the fire which destroyed the records at Albany one can but wonder how many of the forty-one elect really deserve the somewhat dubious approval placed upon them by the editor.

The facts set forth in the volume shed a flood of light upon the archival situation with respect to local units of government in what may be regarded as a typical middle-western state, and the book constitutes an exceedingly useful reference work to all who are actively interested in the subject. One other consideration may be worth noting. The prosecution of state-directed historical study, supported by public taxation, is being pushed more vigorously in the group of middle-western states contiguous to Illinois than anywhere else in the country. The publication of the results of such practical investigations as the one under discussion affords the best justification for such public support. The ideal which animated the compilers of the present work stands at the opposite pole from that of the older "drum and trumpet" school of historians. In the broadest possible sense they have labored to make possible the writing of a history of that section of the "American people" resident in the state of Illinois.

Texas versus White: a Study in Legal History. By William Whatley Pierson, jr., Ph.D., Instructor in History, University of North Carolina. (Durham, N. C., the Seaman Printery, 1916, pp. 103.) This is one of the numerous theses for the degree of doctor of philosophy which are published as monographs upon topics of American history. Its merit consists in research in the public documents of Texas relating to the facts out of which arose the case of Texas against White (7 Wallace 500). The writer has collected material of value to students of Reconstruction and of the biographies of American lawyers. The quotations from the arguments of counsel are also useful since they are not contained in the official report. So also is the reference to their abridgment in 25 Texas (Supp.) reports (pp. 484-591), which is not generally known beyond that state. This was prepared by one of the counsel, George W. Paschal, and published shortly after the decision in a volume with a not too modest preface. Since Dr. Pierson is evidently not a lawyer, he should not be severely criticized for omitting any reference to the reports of the lawyers' co-operative edition of the reports of the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States, which contain in volume LXXIV. a shorter abstract of these arguments.

The discussion of the constitutional questions involved in the decision is by no means exhaustive nor original and in its present form might well have been omitted. The bibliography is very incomplete and consists mostly of secondary authorities. Neither McPherson's *History of the Rebellion* nor McPherson's *History of Reconstruction* is there mentioned although there is a reference to the former in the body of the essay. The book does not refer to Madison's report of 1799 which was presented to the legislature of Virginia (*Report of the Committee to*

which were referred the Communications of Various States relative to the Resolutions of the General Assembly of this State, concerning the Alien and Sedition Laws).

The citation for the resolutions themselves is to a recent compilation. There are many notable omissions of the titles of works that discuss the doctrine expounded in that memorable decision.

The American Year Book: a Record of Events and Progress, 1915. Edited by Francis G. Wickware, with Co-operation of a Supervisory Board representing National Learned Societies. (New York, Appleton, 1916, pp. xviii, 862.) This is the sixth issue of this valuable annual. It is prepared with the same intelligence and care as its predecessors, the staff of writers remains a competent one in spite of inevitable changes, and the forms of organization and arrangement remain nearly constant, in spite of the fact that the Great War, casting its shadow over the whole world, bulks large in the contents of many subdivisions and, rightly, gives them an abnormal composition. Thus, of the largest section, that on American history, by the editor of the volume, seven-eighths is taken up with the reactions of the European war in America. But this is American history in a special sense, and of the work of the other 124 contributors, nearly all is American history—political, diplomatic, administrative, legal, economic, financial, social, and intellectual. Papers on the history of other countries during the same year are well managed, and there is, in a section of twenty-two pages, an excellent survey of the European war by “a military officer with a record of naval service, who for professional reasons writes pseudonymously”. Social, economic, and industrial problems are treated with a wide variety of detail, and with a fair supply of statistics. In sum, the manual is excellently adapted to its purpose and full of value for the student of the year. The accounts of the progress of the sciences and of literary development, though they fill some 160 pages of the book, seem to contain nothing respecting the historical writings of the year.

COMMUNICATION

TO THE MANAGING EDITOR OF THE *American Historical Review*:

Dear Sir:

MR. MOONEY'S notice of my book entitled *The Fighting Cheyennes* contains certain errors of statement which perhaps should be set right.

For example, he says, "In 1837 matched against Indians, they were completely routed by the Kiowas, a smaller tribe, with the loss of every man of their best warrior company". Mr. Mooney does not say that the "48 men" of this warrior company were the only Cheyennes in this fight and that they were surrounded by the whole Kiowa tribe and killed to a man. To term this a rout of the Cheyennes by the Kiowas seems inexact. The testimony of old-time white Indian fighters seems conclusive that of all the Indians of the plains, the Cheyennes were the bravest and the best fighters, from the white man's point of view.

He speaks of the Forsyth fight, where Colonel Forsyth, with fifty-odd plainsmen, "fighting on foot in the open", held off some five hundred picked warriors. Just what is meant by "in the open" is uncertain. The scouts, with repeating arms, fought behind breastworks, while the Indians—three-fourths of whom were armed with bows and arrows—fought on the bare prairie, without any cover.

Mr. Mooney's choice of the named *Record of Engagements* to support his views is not happy; for that pamphlet contains many errors.

The account of the arrival of the Cheyennes at the Medicine Lodge Treaty (1867) is criticized, yet their coming was late. The account given by Senator Henderson, and his statement that he thought "we were in peril" will amuse anyone acquainted with the old-time customs of plains Indians. Neither Senator Henderson nor the reviewer of the book seems to have been aware that in those days a charge such as is here described—Indians yelling and firing their guns—was a sign of friendship. Not less odd is the statement that every man had a belt of cartridges around his waist, and a small bunch fastened at his wrist. In the year 1867 not twenty-five per cent. of these Indians possessed guns, and of these guns not one per cent.—perhaps not one-half of one per cent.—was other than a muzzle-loader. Practically none were breachloaders using metal cartridges. Obviously the practice of carrying cartridges in a belt around the waist arose only after fixed ammunition came into use, and it is perfectly certain that when the senator—or anyone else—gave a description of this kind, he was unconsciously drawing on his imagination and talking about conditions as they prevailed among the white men a few years later.

The book under review states that the 7th Cavalry was present as an

escort, and this is true notwithstanding Mr. Mooney's statement that it was the 7th Infantry.

There are mistakes enough in the book under discussion, but its critics do not seem yet to have found them.

GEO. BIRD GRINNELL.

HISTORICAL NEWS

From June 18 to September 17, the address of the managing editor of this journal will be "North Edgecomb, Maine". Telegrams and express parcels should be addressed "Wiscasset, Maine".

We venture to mention once more that the *Index* to volumes XI.-XX. of this journal (1905-1915) has been published, in a volume of 219 pages. It has been prepared with great care and fulness, and we should suppose it to be indispensable to all who make serious use of the volumes named. Paper-bound copies of this or of the preceding *Index* (to vols. I.-X.) may be obtained from the publishers, the Macmillan Company, 66 Fifth Avenue, New York, at the price of \$1.25; copies bound in black half-morocco, uniform with the regular bindings of the *Review*, may be had for \$1.75.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

Changes of address, whether permanent or temporary, for the sending of this journal to members of the American Historical Association should be sent to the secretary of the Association, 1140 Woodward Building, and not to the publishers.

The Report of the Committee of Nire, together with the action taken thereon by the Association at the last annual meeting, has been sent out in print to all members of the Association.

The Winsor prize essay for 1914, Miss Williams's *Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915*, has been published. The Adams prize essay for 1915, Dr. Pease's *The Leveller Movement*, will be published late in the autumn.

Members of the Association are reminded of the advantage which may accrue to its treasury from a large increase of subscriptions to the *History Teacher's Magazine*, quite apart from the individual advantage coming to them from the receipt of that excellent journal.

PERSONAL

Dr. James B. Angel, president of the University of Michigan from 1871 to 1909, died on April 1, at the age of eighty-seven. He was president of the American Historical Association from 1891 to 1893, presiding at the Chicago meeting in July, 1893, and delivering an address on the Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians. His eminence in the field of education is universally known. He was United States minister to China from 1880 to 1881 and to Turkey from 1897 to 1898.

His personal qualities were such that probably no man in the United States was regarded with so much affection by so many educated men.

Godefroid Kurth, professor of medieval history in the university of Liège and later director of the Belgian Historical Institute in Rome, died at Assche, Belgium, on January 4, 1916, aged sixty-eight years. He was the founder and editor of the *Archives Belges*, editor of volumes of documents, and member of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission and of the Belgian Royal Academy. His works included *Les Origines de la Civilisation Moderne* (1886), *La Frontière Linguistique en Belgique* (1896, 1898), *Histoire Poétique des Mérovingiens* (1893), *Clovis* (1896), and *La Cité de Liège au Moyen Age* (1909).

Maxime Kovalevsky, professor of public law in the University of Petrograd, died on April 5, 1916, aged sixty-five years. He was professor of public law in the University of Moscow from 1877 to 1887 when he was dismissed for political reasons and went to reside in western Europe, mainly in Paris, until the revolution of 1905-1906 made possible his acceptance of the chair in the University of Petrograd. His extensive researches in the history of institutions have borne fruit in volumes relating to the subject in nearly every country of Europe. Among his more important publications have been *Law and Custom in the Caucasus* (Russian, Moscow, 1890, 2 vols.); *Tableau des Origines et de l'Évolution de la Famille et de la Propriété* (French, Stockholm, 1890); *Modern Customs and Ancient Law in Russia* (London, 1891); *Origins of Contemporary Democracy* (Russian, Moscow, 1895 ff., 3 vols.); *Political Institutions of Russia* (Chicago, 1902); *Economic Development of Europe to the Beginning of Capitalism* (Russian, German translation, Berlin, 1901-1909, 4 vols.); and *La France Économique et Sociale à la Veille de la Révolution* (Paris, 1905-1909, 2 vols.).

Alfred Dove, professor emeritus of history in the University of Freiburg in Breisgau, died January 21, aged seventy-one years.

Professor William M. Sloane, Seth Low professor of history in Columbia University, retired from active service at the end of the academic year just concluded.

At Harvard University Dr. Charles H. McIlwain has been promoted to a professorship of history and government; Dr. Robert H. Lord to an assistant professorship of history. Dr. Edward E. Curtis has been appointed assistant professor of American history and government at Wellesley College; Dr. Clarence H. Haring of Bryn Mawr, assistant professor of history at Yale. Dr. Charles D. Hazen, formerly a professor in Smith College, has accepted an election as professor of European history in Columbia University. Mr. Seward P. Fox has been appointed assistant professor of history in New York University; Dr. Theodore H. Jack, now at Southern University, Greensborough, Alabama, profes-

sor of history in Emory University, Atlanta. Dr. W. L. Schurz has been given the position of assistant professor of Spanish-American history and institutions in the University of Michigan; Mr. J. D. Hill to that of assistant professor of history in Hamline University. Marcus W. Jernegan, of the University of Chicago, has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of history; Dr. Eugene H. Bryan, instructor in history in the University of Wisconsin, to that of assistant professor; Dr. Charles W. Ramsdell, of the University of Texas, to that of associate professor of American history; Dr. Frank B. Marsh, of the same university, to that of adjunct professor of ancient history; Robert J. Kerner to that of assistant professor of history in the University of Missouri.

Dr. Thomas M. Marshall, who during the present year has been teaching in Stanford University, has been appointed associate professor of history in the University of Idaho.

In the programmes of the summer sessions of the various universities the following extramural appointments are to be noted: Professor Frank A. Golder, of the State College of Washington, will teach at Boston University; Professors Carl Becker of Kansas (hereafter of Minnesota) and Edward B. Krehbiel of Stanford, R. V. D. Magoffin of Johns Hopkins and R. W. Rogers of Drew Theological Seminary, at Columbia University; Professor Bernadotte Schmitt, at New York University; Dr. James Sullivan, at Cornell; Dr. Daniel E. Knowlton, at Rutgers College; Professor W. S. Myers of Princeton, at the Johns Hopkins University; Professors J. M. McConnell of Davidson College and Walter Hufschmidt of Goldsborough, at the University of Virginia; Professors W. K. Brown of Trinity (N. C.), Eugene Fair of Kirksville, F. M. Fling of Nebraska and George Petrie of the Alabama Polytechnic Institution, at the George Peabody College in Nashville; Professor Thomas M. Marshall, now at the University of Idaho, at the University of Texas; Professor W. Westermann of Wisconsin, at the University of Michigan; Professor L. M. Larson of Illinois, at the University of Wisconsin; Professors M. Anderson of Dartmouth and W. T. Laprade of Trinity (N. C.) at the University of Illinois; Professor E. C. Barker of Texas, at the University of Minnesota; Professor Frank H. Hodder of Kansas, at the University of Colorado; Professors Isaac J. Cox of Cincinnati, R. B. Hill of New Mexico, and Morris Jastrow of Pennsylvania, at the University of California.

Professor W. S. Robertson of the University of Illinois will be absent on leave during the year 1916-1917, and expects to spend most of his time in South America.

GENERAL

At a meeting held in New York on May 13, convened by Professor R. M. McElroy of Princeton, persons representing graduate instruction

in history and political science in various universities resolved upon an effort to establish in Washington a house of residence for graduate students coming from time to time from various universities to Washington for temporary use of the great resources which the national capital presents for work in the studies named and in allied fields. A committee was appointed to perfect plans and it is expected that a beginning may be made next winter, with possibilities of ultimate expansion into an institution of wider value to advanced historical and political instruction throughout the country.

The contents of the April number of the *History Teacher's Magazine* include the following papers: Present Tendencies in Teaching Freshman History, by Professor A. B. Show; Changing Conceptions in History, by Professor D. C. Munro; an extended discussion, by Professor H. W. Caldwell, of the subject "How Teach the History of the West in American History"; and Mutual Opinions of North and South, 1851-1854, Contemporary Documents, contributed by Professor A. H. Sanford. In the May number are found: Some Relations between Archaeology and History, by Professor Ida C. Thallon of Vassar College; Increasing the Functional Value of History by the Use of the Problem Method of Presentation, by W. P. Webb; and the European Background for the High School Course in American History, by Professor I. J. Cox. The June number contains the following articles: the History of the Far East, a Neglected Field, by Professor K. S. Latourette; the Purchase of Louisiana, by Professor F. H. Hodder; and the groups of papers presented in connection with the conferences at Berkeley in July, 1915, and at Washington in December, 1915, upon the Definition of the Field of Secondary School History. The papers read at the Berkeley meeting, here printed, are by Professor G. L. Burr, Crystal Harford, E. J. Berlinger, and J. R. Sutton; those read at the Washington conference are by Professors H. D. Foster, H. E. Bourne, and E. M. Violette, Miss Margaret McGill, and Dr. James Sullivan.

Attention should be called to the *Subject Index to Periodicals* which the *Athenacum* of London is issuing at the request of the Council of the Library Association of the United Kingdom. The plan embraces some 400 periodicals, mostly English. The entire volume for 1915, comprising about 10,000 entries, has already been published.

Four Lectures on the Handling of Historical Material, by Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, is soon to appear from the press of Messrs. Longmans.

Professor Edward B. Krehbiel of Leland Stanford University is about to publish, through the Macmillan Company, a volume entitled *Nationalism, War, and Society*, being a study of nationalism, and its concomitant, war, in their relation to civilization, and of the fundamentals and the progress of the opposition to war.

Professors Albert Kocourek and John H. Wigmore of the Law School of Northwestern University have published, under the title *Evolution of Law: Select Readings on the Origin and Development of Legal Institutions* (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, two vols., pp. xii, 704, xvii, 702). Of these, the first contains (a) passages out of early writings, from the Iliad to Njals Saga, relating to ancient and primitive law and institutions; (b) chapters of modern observations of retarded peoples, from sociologists and travellers; (c) translations of ancient and primitive laws and codes and records of legal transactions. The second volume consists of extracts, sometimes whole chapters, on primitive and ancient institutions from the authoritative works of twenty modern scholars.

The thirty-sixth volume of the *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* contains in the "Romanistische Abteilung", in addition to 60 pages of letters from Savigny to Georg Arnold Heise, the following articles: E. Levy, "Zur Lehre von den sog. Actiones Arbitrarie"; E. Weiss, "Zwei Bittschriften aus Lydien", relating to agricultural workers in the first century; A. Berger, "Miscellen aus der Interdiktenlehre"; P. Jörs, "Erzrichter und Chrematisten, zum Mahn- und Vollstreckungsverfahren im Griechisch-Römischen Aegypten"; E. Rabel, "*Δίκη ἐξούλης* und Verwandtes"; and H. Fitting, "Eine Summa Institutionum des Irnerius". The contents of the "Kanonistische Abteilung" include: A. Werminghoff, "Die Deutschen Reichskriegssteuergesetze von 1422-1427 und die Deutsche Kirche: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Vorreformatorischen Deutschen Staatskirchenrechtes"; J. Dorn, "Der Ursprung der Pfarreien und die Anfänge des Pfarrwahlrechts in Mittelalterlichen Köln: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pfarrsystems in den Deutschen Bischofsstädten"; R. Schäfer, "Die Geltung des Kanonistischen Rechts in der Evangelischen Kirche Deutschlands von Luther bis zur Gegenwart"; and G. Schreiber, "Kirchliches Abgabewesen an Französischen Eigenkirchen aus Anlass von Ordalien (Oblationes Campionum, Oblationes Pugilum, Oblationes Bellorum, Oblationes Judiciorum), zugleich ein Beitrag zur Gregorianisch-Kluniazensischen Reform und zur Geschichte und Liturgik der Traditionsnotizen". The articles in the "Germanistische Abteilung" are: A. Dopsch, "Westgotisches Recht im Capitulare de Villis"; W. von Brünneck, "Zur Geschichte der Gerichtsverfassung Elbings"; F. Matthäus, "Die Gesetzliche Verwandtenerbfolge des älteren Schwedischen Rechts"; A. Werminghoff, "Zum Fünften Kapitel der Goldenen Bulle von 1356"; H. von Voltolini, "Königsbannleihe und Blutbannleihe"; and M. Krammer, "Die Ursprüngliche Gestalt und Bedeutung der Titel De Filtorto und De Vestigio Minando des Salischen Gesetzes".

The April issue of the *Harvard Law Review*, a commemorative number in honor of the seventy-fifth birthday of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, among other worthy contributions contains "Cosmopolitan Cus-

tom and International Law", by Sir Frederick Pollock, and "Montesquieu and Sociological Jurisprudence", by Professor Eugen Ehrlich of Czernowitz.

Recent issues in the series *Les Saints* are U. Beaufreton, *Sainte Claire d'Assise, 1194-1253* (Paris, Lecoivre, 1916, pp. 204); and Demimuid, *Saint Jean de la Croix, 1542-1591* (*ibid.*, pp. viii, 210).

A welcome addition to the history of science is Professor George A. Miller's *Historical Introduction to Mathematical Literature*, published by Messrs. Macmillan.

Professor Harold N. Fowler of Western Reserve University has prepared, and the Macmillan Company has published, *A History of Sculpture*, presenting a history of that art from its beginnings in Egypt and Babylonia to the present day, with many illustrations.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Viscount Bryce, *Religion as a Factor in the History of Empires* (Journal of Roman Studies, V. 1).

ANCIENT HISTORY

General review: G. Glotz, *Histoire Grecque, 1911-1914*, III. (Revue Historique, May).

The Egypt Exploration Fund has published the eleventh part of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (1915), edited with translations and notes by B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt. The third number of K. Sethe's *Hieroglyphische Urkunden der Griechisch-Römischen Zeit* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1916) contains historical and biographical materials from the reigns of Ptolemy Soter and Ptolemy Epiphanes. A. Stein has published *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens unter Römischer Herrschaft* (Stuttgart, Metzler, 1915). The five parts hitherto issued of Dr. W. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur Altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915), promise a work rich in illustrative materials.

The Macmillan Company publishes *The Archaeology of the Holy Land*, by Mr. P. S. P. Handcock, formerly assistant in the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum. The author concerns himself little with the mere record of excavations but deals rather with questions of interpretation and with the reconstruction of ancient civilization in Palestine from the earliest recorded times.

Two important essays in Greek history have been published by Paul Cloché: *La Restauration Démocratique à Athènes en 403 av. J.-C.* and *Étude Chronologique sur la Troisième Guerre Sacrée, 356-346 av. J.-C.* (Paris, Leroux, 1916). There is also a recent volume of *Studi di Storia Macedonica sino a Filippo* (Pisa, tip. Toscana, 1915).

Among the volumes of the *Loeb Classical Library* which it is intended to issue during 1916, the following are historical: volumes IV. and V. of Dio Cassius, volume IV. of Plutarch, Procopius, Strabo, and Xenophon.

La Violence en Droit Criminel Romain (Paris, Plon, 1915, pp. 361, reviewed by J. Toutain, *Revue Historique*, May) is a useful contribution to the history of Roman law by a young Rumanian scholar, J. Coroi.

Mr. E. S. Bouchier, in *Syria as a Roman Province* (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. 312), has studied with care both the political and the social history of the region.

F. Vollmer has collected from the *Corpus* and its supplements, and from newer sources, the *Inscriptiones Savariae Romanae sive Inscriptiones Provinciae Raetiae, adiectis aliquot Noricis Italicisque* (Munich, Franz, 1915, pp. vii, 253).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Schwenzner, *Zum Altbabylonischen Wirtschaftsleben, Studien über Wirtschaftsbetrieb, Preise, Darlehen, und Agrarverhältnisse* (Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, XIX. 3); A. Brinkmann, *Die Olympische Chronik* (Rheinisches Museum, LXX. 4); F. Hornstein, *Komposition und Herausgabe der Xenophontischen Memorabilien* (Wiener Studien, XXXVI., XXXVII. 1); L. Homo, *Flaminius et la Politique Romaine en Grèce, 198-194 av. J.-C.* (*Revue Historique*, March, May); M. L. Strack, *Kleopatra* (*Historische Zeitschrift*, CXV. 3); W. Otto, *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit* (*Hermes*, LI. 1); K. Eihlmeyer, *Die "Syrischen" Kaiser: Karakalla, Elagabal, Severus Alexander, und das Christentum*, IV., concl. (*Theologische Quartalschrift*, XCVII. 3); Ida C. Thallon, *The Roman Fort at Ambleside* (*Art and Archaeology*, April).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

General review: H. Windisch, *Leben und Lehre Jesu* (*Theologische Rundschau*, XIX. 1).

The new life of *Jesus* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1916), by Professor Paul Wernle of Basel, combines scholarship with a readable style.

Professor A. von Harnack has issued a third, revised and enlarged edition of *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1915).

Monsignor U. Benigni has issued the second part of the second volume of his *Storia Sociale della Chiesa* (Milan, Vallardi, 1915, pp. vii, 413), which concludes the narrative to the close of the western empire.

Father Mesnage, who is already known for his writings on Roman Africa, has published *Le Christianisme en Afrique* (Paris, 1915). The

first volume deals with the origin, development, and extension of the Church in Africa; the second, with the decline and extinction; and the third, with the Church in the Mohammedan times.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: K. Beth, *Gibt es Buddhistische Einflüsse in den Kanonischen Evangelien?* (Theologische Studien und Kritiken, March); A. von Harnack, *Die Ausgabe der Griechischen Kirchenväter der drei ersten Jahrhunderte: Bericht über die Tätigkeit der Kommission, 1891-1915* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1916, VI.); E. Sachau, *Die Chronik von Arbela: ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis des ältesten Christentums im Orient* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, VI., pp. 94); P. Corssen, *Das Martyrium des Bischofs Cypricus*, III., IV. (Zeitschrift für die Neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, XL. 1, 3).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

After dealing in his first two volumes with the period of antiquity, Pierre Duhem has discussed the medieval period in the third volume of his *Le Système du Monde. Histoire des Doctrines Cosmologiques de Platon à Copernic* (Paris, Hermann, 1915, pp. 539, reviewed by A. Fliche, *Revue Historique*, May). The extensive researches of the author have enabled him to present a wealth of new and valuable data.

Sir Thomas Graham Jackson has in *Byzantine and Romanesque Architecture* (Cambridge University Press) given an account of the spread of post-Roman architecture throughout Europe from the fourth to the twelfth century. The text is illuminated by 165 plates and 148 other illustrations.

Three small collections of canons, antedating Gratian, are edited by P. Fournier in *Un Groupe de Recueils Canoniques Italiens des X^e et XI^e Siècles* (Paris, Imp. Nationale, 1915, pp. 123), published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (vol. XL.).

H. Schrörs, in his *Untersuchungen zu dem Streite Kaiser Friedrichs I. mit Papst Hadrian IV., 1157-1158* (Berlin, Springer, 1916), deals with the relations between Barbarossa and the only English pope.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Kern, *Ueber die Mittelalterliche Anschauung vom Recht* (Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 3); R. Eberstadt, *Das Aufsteigen des Handwerkerstandes im Mittelalter* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XXIX. 4); J. B. Säg Müller, *Die Papstwahl durch das Kardinalkolleg als Prototyp der Bischofswahl durch das Domkapitel* (Theologische Quartalschrift, XCVII. 3); A. Mathis, *Il Pontefice Benedetto IX., Appunti Critici di Storia Medioevale* (Civiltà Cattolica, December 4, February 5, March 4); G. Schütte, *Die Quellen der Ptolemäischen Karten von Nordeuropa* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Deutschen Sprache und Literatur, XLI. 1).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

P. F. Alexander has reprinted original narratives of the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hudson, and Barents in *The North-west and North-east Passages, 1576-1611* (Cambridge: University Press, 1915, pp. xix, 211).

The Macmillan Company will publish during the summer a volume on *Economic and Social Europe, 1750-1915*, by Professor Frederic A. Ogg of the University of Wisconsin.

E. Pacheco y de Leyva has published, under the auspices of the Spanish school in Rome, *El Conclave de 1774 a 1775, Acción de las Cortes Católicas en la Supresión de la Compañía de Jesús, según Documentos Españoles* (Madrid, Imp. Clásica, 1915, pp. ccxxvii, 577).

The *Histoire Politique et Sociale. Évolution du Monde Moderne, 1815-1915*, by Driault and Monod, has been brought down to date in a sixth edition (Paris, Alcan, 1916).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Gentile, *Il Concetto dell' Uomo nel Rinascimento* (Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana, LXVII. 1); G. Monod, *La Réforme Catholique au XIV^e Siècle* (Revue Historique, March); J. Mathorez, *La Pénétration des Allemands en France sous l'Ancien Régime* (Revue des Études Historiques, January); Politicus, *The Teachings of the Napoleonic War* (Fortnightly Review, 1916); J. Kühn, *Bismarck und der Bonapartismus im Winter 1870-1871* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); D. C. Gilman, *Letters from Russia during the Crimean War* (Yale Review, April); G. T. Warner, *Two Great Blockades: their Aims and Effects* (Blackwood's Magazine, April).

THE GREAT WAR

M. Grolig, a Vienna librarian, has started the publication of an *Archiv für Geschichte und Literatur des Weltkrieges*, which will appear bi-monthly.

Publications to the end of 1915 are listed in *Catalogue: Publications sur la Guerre, 1914-1915* (Paris, Cercle de la Librairie, 1916). The *Revue Historique* has steadily rendered commendable service by brief but prompt reviews of the more important items of war literature of historical value appearing in French, and also to a less extent in other languages. The initials of Professors Bémont and Pfister are a guarantee of the character of most of these brief notices.

The *Süddeutsche Monatshefte* continues to devote its successive numbers to articles on special topics relating to the war, as indicated by the titles of the respective numbers: *Kriegsziele* (December), *Skandinavien* (January), *Ostjuden* (February), and *Kriegsgefangene* (March).

Documents to February 15, 1916, appear in the ninth volume of *Guerre de 1914: Documents Officiels, Textes Législatifs et Réglementaires* (Paris, Dalloz, 1916); and to August 31, 1915, in the second volume of *Législation de la Guerre de 1914-1915: Lois, Décrets, Arrêtés Ministériels, et Circulaires Ministérielles* (Paris, Tenin, 1915). Ardouin-Dumazet contributes a modicum of text to *La Guerre: Documents de la Section Photographique de l'Armée* (Ministère de la Guerre) which appears in bi-weekly parts of 24 plates each, published by Colin of Paris.

Additional documentary materials are collected in P. Fauchille, *La Guerre de 1914: Recueil de Documents intéressant le Droit International* (Paris, Pedone, 1916), of which the first volume contains 379 documents relating to both belligerents and neutrals; in C. Junker, *Dokumente zur Geschichte des Europäischen Krieges, 1914-1915, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung von Oesterreich-Ungarn und Deutschland* (Vienna, Perels, 1915, pp. viii, 304) of which the first volume relates to July, 1914; and in E. Buchner, *Kriegsdokumente: der Weltkrieg 1914 in der Darstellung der Zeitgenössischen Presse* (Munich, Langen, 1915), of which two parts have appeared.

The historian Guglielmo Ferrero has written *La Guerre Européenne* (Paris, Payot, 1916), dealing with the causes and motives. S. Pérez Triana, of Argentina, has presented some interesting observations in *Some Aspects of the War* (London, Unwin, 1915, pp. 225). From the German side the problems are further discussed by Paul Rohrbach in *Zum Weltvolk hindurch!* (Stuttgart, Engelhorn, 1915, pp. 103), containing articles written on the eve of the war; Hugo Preuss, *Das Deutsche Volk und die Politik* (Jena, Diederichs, 1915, pp. 199); Heinrich Gomperz, *Philosophie des Krieges in Umrissen* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915, pp. xvi, 252). From the pens of well-known Frenchmen come E. Hovelague, *Les Causes Profondes de la Guerre: Allemagne-Angleterre* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. viii, 120); J. Finot, *Civilisés contre Allemands, la Grande Croisade* (Paris, Flammarion, 1915); Ernest Leroux, *France et Allemagne, les Deux Cultures* (Paris, Leroux, 1915, pp. 47); and G. Blondel, *L'Épuisement de l'Allemagne et le Devoir Actuel de la France* (Paris, Tenin, 1915).

How Europe Armed for War, by J. T. Walton Newbold (London, Blackfriars Press, pp. 108) is a history of the armament of European powers.

A solid contribution to the European history preceding the late war is *Nationalism and War in the Near East*, by "a Diplomatist", edited by Lord Courtney of Penwith and published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. In addition to the narrative the volume contains many comments embodying the author's speculations as to the future and theories as to the effects of race and religion in the past.

The number of accounts of the early months of the war continues to increase. Among the more worthy ones belonging to this class are *In the Field*, by Marcel Dupont (Heinemann), and *The First Seven Divisions*, by Lord Ernest William Hamilton (Hurst and Blackett).

German memoirs and accounts of campaigns include O. Kerler, *Sieben Monate in den Vogesen, in Flandern, und in der Champagne* (Munich, Beck, 1916, pp. 139), composed of letters written up to his death in March, 1915; *Mit unseren Mörsern gegen West und Ost, aus dem Kriegstagebuch eines Bataillonskommandeurs* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. iv, 116); W. Feldmann, *Mit der Heeresgruppe des Prinzen Leopold von Bayern nach Weissrussland hinein, Kriegsberichte* (Munich, Beck, 1916, pp. 119); H. Schulz, *Zwischen Weichsel und Dniester* (Munich, Müller, 1915, pp. viii, 318), which is the first volume of *Der Oesterreichisch-Ungarische Krieg in Feldpostbriefen*; and R. Sommer, *Die Schwarze Garde, Kriegserlebnisse eines Freiwilligen: Automobilisten in Russland, 1914-1915* (Berlin, Mittler, 1916, pp. 178). A. Fraccaroli, *La Presa di Leopoli [Lemberg] e la Guerra Austro-Russa in Galizia* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. 292) may also be mentioned.

Consideration of the colonial problems related to the present war is the object of V. Valentin, *Kolonialgeschichte der Neuzeit* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915); Carl Peters, *Afrikanische Köpfe: Charakterskizzen aus der Neueren Geschichte Afrikas* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1915, pp. 268); and H. Hauser, *Le Problème Colonial* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915). Some chapters of the colonial phases of the war are recorded in Moore Ritchie, *With Botka in the Field* (London, Longmans, 1915, pp. xii, 68), and in *Der Heldenkampf unserer Kolonien, nach den Amtlichen Mitteilungen des Reichs-Kolonial-Amtes zusammengestellt* (Berlin, Boll and Pickardt, 1915), of which two parts have been published.

French reminiscences of war experiences, of varied sorts as the titles indicate, are appearing: C. Prieur, *De Dixmude à Nicuport: Journal de Campagne d'un Officier de Fusiliers Marins, Octobre 1914-Mai 1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); P. Lintier, *Avec une Batterie de 75, ma Pièce, Souvenirs d'un Cannonier, 1914* (Paris, Plon, 1916); *Lettres de Prêtres aux Armées* (Paris, Fayot, 1916) compiled by V. Bucaille; J. Variot, *La Croix des Carmes: Documents sur les Combattants du Bois le Prêtre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); Mgr. Tissier, bishop of Chalons, *La Guerre en Champagne au Diocèse de Chalons, Septembre 1914-Septembre 1915* (Paris, Téqui, 1916, pp. 498), containing records supplied by his clergy; L. Wastelier du Parc, *Souvenirs d'un Réfugié: Douai, Lille, Paris, Boulogne-sur-Mer, 1914-1915* (Paris, Perrin, 1916); J. Breton, *À l'Arrière: Souvenirs d'un Non-Combattant* (Paris, Delagrave, 1916); L. Blanchin, *Chez Eux: Souvenirs de Guerre et de Captivité* (ibid.).

Comte de Caix de Saint-Aymour has written a thorough account of *La Marche sur Paris de l'Aile Droite Allemande, 26 Août-4 Septembre*

1914 (Paris, Charles-Lavauzelle, 1916); and the Belgian minister Comte F. de Jehay has published an account of *L'Invasion du Grand-Duché de Luxembourg en Août 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

G. Crouvezier had to meet promptly the demand for a second and enlarged edition of *L'Aviation pendant la Guerre* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916).

The antecedents of the Italian participation in the war are discussed in G. A. Borgese, *Italia e Germania* (Milan, Treves, 1915, pp. xlv, 343); G. Bruccoli, *Da Conflitto Europeo alla Nostra Guerra, Diario di un Giornalista, Agosto 1914-Giugno 1915* (Rome, tip. ed. Italia, 1915, pp. 268); I. Reggio, *Storia della Grande Guerra d'Italia* (Milan, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1915, vols. I.-IV.); and J. Baisini, *Il Trentino dinanzi all' Europa* (Milan, Antonini, 1915, pp. xxviii, 431).

In *L'Opinion Italienne et l'Intervention de l'Italie dans la Guerre Actuelle* (Paris, Champion, 1916, pp. 105) Professor Gabriel Maugain of the University of Grenoble has endeavored to make a dispassionate historical study of the subject. He has used freely the newspapers and periodicals of Italy, France, and Germany, as well as other sources. After a few introductory pages he presents systematically the several arguments and motives of the *neutralisti*, and then enumerates the several classes of the population who were of that mind and the considerations affecting their respective attitudes. In turn similar methods are followed in studying the *interventisti* and their motives. The concluding chapter deals with the Salandra ministry and its handling of the crisis. Though perhaps neither complete nor conclusive, the volume is in both method and results one of more than momentary or partizan value.

Henri Hauvette, professor of Italian literature at the Sorbonne, has written the preface to a volume, *L'Italie et la Guerre d'après les Témoignages de ses Hommes d'État* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. xii, 144), composed of translations of six addresses delivered between June 2, 1915, and February 20, 1916, by Premier Salandra and his colleagues Sonnino, Barzilaï, and Orlando, and by the ambassador to France, Signor Tittoni. These addresses furnish a substantially official explanation of Italy's reasons for entering the war on the side of the allies, and of the problems which Italy faces in the conduct of the war.

Another account of the Turkish phase of the war is contained in *Les Compagnons de l'Aventure: Dardanelles, Égée, Salonique, Méditerranée* (Paris, Attinger, 1916) by André Tudesq.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: M. Hoschiller, *L'Union de l'Europe Centrale* (Revue de Paris, March 15, April 15); Otto, Graf Moltke, *Ueber die im Kriege wirksamen Kräfte* (Preussische Jahrbücher, February); G. Blanchon, *La Guerre qui se transforme sous nos Yeux* (Revue

des Deux Mondes, April 15); General Malletterre, *Les Opérations de la Guerre en 1914*, II., *De Charleroi à la Marne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); M. Genevoix, *Les Jours de la Marne* (Revue de Paris, April 15); J. Songy, *Le Champagne en Artois*, *Journal de Marche* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); A. Augustin-Thierry, *Onze Mois de Captivité en Allemagne, Souvenirs d'un Ambulancier* (*ibid.*, February 15, March 1); M. Markovitch, *Tableaux du Front Russe de Galicie, Décembre, 1915* (*ibid.*, March 1); G. Lacour-Gayet, *Deux Mois en Russie et dans les Pays Scandinaves* (Revue Hebdomadaire, April 1); B. Pares, *Au Jour le Jour avec l'Armée Russe* (Revue de Paris, March 15); Jeanne Antelme, *Avec l'Armée d'Orient: Notes d'une Infirmière à Moudros* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); H. G. Dwight, *The Campaign in Western Asia* (Yale Review, April); Contre-Amiral Degouy, *L'Efficacité du Canal de Kiel* (Revue de Paris, February 1); *ibid.*, *Le Nouveau Blocus* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15); P. Cloarec, *La Guerre sur Mer* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15); R. La Bruyère, *La Part de la Marine Marchande dans l'Oeuvre de Défense Nationale* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Historical Association has adopted as its organ the journal called *History*, has given it a new character, and with the number for April, 1916, has begun a "new series", under the editorship of Professor A. F. Pollard. In the contents of the new journal the teaching of history takes the foremost place. There are brief articles by Sir Charles Lucas on the teaching of imperial history, by Mr. Julian Corbett and Mr. H. W. Hodges on the teaching of naval history, and a controversial article on History and Science by Professor Pollard. There are reviews of books, notes, and news. The contents are of high quality and of practical value. Macmillan and Company are the publishers.

A series of articles contributed to *Social England* by Professors Maitland and Montague has been gathered together by Professor James F. Colby and published by Messrs. Putnam under the title *A Sketch of English Legal History*. The eight articles included give, in non-technical terms, views of the legal situation in England at eight periods in her history.

The Royal Historical Society has in preparation a fourth volume of the *Nicholas Papers*, and the *Estate Book of Henry of Bray, Harlestone, Northants, 1289-1340*.

Beatrice Adelaide Lee's *Alfred the Great, the Truth Teller: Maker of England, 848-899* (Putnam, pp. xv, 493) is a readable volume executed with much care.

The Chronicles of Thomas Sprout, a Benedictine chronicler of Canter-

bury in the later thirteenth century, by Walter Sage, constitutes the April number of the *Bulletin* of the departments of history and political science in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

John Wycliffe, John Wesley, and John Henry Newman form the subject of the studies by Dr. S. Parkes Cadman entitled *Three Religious Leaders of Oxford and their Movements* (Macmillan). Another religious leader is studied by Dr. Ezra S. Tipple in *Francis Asbury: the Prophet of the Long Road*, published by the Methodist Book Concern.

The Record Society of St. Patrick's College at Maynooth has published (Dublin, M. H. Gill, pp. 290) *The Flight of the Earls* (of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, in 1607), edited by Rev. Paul Walsh from the manuscript of the author, Tadlig O Cianáin, an eye-witness.

Professor P. Hume Brown has ably edited as vol. XI. of the second series of the Scottish History Society *Letters relating to Scotland in the Reign of Queen Anne*, by James Ogilvy, first earl of Seafield, and others. The majority of the letters were written by Lord Seafield, while chancellor of Scotland, to Godolphin, between the years 1702 and 1707.

Volumes III. and IV. of *Historical Portraits* (Oxford University Press) extend from George I. to Sir Ralph Abercromby, 1700-1800, and from Horatio Nelson to John Murray, 1800 to 1840. As in the earlier volumes there is an introduction by C. F. Bell.

The Historical Manuscripts Commission has published vol. IX. of the *Report on the Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue*, covering the years 1807 to 1809.

The Widowhood of Queen Victoria by Clare Jerrold (Nash) continues that author's popular account of the life of the queen, earlier volumes of which were *The Early Court of Queen Victoria* and *The Married Life of Queen Victoria*.

Volume IV. of Mr. G. E. Buckle's (Monypenny's) *Life of Disraeli*, extending to the year 1868, when he became prime minister, has recently appeared.

The Anarchy before the Outbreak is the title of the first volume of *A History of Britain during the Great War: a Study of a Democracy at War* (London, the Ridd Massom Company, 1915, pp. viii, 280). C. Castre has described *L'Angleterre et la Guerre* (Paris, Didier, 1915); A. Hettner has discussed *Englands Weltherrschaft und der Krieg* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1915, pp. v, 269), and several writers have contributed to *Das Englische Gesicht, England in Kultur, Wirtschaft, und Geschichte* (Berlin, Ullstein, 1915, pp. 251).

Volume V. of the *Historical Records of Australia*, Governor's Dispatches to and from England, extends from July, 1804, to August, 1806 (Sydney, Parliament, 1915, pp. 925).

British government publications: *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1704-1705, ed. Cecil Headlam.

Other documentary publications: *Walsall Records*, 1248-1364 (British Museum); *Year-Books of Edward II.*, vol. XI., 5 Edward II., 1311-1312, ed. W. C. Ballard (Selden Society); *Public Works, in Mediaeval Law*, vol. I. (Selden Society); *Records of the Worshipful Company of Carpenters*, III., *Court Book*, 1533-1573, ed. Bower Marsh (the Company).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. Brandl, *Zur Geographie der Altenglischen Dialekte* (Abhandlungen der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1915, IV., pp. 77); G. B. Adams, *The Origin of English Equity* (Columbia Law Review, February); A. W. Johnston, *Scottish Influence on Orkney* (Scottish Historical Review, April); Theodora Keith, *Municipal Elections in the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, II., *From the Union to the Passing of the Scottish Burgh Reform Bill in 1833* (Scottish Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

General reviews: L. Halphen, *Histoire de France, Époque Franque et des Capétiens Directs* (Revue Historique, March); H. Froidevaux, *Histoire Coloniale de la France depuis l'Époque de Napoléon I.* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, May).

M. Clerc has compiled an elaborate volume on *Aquae Sexiiae, Histoire d'Aix-en-Provence dans l'Antiquité* (Aix, Dragon, 1916, pp. vii, 576).

Recent contributions to French ecclesiastical biography are Scheler, *Sitten und Bildung der Französischen Geistlichkeit nach den Briefen Stephans von Tournai* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915), and H. Le Floch, *Claude François Poullart des Places, Fondateur du Séminaire et de la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit, 1679-1709* (new ed., Paris, Lethielleux, 1915, pp. xvi, 670). The Religieuses de Sainte-Marie de Fontevrault de Boulaur, now located at Vera in Navarre, are publishing a *Histoire de l'Ordre de Fontevrault, 1100-1908*, of which the third volume (Auch, Cocharaux, 1915, pp. xii, 360) is devoted to the three priories of Boulaur, Chemillé, and Brioude.

A. Dussert has published his thesis on *Les États de Dauphiné aux XIV^e et XV^e Siècles* (Grenoble, Allier, 1915, pp. xix, 371).

The French Renaissance, by Dr. Charles Sarolea, is a series of sketches of French personalities, both literary and historical.

The second volume of H. Bremond, *Histoire Littéraire du Sentiment Religieux en France* (Paris, Bloud and Gay, 1916), deals with *L'Invasion Mystique, 1590-1622*.

The opening phase of the present war suggested to M. Poëte a similar episode in the Thirty Years' War, which he has recounted in *Une Première Manifestation d'Union Sacrée, Paris devant la Menace Étrangère en 1636* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. viii, 355).

E. Oberbohren has contributed to the history of economic theory in France *Die Idee der Universalökonomie in der Französischen Wirtschaftswissenschaftlichen Literatur bis auf Turgot* (Jena, Fischer, 1915).

In Mr. Hilaire Belloc's *Last Days of the French Monarchy* (Chapman and Hall) is a vivid account of four episodes in the history of Louis XVI.'s last days.

Apparently Revolutionary personages are becoming favorite subjects for women biographers. The latest evidence is Käthe Hilt's thesis on *Camille Desmoulins: seine Politische Gesinnung und Parteistellung* (Berlin, Ebering, 1916).

Professor Albert Mathiez of the University of Besançon combines with thorough scholarship an intense belief in the Revolution. Both characteristics mark *La Victoire en l'An II.: Esquisses Historiques sur la Défense Nationale* (Paris, Alcan, 1916, pp. 286). The volume breathes a fervent nationalism and its vigorous and impassioned style declares its immediate patriotic intent. The presentation of facts reveals the scholar's wealth of information and keen insight into the forces of the great movement of national defense. The volume makes easily accessible for the first time a description of the military system of 1793. The royal army, the national guard, the volunteers, the levy of the 300,000, and finally the equitable democratic measure of the *levée en masse* are described. Then follow admirable accounts of Dubois-Crancé's famous amalgam and of the equipment and supply of the army. The political side is studied in chapters on the relations to the army of the Convention, of the Committee of Public Safety, and of the deputies on mission to the armies, and especially on the work of Carnot and on the spirit of the army. The author insists that the victory was popular and democratic in origin and achievement and not due to tyrannical authority exercised by the Great Committee. "La démocratie révolutionnaire", he concludes, "triompha du vieux monde parce qu'elle en était la négation".

The Third French Republic, by C. H. C. Wright, is published by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Twenty collaborators have produced a survey of *Un Demi-Siècle de Civilisation Française, 1870-1915* (Paris, Hachette, 1916), which will supplement Rambaud's well-known volumes, besides meeting a present popular demand.

A history of *L'État de Siège en France* (Paris, Jouve, 1915, pp. 137) is a Paris law thesis by J. Plémeur.

Magali-Boismard has described an unusual phase of the colonial portion of the present war in *L'Alerte au Désert: la Vie Saharienne pendant la Guerre, 1914-1916* (Paris, Perrin, 1916).

The present French phase of the problem of the conduct of war by a democracy is discussed in *Notre Parlementarisme et la Défense Nationale en 1914* (Paris, Figuière, 1914, pp. 360), by Lieutenant-Colonel Debon.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Krusch, *Die Neueste Wendung im Genovefa-Streit*, II. (Neues Archiv, XL. 2); E. Müller, *Beiträge zu Urkunden Ludwigs des Frommen* (ibid., XL. 2); G. Jean-Aubry, *Un Précurseur de l'Entente Cordiale, Scint-Evremond, 1616-1703* (Revue de Paris, April 15); C. Perroud, *La Société Française des Amis des Noirs* (La Révolution Française, March); G. Rouanet, *Danton et la Mort de Louis XVI. d'après Théodore Lametla* (Annales Révolutionnaires, January); A. Mathiez, *Les Arrêtés de Robespierre Jeune dans sa Mission de Franche-Comté* (ibid.); P. Gaffarel, *Second Proconsulat de Fréron à Marseille, 31 Octobre 1795-22 Mars 1796*, I. (La Révolution Française, March); P. Sagnac, *L'Organisation Française et la Réunion des Pays Rhénans, 1797-1802* (Revue des Études Napoléoniennes, March); A. Blanqui, *Souvenirs d'un Lycéen de 1814*, I. (Revue de Paris, April 15); F. Masson, *La Proscription des Napoléonides, Joseph aux États-Unis, 1815-1821* (ibid., March 15); H. Duval, *Documents pour servir à l'Histoire des Sociétés Populaires, 1830-1848* (La Révolution de 1848, January); A. Schäfer, *Louis Adolphe Thiers* (Sewanee Review, April); G. K. Anton, *Frankreichs Koloniale Entwicklung unter der Dritten Republik* (Internationale Monatsschrift, June 1, 1915).

ITALY, SPAIN, AND PORTUGAL

General review: C. Rinaudo, *Risorgimento Italiano* (Rivista Storica Italiana, April).

In the Heeren-Ukert-Lamprecht series, Dr. L. M. Hartmann has brought out the volume for the period of the Ottos in his *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter* (Gotha, Perthes, 1915).

E. Pandiani, *Vita Privata Genovese nel Rinascimento* (Genoa, Sambelino, 1915, pp. 411); A. De Pellegrini, *Genti d'Arme della Repubblica di Venezia, i Condottieri Porcia e Brugnero, 1495-1797* (Udine, Del Bianco, 1915, pp. 320), and P. Molmenti, *Sebastiano Veniero dopo la Battaglia di Lepanto* (Venice, Ferrari, 1915, pp. 157) are recent studies in the history of Venice and Genoa since the Renaissance.

F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, who gave a general account of *Le Corte di Lodovico il Moro* in his first volume, has in the second volume (Milan, Hoepli, 1915, pp. 646) given his attention entirely to the history of art. The extended study of the careers of Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci is supplemented by about 700 illustrations.

L. Rava has given an account of *Il Primo Parlamento Elettivo in Italia, il Parlamento della Repubblica Cispadana a Bologna, Aprile-Maggio 1797* (Bologna, Gamberini, 1915, pp. 68); and has told the sequel in *Le Prime Persecuzioni Austriache in Italia, i Deportati Politici Cisalpini del Dipartimento del Rubicone ai Lavori Forzati in Ungheria e alla Tombe di Sebenico, 1799-1800* (Bologna, Zanichelli, 1915, pp. 176). Similar to the latter is *I Martiri e i perseguitati Politici di Terra di Bari nel 1799* (Bari, Pansini, 1915, pp. viii, 585), by G. De Ninno.

The publication of *Il "Libro d'Oro" della Repubblica di San Marino* (Foligno, Campitelli) is announced for the near future. The work has been compiled chiefly by Professors O. Fattori and P. Franciosi and by the Marquis De Liveri di Valdausa. The volume will contain a general historical sketch, accounts of the several departments of government, lists of holders of important offices, sketches of prominent personages, etc.

Another history of *La Compagnia di Gesù in Sicilia, 1814-1914* (Palermo, Boccone, 1915, 2 vols., pp. xviii, 300; 304) while anonymous is apparently the work of a member of the order. A. Giangrande, in *Papa e Santa Sede nella Storia, nel Diritto, e nella Legge delle Guarentigie* (Rome, tip. ed. Romana, 1916, pp. 100), considers a question which is now much under discussion in Italy. C. Belleaigue has published a volume of notes and souvenirs on *Pie X. et Rome, 1903-1914* (Paris, Nouvelle Librairie Nationale, 1916). Father Antonio de Barcelona is the author of *El Cardenal Vives y Tuto, de la Orden de Frailes Menores Capuchinos* (Barcelona, Gili, 1916, pp. xvi, 515).

E. Fabbri, *Sei Anni e Due Mesi della mia Vita, Memorie e Documenti Inediti* (Rome, Bontempelli, 1915, pp. xii, 544), is edited by N. Trovanelli. A volume of the *Discorsi Parlamentari* of Giovanni Bovio (Rome, tip. della Camera dei Deputati, 1915, pp. 524) has been published.

General Burguete has investigated the first phase of the Christian reconquest of Spain in *Rectificaciones Históricas, de Guadalupe á Cordoba, y Primer Siglo de la Reconquista de Asturias, Ensayo de un Nuevo Método de Investigación e Instrumento de Comprobaciones para el Estudio de la Historia* (Madrid, Imp. Helénica, 1915, pp. 321).

At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Aragon seemed about to become a great Mediterranean power. One of the persons who extended Aragonese activities into Greece and the Levant was the prince whose career is recounted in *Contribució a la Biografia de l'Infant Ferràn de Mallorca* (Barcelona, Massó, 1915, pp. 102), by A. Rubió i Lluch, as a portion of volume VIII. of *Estudis Universitaris Catalans*.

H. E. Rohde has edited the posthumous work of Klüpfel on the *Verwaltungsgeschichte des Königreichs Aragon zu Ende des 13. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1915).

The first volume of *Contribució a la Historia dels Antics Gremis del Arts y Oficis de la Ciutat de Barcelona* (Barcelona, Rabra, 1915, pp. xxxii, 454), edited by M. González y Sugranés, deals with *Agallers, Apotecaris, Argenters*.

G. Maura y Gamazo has published the second volume of his *Carlos II. y su Corte* (Madrid, tip. de Archivos, 1915, pp. 659), which relates to the years 1669-1670.

The *Boletín* of the Centro de Estudios Americanistas at Seville, núm. 16, 17, 18, contains the beginnings of a series of articles by Señor Ramón de Manjarrés on the Spanish explorations of the Pacific in the eighteenth century, the first two concerning the discoveries of Easter Island, the third the voyages to Tahiti in 1772 and 1774, the latter described from the journal of the pilot Pantoja, preserved in the library of the University of Seville. Early Central American and West Indian maps are treated in continued articles by Professor Germán Latorre.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Fournier, *Bonizo de Sutri, Urbain II. et la Comtesse Mathilde d'après le Liber de Vita Christiana de Bonizo* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes, May, 1915); L. Chiama, *La Fuga di G. Garibaldi da Genova nel 1834, da un Giornale di Viaggio Inedito* (Nuova Antologia, March 16); I. Raulich, *Come d'Azeglio rifiutò la Missione al Congresso di Parigi* (ibid., February 16); P. S. Leicht, *I Confini della Venezia nella Storia del Diritto Italiano* (ibid., February 16); M. Rouff, *La Politique Intérieure de l'Italie et la Guerre* (Mercure de France, April 1); A. Jeanroy, *Les Troubadours en Espagne* (Annales du Midi, July, 1915); J. Klein, *The Alcalde Entregador of the Mesta* (Bulletin Hispanique, April, 1915); A. Morel-Fatio, *Le Révolutionnaire Espagnol Don Andrés Maria de Guzman, dit Don Tocsinos* (Revue Historique, May-June); F. Rousseau, *Les Sociétés Secrètes et la Révolution Espagnole en 1820* (Revue des Études Historiques, January).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Fränkische Studien, Kleine Beiträge zur Geschichte und Sage des Deutschen Altertums (Berlin, Ebering, 1915) embodies the results of various researches by Halbedel.

Among recent convenient handbooks of documents are *Die Römischen Krönungseide der Deutschen Kaiser* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1915, pp. ii, 51), edited by H. Günter; and the following numbers of *Voigtländers Quellenbücher* (Leipzig, Voigtländer): H. Preuss, *Lutherbildnisse*; J. Kühn, *Luther und der Wormser Reichstag, 1521*; O. Clemen's edition of Myconius's *Reformationsgeschichte*; and E. Gagliardi, *Geschichte der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft bis 1516*.

In the economic history of Germany during the Middle Ages, recent

publications include W. Schmidt-Rimpler, *Geschichte des Kommissionsgeschäftes in Deutschland* (Halle, Waisenhaus, 1915, pp. xvi, 318), of which the first volume deals with the period before 1500; the *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte des Mansfeldischen Saigerhandels im 16. Jahrhundert* (Halle, Hendel, 1915), edited by W. Möllenberg; and K. Jagow, *Die Heringsfischerei an den Deutschen Ostseeküsten im Mittelalter* (Berlin, 1915), an offprint from the *Archiv für Fischereigeschichte*.

For the history of German monastic orders there have appeared Paul Boehme's edition of the *Urkundenbuch des Klosters Pforte* (Halle, Hendel, 1915, vol. II., no. 2, 1501-1513); Dersch's *Hessisches Klosterbuch* (Marburg, Elwert, 1915); L. Schmitz-Kallenberg's *Monumenta Budicensia: Quellen zur Geschichte des Augustiner-Chorherrenstiftes Böttingen i. W.* (Münster Borgmeyer, 1915); Vonschott's *Geistiges Leben im Augustinerorden am Ende des Mittelalters und zu Beginn der Neuzeit* (Berlin, Ebering, 1915); and Schmitz's *Der Zustand der Süd-deutschen Franziskaner-Konventualen am Ausgang des Mittelalters* (Düsseldorf, Schwann, 1915).

Volume V. of Dr. Hermann Grisar's *Luther*, translated by E. M. Lamond and edited by Luigi Cappadelta, has appeared from the press of Messrs. Kegan Paul.

Professor Otto Scheel of Tübingen deals with the school and university period in the life of Luther in the first volume of his *Martin Luther, vom Katholizismus zur Reformation* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1916).

Professor Friedrich Meinecke has revised and enlarged his *Weltbürgertum und Nationalstaat, Studien zur Genesis des Deutschen Nationalstaates* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1915, pp. x, 528) in a third edition. Professor C. Andler of the Sorbonne has compiled a third volume of materials illustrative of Pan-Germanism, *Le Pangermanisme Colonial sous Guillaume II.* (Paris, Conard, 1916). Professor Arthur Chuquet has collected a characteristic group of his essays in *1914-1915, de Frédéric II. à Guillaume II.* (Paris, Fontemoing, 1915, pp. 375). One of the most significant statements of German problems and German aims is Friedrich Naumann's *Mitteuropa* (Berlin, Reimer, 1915, pp. viii, 299).

The thesis of Victor Berard, the author of several well-known volumes on contemporary politics national and international during the past twenty years, in his latest volume, *L'Éternelle Allemagne* (Paris, Colin, 1916, pp. 345) is the continuity of German history from the forest age of Hermann and Marked through the Carolingians, the Ottos, and the Hohenstaufen, to the present Hohenzollerns; from the Holy Roman Empire to the present German Empire; that the present kaiser is the counterpart of the Emperor Frederick II. The national policy of Bismarck is set in contrast with the *Weltpolitik* of the kaiser, similar to the medieval contrast between the humbler emperors who confined their

attentions to Germany and the more famous who sought renown and empire but usually found ruin in Italian ventures. The author builds his structure largely on citations from Prince von Biliow's recent work on *Imperial Germany*, and on the speeches of William II. The concluding chapters are an attempt to prove that in commercial and financial matters Germany was on the eve of a catastrophe at the outbreak of the war.

W. Friedensburg is the editor of *Kurmärkische Ständeakten aus der Regierungszeit Kurfürst Joachims II.* (Munich, Dumcker and Humboldt, 1916, vol. II., 1551-1571); and H. von Caemmerer, of *Die Testamente der Kurfürsten von Brandenburg und der beiden ersten Könige von Preussen* (*ibid.*, 1915).

Ludwig Kaas, *Die Geistliche Gerichtsbarkeit der Katholischen Kirche in Preussen in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Enke, 1915, vol. I., pp. xl, 488), relates chiefly to the western provinces of the kingdom.

A monograph on *Der Trierer Festkalender: seine Entwicklung und seine Verwendung zu Urkundendatierungen* (Trier, Lintz, 1915) is by Miesges. F. Rudolph has undertaken the editing of *Quellen zur Rechts- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Rheinischen Städte* and has issued the first volume, dealing with *Kurtrierische Städte* (Bonn, Hanstein, 1915). A study relating to the ecclesiastical electorate of Mainz is *Die Entstehung des Weltlichen Territoriums des Erzbistums Mainz* (Darmstadt, Staatsverlag, 1915).

The years 1896-1905 are covered in the fourth volume of the *Bibliographie der Württembergischen Geschichte* (Stuttgart, Kohlhammer, 1915) edited by O. Leuze, in continuation of the work of W. Heyd and T. Schön.

L'Autriche-Hongrie au Congrès de Berlin, 1878 (Paris, Beauchesne, 1915, pp. lvi, 191) is the Paris law thesis of J. Larmeroux.

E. von Woinovich and A. Veltzé of the historical section of the Austrian general staff have published *Aus der Werkstatt des Krieges, ein Rundblick über die Organisatorische und Soziale Kriegsarbeit, 1914-1915, in Oesterreich-Ungarn* (Vienna, Manz, 1915, pp. 345). "Ein Oesterreicher" has given a biographical account of Conrad von Hoetzen-dorff, chief of the Austrian general staff, in *Unser Conrad* (Vienna, Heller, 1916, pp. v, 116).

Two additional volumes of the *Urkundenbuch der Stadt und Landschaft Zürich* (Zürich, Beer, 1915), edited by J. Escher and P. Schweizer, have appeared, which carry the work forward to the third decade of the fourteenth century. R. Hoppeler has edited the volume *Bertschikon bis Dürnten* in *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Zürich* (Aarau, Sauerländer,

1915). In *Die Rechtsquellen des Kantons Aargau* Welti and Merz have edited the volume of *Die Stadtrechte von Laufenburg und Mellingen* (*ibid.*). The seventh volume of A. Bernoulli's *Basler Chroniken* (Leipzig, Hirzel, 1915) has also been published.

The affairs of Geneva and of Neuchâtel at the time of the French intervention are studied by F. Barbey in *Félix Desportes et l'Annexion de Genève à la France, 1794-1799, d'après des Documents Inédits* (Paris, Perrin, 1916, pp. xx, 420); and by E. Oppliger, in *Neuenburg, die Schweiz, und Preussen, 1798-1806* (Zürich, Leemann, 1915, pp. 125).

The position of Switzerland in relation to the present war is set forth in W. Vogt, *La Suisse Allemande au Début de la Guerre de 1914* (Paris, Perrin, 1915, pp. 162); in J. Jegerlehner, *Grenzwacht der Schweizer* (Berlin, Grote, 1915, pp. 235); and in E. Chapuisat, *La Guerre Européenne et le Rôle de la Suisse* (Paris, Chapelot, 1915, pp. 110).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Meinecke, *Germanischer und Romanischer Geist im Wandel der Deutschen Geschichtsauffassung* (Sitzungsberichte der K. Preussischen Akademie, 1916, VI., and Historische Zeitschrift, CXV. 3); J. W. Thompson, *The German Church and the Conversion of the Baltic Slavs*, I. (American Journal of Theology, April); M. Lehmann, *Luther und Zwingli* (Preussische Jahrbücher, January); G. Schmoller, *Fünfhundert Jahre Hohenzollern Herrschaft* (Schmollers Jahrbuch, XL. 1); G. Jäger, *Der Preussisch-Deutsche Staat und seine Machtorganisation* (*ibid.*, XL. 1); G. Schmoller, *Die Entstehung der Deutschen Volkswirtschaft und der Deutschen Sozialreform* (*ibid.*, XXXIX. 4); G. von Below, *Die Deutsche Geschichtschreibung von den Befreiungskriegen bis zu unsern Tagen, Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Internationale Monatsschrift, July 1, August 1, September 1); R. Sieger, *Der Oesterreichische Staatsgedanke und das Deutsche Volk* (Zeitschrift für Politik, IX. 1); O. Weber, *Deutschland und Oesterreich-Ungarn* (*ibid.*); G. Goyau, *Une Personnalité Religieuse, Genève, 1535-1907*, II., III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, April 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

General review: N. Japikse, *Histoire des Pays-Bas* (Revue Historique, March).

The historical society of Groningen has just published, in a large quarto volume, the *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae*, extending from the foundation of the university.

The second volume of T. F. M. Huybers, *Don Juan van Oostenrijk, Landvoogd der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, Van der Vecht, 1914, pp. xii, 356) has appeared.

In the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*, the twenty-sixth volume is the first of the *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal van 1576-1609* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. lxx, 678), covering the years 1576-1577 and edited by Dr. N. Japikse. A new life of *Johan De Witt* (Amsterdam, Meulenhoff, 1915, pp. viii, 358) is also by Dr. Japikse.

The archive administration of Leiden has published, in two fascicles, *Archieven van de Kerken*, edited by Dr. J. C. Overvoorde, inventories of the archives of the churches of St. Peter (opposite John Robinson's abode), Our Lady, and St. Pancras.

A. Goslinga has begun the study of the career of one of the eighteenth-century pensionaries of Holland in *Slingelandt's Efforts towards European Peace* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. 388, xxiv). The present volume, though published in English, is a Leiden thesis, and only deals with Slingelandt's life prior to his entrance upon the office of pensionary in 1727.

Groen van Prinsterer's *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau* has been completed by F. J. L. Krämer, who has published the third volume of the fifth series, for the period 1782-1789. As yet only a trifling amount of materials for the years 1762-1747 has been found, which may possibly be added to the series in a small volume. For the years 1782-1783, there has also appeared the fourth volume of the *Gedenkschriften van Gijsbert Jan van Hardenbroek* (Amsterdam, Müller, 1915), edited by A. J. van der Meulen.

In addition to the volume for 1815-1824, in his *Gedenkstukken der Algemeene Geschiedenis van Nederland van 1795-1840* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. xxxv, 711), Dr. H. T. Colenbrander has also edited the *Gedenkschriften van Anton Reinhard Falck* (*ibid.*, pp. xxv, 796) for the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën*.

The seventh volume of *Werken* published by the Linschoten Vereeniging begins the publication of *De Eerste Schipvaart der Nederlanders naar Oost-Indië onder Cornelis de Houwman, 1595-1597*, of which this volume contains *D'Eerste Recke van Willem Lodewijcksz* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1915, pp. xxxiv, 248), edited by G. P. Rouffaer and J. W. IJzerman. P. H. van der Kemp has made a study of a later time in the history of the Dutch East Indies in *Het Nederlandsch-Indisch Bestuur in het Midden van 1817, naar Oorspronkelijke Stukken* (*ibid.*, pp. xlii, 415). The ninth volume of the Linschoten Society is *Dirck Gerritsz Pomp, alias Dirck Gerritsz China* (*ibid.*, 1915), an account, chiefly from Spanish sources, of the first Netherlander (1544-1604) who visited China and Japan, and of his voyage to and residence in South America.

Émile Waxweiler, director of the Solvay Institute in Brussels, has replied to the criticisms of his earlier work on *La Belgique, Neutre et*

Loyale, and to criticisms of Belgium's behavior, in *Le Procès de la Neutralité Belge: Réplique aux Accusations* (Paris, Payot, 1916, pp. 136). The volume contains many new and important documents. C. P. Sanger and H. T. J. Norton have published *England's Guarantee to Belgium and Luxemburg, with the full Text of the Treaties* (London, Allen and Unwin, 1915, pp. viii, 155). *Le Droit des Nationalités* (Paris, Alcan, 1915, pp. 112), by Eugène Baie, is little more than a group of statements secured by the author, a Belgian, from about twenty prominent representatives of various nationalities.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. S. Unger, *De Hollandsche Graanhandel en Graanhandelspolitiek in de Middeleeuwen*, I. (De Economist, April 15); P. C. Rinaudo, *Il Belgio e un Governo Trentennale* (Rivista Internazionale di Scienze Sociali e Discipline Ausiliarie, January 31, February 29); K. Rathgen, *Belgiens Auswärtige Politik und der Kongo* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); A. de Bassompierre, *La Nuit du 2 au 3 Août 1914 au Ministère des Affaires Étrangères de Belgique* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A volume on *Den Svenska Kyrkans Utveckling från St. Bernhards Tidevarf till Innocentius III:s* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915) is by Westmann.

Bernadotte and his time in Sweden are the subject of Barton, *Bernadotte, the First Phase, 1763-1799* (New York, Scribner, 1915); O. Kuylenstierna, *Karl Johan och Napoleon, 1797-1814, Til Sveriges Historia under den senaste stora Europeiska Krisen* (Stockholm, Geber, 1915, pp. xv, 283); and Wahlström, *Gustavianska Studier, Historiska Utkast från Tidevarfet, 1772-1809* (Stockholm, Norstedt, 1915).

The international position of Sweden is discussed in Hjärne, *Östeuropas Kriser och Sveriges Försvar, Politiska Utkast, 1880-1914* (Upsala, Askerberg, 1915).

Dr. Robert J. Kerner of the University of Missouri has prepared for the Bibliographical Society of America an excellent general survey of *The Foundations of Slavic Bibliography*, which has been published by the University of Chicago Press as a pamphlet of 39 pages, likely to be very serviceable to librarians and historical scholars.

Leo Pasvolksy is the editor of *The Russian Review, a Monthly Magazine devoted to Russian Life, Literature, and Art* (Russian Review Publishing Company, 31 East 7th St., New York, I. 1, February, 1916). A section of the magazine is devoted to the war, and other articles are often of related interest.

The racial problems of the Balkan peoples are discussed in M. R.

Sirianu, *La Question de Transylvanie et l'Unité Politique Roumaine* (Paris, Jouve, 1916, pp. 440), which includes an account of Rumania's relation to the present war; "Balcanicus", said to be a prominent Serbian, *La Bulgarie, ses Ambitions, sa Trichison* (Paris, Colin, 1915); H. Barby, correspondent of the *Journal of Paris*, *L'Épopée Serbe, l'Agonie d'un Peuple* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1916); and P. de Lantux, *La Yougoslavie, la France et les Serbes* (Paris, Payot, 1916).

Russian Foreign Policy in the East (pp. 38), by Milivoy S. Stanoyevich, M.L., of the University of California, is a useful, although from its very brevity unsatisfying, summary of Russian foreign policy from about the beginning of the nineteenth century to the present time. The subject is treated in four chapters, dealing, respectively, with Russia's policy in the Near East, the Middle East, the Far East, and the period since the Japanese war. The first three chapters make the aims and achievements fairly clear, but the last chapter does not clarify our ideas very much. There is a bibliography of ten pages (Oakland and San Francisco, Liberty Publishing Company).

Dr. C. Nawratzki has written an account of *Die Jüdische Kolonisation Palästinas* (Munich, E. Reinhardt, 1915).

Twenty Years in Baghdad and Syria, by Canon Joseph Thomas Parfit, is a personal study of the growth of German influence in the East, which appeared originally as a series in the *Evening News*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: S. Posner, *La Vie Politique en Pologne avant la Guerre* (*Mercure de France*, April 16); E. Haumont, *Karageorges: son Armée, ses Adversaires* (*Revue Historique*, May-June); Salih Munir Pacha, *Réflexions sur la Turquie d'Autrefois* (*Revue Politique Internationale*, January); L. Maecas, *La Crise Héliénique* (*Revue de Paris*, February 1).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

A new volume in the *Biblioteca Coloniale*, by Professor E. Catellani of Padua, deals with *La Penetrazione Straniera nell' Estremo Oriente, sue Forme Giuridiche ed Economiche* (Florence, Barbera, 1915, pp. 500).

The Hakluyt Society has published vol. I. of a new edition of Sir Henry Yule's *Cathay and the Way Thither*, ably edited by Professor Henri Cordier.

A sketch of the history of Cambodia will be found in *Histoire Sommaire du Royaume de Cambodge des Origines à nos Jours* (Saigon, Ardir, 1914, pp. 159), by Dr. H. Russier.

Volume VII., part I., of Sir Charles P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies* deals with India, and is the work of P. E. Roberts.

To those interested in the history of science a volume of much interest is that of Brajendranath Seal, *The Positive Sciences of the Ancient Hindus*, published by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company.

G. A. Natesan has collected a mass of materials in *All about the War: the Indian Review War Book* (Madras, Natesan, 1915, pp. xxiv, 440). The German view of the situation in India may be found in S. Konow, *Indien unter der Englischen Herrschaft* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1915, pp. vii, 142).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. W. Rockhill, *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, II. 2, III. (T'Oung Pao, May, July, 1915); A. Bellessort, *L'Apôtre des Indes et du Japon, François de Xavier* (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 15, March 15); M. Courant, *La Politique de Japon pendant la Première Année de la Guerre Européenne* (Revue des Sciences Politiques, February 15).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Carnegie Institution of Washington has published Professor A. B. Faust's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Swiss and Austrian Archives*, a volume of 299 pages. The manuscript of Mr. Golder's *Guide to the Russian archives* is in the printers' hands. The index to Professor Hill's *Descriptive Catalogue* of the "Papeles de Cuba" has been completed and sent to the printer. The Institution is now ready to offer for sale ten sets of photographs which it has caused to be prepared in the Archives of the Indies, representing (1766-1791) the regular series of despatches from the Spanish governors of Louisiana to the captains general of Cuba, the central series in the Papeles de Cuba. The series consists of 2989 plates, to be sold at a little less than cost price—three hundred dollars.

Under a misapprehension of a phrase in the last report of the Librarian of Congress, the statement was made in these pages, in our last issue, that the Library had completed its plans as to securing transcripts of documents in the British archives relating to American history. On the contrary, the inflow of these British transcripts still continues, and will continue indefinitely.

Recent accessions to the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress include: two volumes of papers of General Thomas Sumter, principally Revolutionary correspondence and orders; log-books (360 vols.) of 61 British war-ships, 1808-1840, chiefly of the period of the War of 1812; a large addition to the papers of General George B. McClellan, the gift of his son, Hon. George B. McClellan, jr.; some Lincoln manu-

scripts, including the first and second autograph drafts of the Gettysburg Address and the autograph of the second inaugural address (gifts of the family of the late John Hay), and Lincoln's memorandum of August 23, 1864, pledging support to the next administration and endorsed by members of the Cabinet (the gift of Miss Helen Nicclay); correspondence of Mrs. Horace Mann with Spanish-American educators on the subject of a public school system for Argentina; also her correspondence with General Ethan Allen Hitchcock on Civil War matters; and the letter-book of James Redpath when he was general agent of emigration for Haiti in 1861.

Our Military History: its Facts and Fallacies, by Maj.-Gen. Leonard Wood, U. S. A., though treating of the past is primarily concerned with the future. It is published by Reilly and Britton.

The second volume of the *Catholic Historical Review* (April number) opens with a careful article on the Lost Province of Quivira by the Rev. Michael Shine, who identifies Quivira with Nebraska. Father Victor O'Daniel continues his scholarly work on the life of Bishop Concanen and on the latter's election to the see of New York, accompanied by valuable documents. Professor Charles H. McCarthy has a paper on the attitude of Spain during the American Revolution.

In the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society for March the paper of Augustin de Iturbide or Don Augustin de Iturbide is concluded, as is also the diary of Father Marie Joseph Durand. The life of Bishop Conwell is continued.

Vol. XIV. of the *Journal* of the American-Irish Historical Society (1914-1915, 350 pp.) contains biographical sketches of Bishop John England and of the American-Irish governors of Pennsylvania. The historiographer of the society, Mr. Michael J. O'Erien, presents an important article on the various records—immigration, land, probate, vital, military, and other—of the Irish in America in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The second or April number of the *Journal of Negro History* more than maintains the high ground occupied by the first number. Professor Kelly Miller of Howard University has an excellent article on the Early Negro Physician in the United States; W. B. Hartgrove, on the Negro Soldier in the American Revolution; Dr. C. G. Woodson, the editor, on Freedom and Slavery in Appalachian America, and A. O. Stafford on the Arabian poet Antar. The section devoted to "Documents" presents some fifty pages of advertisements concerning slaves from American newspapers of the eighteenth century, descriptive matter of great interest.

Among the contents of the November-December number of the *Magazine of History* are an account of Some Medical Men in the Revo-

lution, by Dr. Sydney H. Carney, jr.; a Thanksgiving sermon preached by Rev. Israel Evans at Easton, Pennsylvania, October 17, 1779; a continuation of Captain Asa N. Hays's War-Time Recollections; some letters and extracts of letters, 1805-1822, from Thomas Jefferson, principally to J. W. Eppes and Thomas M. Randolph; and some extracts from the diary of John Fell, of New Jersey, when he was a delegate in the Continental Congress, 1778-1779. The January-February number includes a paper on Anne Hutchinson, by Mrs. Carrie M. W. Weiss; one on the Vermont of the Revolution, by Rev. F. W. Holden; and a reprint, from the April number of this journal, of documents on the Relations between the Vermont Separatists and Great Britain.

With Americans of Past and Present Days is the title of a book of addresses and articles by J. J. Jusserand, French ambassador to the United States, which Messrs. Scribner have recently issued.

Two works on the presidency by ex-President Taft have recently appeared. The one, comprising the Columbia University lectures, is entitled *Our Chief Magistrate and his Powers* (Lemcke and Buechner); the other, which embodies three lectures given at the University of Virginia, is entitled *The Presidency: its Duties, its Powers, its Opportunities, its Limitations* (Scribner).

Joseph B. Bishop's *Presidential Nominations and Elections: a History of American Conventions, National Campaigns, Inaugurations, and Campaign Caricatures* (Scribner) contains some account of election machinery but is chiefly concerned with personalities, incidents, etc.

The Centennial History of the American Bible Society, in two volumes, by Henry Otis Dwight, has been brought out by Macmillan.

Fifty Years of Association Work among Young Women, 1866-1916: a History of Young Women's Christian Associations in the United States of America, by Eliza Wilson, has been published in New York by the Y. W. C. A. National Board.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Upon land in New York City presented by Mr. Archer M. Huntington, in the neighborhood of the building of the Hispanic Society, a Museum of the American Indian is to be erected, to contain, along with other and subsequent accumulations, a collection of some 400,000 Indian objects brought together during many years by Mr. George G. Heye.

Mr. William M. Fitzhugh has purchased the collection of Indian objects, more than twenty thousand in number, formed by the late Professor T. S. C. Lowe, and has presented it to the city of San Francisco.

Physical Anthropology of the Lenape or Delawares, and of the Eastern Indians in General (*Bulletin of the Bureau of American Eth-*

nology, no. 62), by Dr. Aleš Hrdlička, is a study of the skeletal materials brought to light as a result of the anthropological explorations conducted in the upper Delaware River valley in 1914 in behalf of the Museum of the American Indian in New York. Fifty-seven skeletons were found in a cemetery at Minisink. The author had in a previous study ("The Crania of Trenton, New Jersey, and their Bearing upon the Antiquity of Man in that Region", in *Bulletin XVI* of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, 1902) described all the crania of the Lenape or Delaware Indians then preserved in our museums. One conclusion which the author reaches in consequence of these studies is that the Iroquois are physically identical with the eastern Algonquin tribes.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore has printed in volume XVI. of the *Journal* of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia an extensive memoir on Aboriginal Sites on the Tennessee River, recording the results of his investigations along that river during the winter season of 1914-1915.

We have received from Dr. Arthur H. Buffinton of Williams College a careful treatise on New England and the Western Fur-Trade, 1629-1675, reprinted, in advance, from the *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.

Messrs. Henry Stevens, Son, and Stiles of London, have issued a catalogue far beyond the ordinary bookseller's catalogue in historical value, and distinctly deserving mention to bibliographers. Under the title *A Century of American Printing, 1701 to 1800*, they have listed 1100 selections from their stock, printed in America in the century named, in a list arranged in alphabetical order of places of publication. Besides the value which this collocation gives to the pamphlet, it is enriched with many learned bibliographical notes.

Some British Soldiers in America, by Captain W. H. Wilkin, includes serviceable biographies of several of the more prominent British officers in high command in America in the Revolutionary War, and of three, at least, who are not so well known. Those whose careers are recounted in the book are Howe, Carleton, Clinton, Rawdon, Simcoe, Tarleton, Ferguson, Meadows, Harris, and Hale. Because the last three are so little known and also because the chapters concerning them include numerous letters and extracts from letters written by them during the war, probably more Americans will be interested in their biographies than in those of the better known commanders. Sir William Meadows and Lord Harris, to use titles acquired subsequent to their service in America, both attained to high military rank in after years. The letters of Captain William John Hale (1776-1778) are of especial interest.

Relations between the United States and Great Britain, 1776-1915

(pp. 62), by Juliet Green, comes from Hollywood High School, Los Angeles, California, and is issued as *Hollywood Junior College Studies*, no. 1. Dr. Frederic W. Sanders, head of the department of history, furnishes an introduction. An appendix contains the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901.

Professor Gilbert Chinard, in *Notes sur le Voyage de Chateaubriand en Amérique, Juillet-Décembre 1791* (University of California, pp. 81) shows that while Chateaubriand no doubt went as far west as Niagara, his observations on the Great Lakes, the Ohio, and the Mississippi are largely derived from Carver and Imlay and give no evidence of actual travel.

The New York Public Library has issued a *List of References on Political Parties in the United States, 1800-1914*, compiled by Alta B. Claffin.

In the *Geographical Review* for May, Professor Annie H. Abel of Smith College describes a map of the Missouri River region lately discovered among the papers of the Indian Office at Washington, which seems to have originated with John Evans, agent of the Missouri Company, and to have been used by Lewis and Clark on their expedition.

The Life and Ventures of the Original John Jacob Astor, by Eliza L. Gebhard, has been brought out in Hudson, New York, by the Bryan Printing Company.

Volume VI. (1816-1819) of *The Writings of John Quincy Adams*, edited by Worthington C. Ford, has come from the press (Macmillan).

Proceedings at the Unveiling of a Memorial to Horace Greeley at Chappaqua, New York, February 3, 1914, with reports of other Greeley celebrations related to the centennial of his birth, February 3, 1911, is put forth by the department of archives and history of the state of New York, with an introduction by the state historian, James A. Holden. There are many addresses in the volume, and there are also some studies and reminiscences, as well as some pages of newspaper comment and appreciation. There are also some 35 pages embodying characteristic utterances of Greeley, together with a few campaign addresses and extracts, and a few original letters. An appendix contains ten pages of references to biographical material on Greeley.

Macmillan's series *True Stories of Great Americans* now includes *Abraham Lincoln*, by Daniel E. Wheeler.

Houghton Mifflin Company has published *Abraham Lincoln, the Lawyer-Statesman*, by J. T. Richards.

The Department of Commerce has published, as special publication no. 37, and apparently upon occasion of the recent centennial of the

United States Coast and Geodetic Survey, a pamphlet of seventy-two pages, on the *Military and Naval Service of the United States Coast Survey, 1861-1865*, made up from contemporary reports and correspondence.

An interesting address, delivered before the Supreme Court of North Carolina by Captain Samuel A. Ashe on occasion of the presentation of a portrait of George Davis to the court, has been printed as a pamphlet with the title *George Davis, Attorney-General of the Confederate States* (Raleigh, Edwards and Broughton, 1916, pp. 25).

The May number of the *American Journal of Sociology* consists entirely (pages 721-864) of an article by the editor of the journal, Professor Albion W. Small of Chicago, entitled "Fifty Years of Sociology in the United States (1865-1915)", in which an admirable, comprehensive, and most interesting survey of the progress not only of sociology but of allied social sciences is presented.

Dr. F. E. Haynes's *Third Party Movements since the Civil War, with special Reference to Iowa* has been issued (Iowa State Historical Society).

Largely from the testimony in the government suit to dissolve the corporation, so the author says, Mr. Arundel Cotter has compiled *The Authentic History of the United States Steel Corporation*, which is published by the Moody Magazine and Book Company. The author frankly confesses a predilection for the corporation as marking the dawn of a new and better era in industrial history.

Woodrow Wilson: the Man and his Work: a Biographical Study, by Henry Jones Ford, is from the press of Appleton.

Mr. Lawrence B. Evans's *Samuel W. McCall, Governor of Massachusetts* (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, pp. 242) was obviously prepared with a view to politics of the present day; yet, its subject being an historical scholar of repute and having played a distinguished part in congressional history during twenty years, the book does not fail to be of value and interest to historical scholars.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

An intelligent and valuable treatise by Dr. Percy W. Bidwell of Yale University on "Rural Economy in New England at the Beginning of the Nineteenth Century", is published in volume XX. of the *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*. The subject is one of obvious importance, even to the student of political history; we do not know of any previous study of it so excellent.

On Saturday, June 10, 1916, the two hundredth anniversary of the second and permanent settlement of Falmouth, now Portland, Maine,

was celebrated under civic auspices. The celebration included a parade, and an address by Hon. James P. Baxter having special reference to the services of Major Samuel Moody in connection with the Indian troubles by which the settlement on Falmouth Neck was broken up.

The *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for the years 1913-1914 includes an address, delivered by Hon. Frank C. Partridge before the society, January 19, 1915, on the life and services of Senator Redfield Proctor; a speech of Senator Proctor on conditions in Cuba, delivered in the United States Senate, March 17, 1898; Otter Creek in History, an address by Hon. Henry W. Hill of Buffalo, delivered at Fort Cassin, Vermont, in September, 1914; and a paper by Dorman B. E. Kent concerning Vermonters who have attained prominence. The paper is accompanied by a catalogue (occupying more than 100 pages of text) of a thousand prominent Vermonters born within the period 1768-1879.

No. 207 of the *Old South Leaflets* is a reprint, edited by Mr. Samuel E. Morison, of two important tracts of the Massachusetts Puritans in 1630, *The Humble Request* and John Winthrop's *Modell of Christian Charity*.

The March serial of the Massachusetts Historical Society contains a sketch of Peter Harrison, the first professional architect in America, by Mr. Charles Henry Hart; a letter from Captain Samuel Morris, dated at Cap François, February 28, 1797, describing his experience in Santo Domingo, and a paper on the Washington Benevolent Society in New England: a Phase of Politics during the War of 1812, by William A. Robinson of Washington University, St. Louis.

The *Massachusetts Magazine* for January contains an historical and descriptive account of the library of the American Antiquarian Society, by Agnes Edwards; also an account of Colonel Moses Little's regiment in the Revolutionary War, including biographical sketches of the officers.

In the April number of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* the journal of Rev. Joshua Wingate Weeks, Loyalist rector of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, 1778-1779, is continued.

The *Reports* of the Director of the New York State Library for 1913 and 1914 (*Bulletin* of the University of the State of New York, nos. 609 and 613, respectively), show good progress in the work of repairing and arranging the manuscripts saved from the fire. It is estimated that the salvage of the Revolutionary manuscripts (originally 55 volumes) amounts to about two-fifths of the collection. During the years covered by these reports there have been acquisitions of considerable importance. Some of these are: about 50 letters and papers of General Philip Schuyler; 61 of Israel Keith; seven volumes of abstracts of Ulster County records, 1661-1728; a body of transcripts of Sir Wil-

liam Johnson papers (1747-1774) from the British Public Record Office; thirteen letters of General James Wilkinson, 1804-1821; 55 letters of Timothy Jenkins of Oneida County, written principally from Washington when he was a member of Congress, 1845-1849, 1851-1853; the diary of a German officer who served with the Hessian troops in 1776-1777; an orderly book (January to June, 1777) of General William Howe, exactly filling the gap of Howe's orderly books printed in the New York Historical Society's *Collections* for 1884; and copies of the early records of many of the Dutch Reformed churches in New York. The library will shortly publish a volume of translations from early Dutch records in the Albany county clerk's office. The translations, made by Professor W. L. Pearson of Schenectady, will be edited by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist.

In a luxurious volume entitled *Manhattan, 1624-1639*, published by the author at 90 West Street, New York, Mr. Edward Van Winkle, recording secretary of the Holland Society, presents full details as to the location and occupancy, in the earliest period, of the various farms and plantations, bouweries and breweries, with a brief biography of each early settler and a reproduction of the Vingboom map.

Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes has published the first volume (pp. 525) of *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, to be completed within a year in four sumptuous volumes, in an edition of 402 copies, with many fine illustrations. The work surveys the history of the island of Manhattan and of the city of New York in their physical and topographical aspects and is a product of several years of extensive research on the part of the author, with assistance from Mr. Victor H. Paltsits. Volume I. deals with the period of discovery and with the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in their general aspects, though the cartography of that period is reserved for the second volume.

Excavations near 204th Street, New York City, two blocks west of Broadway, have brought to light a series of some fifty huts, occupied in 1776 by the American army under General William Heath and later by Hessians and English soldiers of various regiments. A variety of interesting relics have been found.

The *New York Genealogical and Biographical Record* for April contains a bibliographical sketch of the late Norman B. Ream, by Dr. Clarence W. Bowen; also a number of letters and documents (1780-1782) from the papers of Col. Hugh Hughes, deputy quartermaster general in the Revolution, contributed by George A. Morrison, jr.

Volume XIX. of the *Publications* of the Buffalo Historical Society, edited by Frank H. Severance, is in respect of about half its contents a tribute to the late Josephus N. Larned, including a biographical address by John B. Olmsted, selected essays and historical and other

addresses of Larned, and a bibliography of his writings. There is also a tribute, by Henry R. Howland, to Henry A. Richmond (1840-1913), a prominent citizen of Buffalo and close friend of Larned. The remainder of the volume principally relates to the periodical press of Buffalo. This includes a bibliography (1811-1915), compiled by Frank H. Severance, and three papers, namely: When our Press was Young, reminiscences written in 1885 by J. C. Brayman, Early Days of the Buffalo *Courier*, written in 1896 by Joseph Stringham, and the *Courier* in the Early Eighties, by Frederick J. Shepard. Following the bibliography are found 31 portraits of Buffalo editors, and biographical sketches of some of them, together with other material pertaining to the subject. The Notes, as usual, contain also materials of interest. There are, for instance, some letters relating to the Greeley peace conference at Niagara Falls in 1864, and three letters of Parkman, the historian, written in 1849, 1867, and 1882, respectively.

The *Proceedings* of the New Jersey Historical Society, vol. X., no. 3 (July and October, 1915), contains a brief article by J. F. Folsom concerning a Slave Indenture of Colonial Days, the conclusion of J. L. Rankin's account of Newark Town Government from 1666 to 1833, and the concluding installment of the journal of John Reading (1719). Beginning with January, 1916, a "New Series" of the *Proceedings* is inaugurated, which, it is contemplated, shall continue indefinitely, condemnation having been pronounced upon the whole race and generation of "series". This first number contains a group of depositions, etc., throwing light upon the death of Chaplain James Caldwell, shot by a sentry at Elizabethtown in 1781. These documents, together with a letter of Caldwell to Elbridge Gerry in Congress, October 6, 1778, also printed, came from the collection of the late William Nelson. Mr. P. H. Hoffman contributes a first article on Caspar Steinmets and his Descendants.

The city of Newark, New Jersey, celebrated with appropriate ceremonies, pageants, parades, etc., May 1 to 18, the 250th anniversary of its founding. As a "Record of Work and a Program of Events" for the celebration the *Newarker* has been published monthly, wherein may be found occasional articles of historical interest.

The second number (April) of the *Vineland Historical Magazine* continues the journal of Charles K. Landis, founder of Vineland, New Jersey, and a paper by Mrs. Mary E. Schley on the Early Settlers of Vineland.

The Division of Public Records in the Pennsylvania State Library has now completed, in five volumes, an index to the sixth series of the *Pennsylvania Archives*. It has also completed an arrangement of the Berks, Cumberland, and York county papers. The state librarian has just completed a new edition of the *Frontier Forts*, first published in 1895.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has received, by gift from Captain Edward Carpenter, U. S. A., the Carpenter Family Papers, 11 volumes of manuscript, 1014 manuscripts; from the late William Brooke Rawle, six volumes of Rawle Papers, four volumes of Shoemaker Papers, and four volumes relating to the cavalry fight on the right flank at Gettysburg; and from the estate of Dr. George Smith, a collection consisting of letters of William Hamilton, of the Woodlands, 1784-1804, and papers relating to the estate of Andrew Hamilton, 394 manuscripts.

The January number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* contains an article, by Hampton L. Carson, on James T. Mitchell, late chief justice of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, William Penn's journal of his second visit to Ireland (1669-1670), and sections from the military papers of Brig.-Gen. William Irvine. The April number includes "A Tour through Part of England, by Mary Shackleton, in the Year 1784"; Fanny Saltar's Reminiscences of Colonial Days in Philadelphia, contributed by Mrs. E. B. Hoskins; Letters of Eliza Farmer to her Nephew, 1774, 1775, and 1783; and Letters of Thomas Penn to Richard Hockley, 1746-1748.

The principal article in the March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* is the First Sixty Years of the Church of England in Maryland, 1632-1692, by Lawrence C. Wroth.

Dr. George C. Keitel of the Library of Congress published in the Catonsville *Argus* of 1912 and 1913, a series of thirty-five articles on the Colonial History of Catonsville. A small number of copies of these have been put up by him in the shape of volumes, for sale.

Volume II. of the *History of the National Capital*, by W. B. Bryan, has come from the press (Macmillan).

The General Assembly of Virginia at its recent session appropriated \$4000 for the purchase of fire-proof filing-cases for the manuscript material in the department of archives and history, and \$1500 for binding in the Library, of which a large portion will be used in binding manuscript materials. The archivist, Mr. Morgan P. Robinson, has completed the flat-filing and chronological arrangement of the petitions to the General Assembly, 1776-1865, some 20,000 in number. These will then be indexed.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* prints in the April number the second part of the interesting narrative by Franz Ludwig Michel of his journey from Switzerland to Virginia in 1701-1702. Mr. David I. Bushnell's article, in his series of papers on the Virginia Frontier in History, relates to the treaty of Fort Pitt, September 17, 1778, and embodies the record of the conference, September 12 to 17, of which the treaty was the fruit. In this number also are printed the proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society in the annual meeting held March

20, 1916. The principal matter is the annual report of the president of the society, Captain W. Gordon McCabe. It is chiefly devoted to the commemoration of deceased members, Judge Theodore S. Garnett of Norfolk, Major John P. Branch of Richmond, and Lothrop Withington, the genealogist, lost on the *Lusitania*, and is to be heartily commended to any who will enjoy seeing a fine specimen of the spirit of Old Virginia surviving in the present time.

The *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* continues in the April number the letters of Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., the letters of James Rumsey, and Mr. William Clayton-Torrence's articles on Henrico County, Virginia: Beginnings of its Families.

Pioneer Settlers of Grayson County, Virginia, by B. F. Nuckolls, is put forth in Bristol, Tennessee, by the King Press.

The James Sprunt Historical Publications, vol. XIV., no. 1 (pp. 91), comprises a collection of letters from Charles W. Harris (1771-1804) to his uncle and to his brother. One group of the letters, written while Harris was connected with the infant University of North Carolina (1795-1796), is of particular interest for the early history of that institution. The other letters were written for the most part from Halifax, North Carolina, where Harris was engaged in the practice of law, and to his brother. They touch frequently upon local and national politics, but relate principally to personal matters. The letters have been extensively annotated by H. M. Wagstaff. Volume XIV., no. 2, is a monograph by Francis H. Cooper, entitled *Some Colonial History of Beaufort County, North Carolina*. It is not a connected history of the county but sketches of phases and incidents in its history. Volume XV., nos. 1 and 2 (double number, pp. 212), is a monograph, by Professor J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton, on Party Politics in North Carolina, 1835-1860. Of especial interest are two introductory chapters, one on the political significance of the convention of 1835, the other on the social, economic, and political background at the opening of the period under consideration. The book consists for the most part of a chapter upon each of the biennial campaigns, wherein the author brings into view its principal factors, personal and other, giving a tolerably clear view of the politics of the state and of party development.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine for January contains an article on the Seabrook family, by Miss Mabel L. Weber, and continuations of the orderly book of J. F. Grimké and of the parish register of St. James', Santee.

The *Proceedings* of the first meeting of the Alabama History Teachers' Association (*Publications* of the Alabama State Department of Archives and History, Historical and Patriotic Societies series) includes three papers read at the meeting: the Teaching of Local History and Civics, by F. L. Grove; Aids in Vitalizing the Facts of History, by J. B.

Clark; and Aids in Visualizing the Facts of History, by Miss Mattie W. Thompson.

The June number of the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* contains a paper by Mr. V. W. Crane on the Tennessee River as the Road to Carolina: the Beginnings of Exploration and Trade; by Professor C. W. Alvord, on Virginia and the West, an Interpretation; Professor L. B. Schmidt's paper on the Economic History of American Agriculture as a Field for Study, read at the last meeting of the American Historical Association; and a general survey of Historical Activities in the Old Northwest, by Professor A. C. Cole. All are articles of high merit and there are excellent reviews of books.

The ninth annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association was held at Nashville on April 27, 28, and 29, 1916. From among the many papers read, illustrating a wide variety of topics in the history of the Middle West, we will mention especially the address of Professor William E. Dodd of Chicago on "Henry Clay, Insurgent, 1817-1825", and that of Professor Archibald Henderson, on the "Beginnings of Nashville". Professor Frederic L. Paxson of Wisconsin was elected president for the ensuing year.

The pages of the April number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* are occupied principally with the proceedings of the ninth annual meeting of the Ohio Valley Historical Association, held at Columbus, October 21 and 22, 1915. The papers read at the meeting which find place in the *Quarterly* are: Woman's Suffrage in the Constitutional Convention of Ohio, by D. C. Shilling; Early Religious Movements in Pittsburgh, by Professor Homer J. Webster; Early Religious Movements in the Muskingum Valley, by Professor C. L. Martzolf; Early Newspapers in the Virginias, by Henry S. Green; Influences of Early Religious Literature in the Ohio Valley from 1815 to 1850, by Mrs. Irene D. Cornwell; the Location of the Site of the Ohio Capital by E. O. Randall; and the Centennial Churches of the Miami Valley, by J. E. Bradford.

The January-March number of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* comprises the fourth of the Selections from the Follett Papers. The letters, twenty in number, extend over the period from 1833 to 1848 and relate largely to political conditions in New York and Ohio. Two of the letters (1833) are from Oran Follett to William L. Marcy, two (1837, 1840) to Thurlow Weed, two (1839, 1842) to James T. Morehead of Kentucky; while of those written to Follett two (1834) are from Millard Fillmore, two (1848) from William H. Seward, and five (1848) from Elisha Whittlesey, member of Congress from Ohio, 1823-1838.

The first number (March) of the *Ohio History Teachers' Journal* has appeared. The *Journal* is issued as a *Bulletin* of the Ohio State University and is to appear four times a year, namely, in January, March, May, and November. The managing editor is Professor Wilbur H. Siebert. The articles in this number, besides some prefatory remarks by the editor concerning the mission of the *Journal*, are: the Evolution of the American Common School, by Professor F. P. Graves; Changing Ideals and Methods of Teaching American History, by Professor E. J. Benton; Teaching Citizenship in the Public Schools, by E. G. Pumphrey; a New Tool in Education (the Museum), by Professor S. C. Derby; the Use of Aids to History Teaching in Ohio, by U. M. McCaughey; How to Reach the Pupils in History Teaching, by Frances Walsh; and Justification for a Study of Ohio History in our Schools, by Professor C. L. Martzoff.

The articles in the March number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* are: the First Public Land Surveys in Indiana, by George R. Wilson; the Election of 1852 in Indiana (concluded), by Dale Beeler; Samuel Merrill, Indiana's Second State Treasurer (1792-1855), from the papers of Catharine Merrill; the Settlement of Worthington and Old Point Commerce, by Robert Weems; and a further communication by Hubert M. Skinner relative to "tassements".

The belated October (1915) number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* includes an article by Frank R. Grover on Indian Treaties affecting Lands in Illinois; one by John M. Lansden concerning General Grant's visit to Cairo, Illinois, in 1880; a sketch, by W. T. Norton, of Robert Smith, a member of Congress from Illinois, 1843-1849, and 1857-1859; the Manierre Family in Early Chicago History, by George Manierre; and a number of brief articles of local interest.

The Chicago Historical Society reports the receipt of some 3000 manuscripts known as the Law family papers, illustrating the history of Chicago from the earliest times, and the loan, with privilege of copying, of a letter-book of the American Fur Company, kept at Mackinac in 1823-1827 (see next page).

The Lakeside Press of Chicago expects shortly to issue, in its series of *Lakeside Classics*, the *Autobiography of Black Hawk*, edited by Dr. M. M. Quaife of the Wisconsin Historical Society, who has also recently edited, for publication by the Caxton Club of Chicago, a volume entitled *The Development of Chicago, 1673-1914*, consisting of selections from the original sources.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin at its sixty-third annual meeting, October 21, 1915, has come from the press. There is a frontispiece portrait of Dr. Gaillard Hunt, chief of the division of manuscripts of the Library of Congress, and an exceedingly interesting

and instructive address by him, on "The President of the United States". Other historical papers are the Settlement of the Town of Lebanon, Dodge County, by W. F. Whyte; Remains of a French Post near Trempealeau, by Eben D. Pierce, and others; Chicago's First Great Lawsuit, by Eugene E. Prussing; an article on Rock Island, by Hjalmar R. Holand; British Policy on the Canadian Frontier, 1782-1792: Mediation and an Indian Barrier State, by Orpha E. Leavitt; and Extracts from Capt. McKay's Journal, and Others, edited with introduction and notes, by M. M. Quaife. It is of interest to note the progress made by the society in copying Wisconsin materials in Washington and St. Louis. In Washington the House files have been searched through the year 1848, and some 10,000 pages of materials relating to Wisconsin have been copied. From the Indian Office have been obtained about 25,000 pages of manuscript relating to Indian affairs in Wisconsin and the contiguous region, to 1860 inclusive. A body of materials in possession of the Missouri Historical Society, principally relating to the fur-trade, has also been copied.

The same society has also published, as no. 81 of its *Bulletins of Information*, a pamphlet of twenty pages on the Keyes and Civil War collections of manuscripts in its library. Volume XXII. of the *Collections*, devoted to the journals of Sergeant John Ordway and Meriwether Lewis, is expected from the printer about the first of July, and volume XXIII., the fourth of the Draper Series, *Frontier Advance on the Upper Ohio*, will probably be published early in the autumn. The society also expects to publish within the next few months a bibliography of works in its library on the subject of Indian missions, prepared by Miss Martha L. Edwards, and a treatise on historical pageantry, with a select bibliography, by Miss Ethel T. Rockwell. The library has been enriched by the addition of a mass of several thousand letters and other papers, 1850-1890, from the office of the adjutant-general of Wisconsin, and by the loan of two letter-books of the American Fur Company, kept at Mackinac, 1817-1825, of which photostatic copies are being made for the society, for the Michigan Historical Commission, for the Chicago Historical Society, and for the library of the University of Illinois. An account of the economic history of Wisconsin in the decade 1860-1870, prepared by Mr. Frederick Merk for the society, will soon be published. The society also plans to issue an historical atlas of Wisconsin, and to publish a documentary history of the state's constitutions and, in a series of several volumes, the executive records of the state.

Mr. William B. Mitchell, who came to Minnesota in 1857, has made an important addition to the literature of Minnesota local history by his *History of Stearns County, Minnesota* (Chicago, H. C. Cooper and Company, 1915, 2 vols., pp. 1536).

The Minnesota Historical Society has received from John R. Cummins of Minneapolis, who came to Minnesota in 1856, a series of diaries kept from 1855 to the present time.

In the April number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* Thomas Teakle writes of the Romance in Iowa History, Ruth A. Gallaher presents the second of her papers on the Indian Agent in the United States since 1850, and Hiram F. White recounts the career of Samuel R. Thurston (1816-1851) in Iowa and Oregon.

The April number of the *Missouri Historical Review* contains an extended article by C. H. McClure on Early Opposition to Thomas Hart Benton; also the first of a series of articles by David W. Eaton on How Missouri Counties, Towns, and Streams were Named. The index to historical articles in Missouri newspapers, a useful feature of the *Review*, deals in this number with newspaper issues of December, 1915.

The articles in the April number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* are the Spanish Search for La Salle's Colony, 1685-1689, by W. E. Dunn; the first paper in an extended study of the Cattle Industry in the Southwest, by Clara M. Love; the Beginnings of the Mission of Nuestra Señora del Refugio, by Herbert E. Bolton; and the eighteenth installment of the British Correspondence concerning Texas, edited by Professor E. D. Adams.

The "source readings" (painful but now frequent expression) in Texas history which appear in the Texas History Teachers' *Bulletin* for May 15 relate to local government in Austin's colony, 1829-1831. They are drawn from the minutes of the town council of San Felipe de Austin and are contributed by Professor E. C. Barker.

Seven institutions will be prosecuting archaeological excavations and explorations in New Mexico this summer: the School of American Archaeology at Puyé, the Commercial Museum of Philadelphia at Otowi, the Andover Academy at Pecos, the George Heye Indian Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology at Zúñi, the University of California in western New Mexico, and the American Museum of Natural History in New Mexico and Arizona. The Department of the Interior will make similar investigations in the Mesa Verde National Park.

The President of the United States, by a proclamation dated February 11, 1916, has created in New Mexico, under the provisions of the Act of Congress of June 8, 1906, the Bandelier National Monument, consisting of the ancient Pueblo ruins and other aboriginal remains lying within an area of more than 20,000 acres in the Santa Fé National Forest, and including the ancient structures at Rito de los Frijoles, the Painted Caves, the Stone Lions, and the ruins of Otowi and Sankawi. The name is given in memory of the late Adolf F. Bandelier.

To the April number of the *Washington Historical Quarterly* Mr. W. D. Lyman contributes "Some Observations upon the Negative Testimony and the General Spirit and Methods of Bourne and Marshall in Dealing with the Whitman Question", a sharp criticism of Marshall in

particular and of Bourne only in lesser measure. Other articles in the *Quarterly* are: a brief account, by Mrs. Mary P. Frost, of her journey to Oregon in 1854, in which many of the party were killed by the Indians; the story, by Lulu D. Crandall, of the *Colonel Wright*, a steamboat placed in service on the Columbia River in 1859; and a paper by Professor E. S. Meany, on the First American Settlement on Puget Sound. The Journal of Occurrences at Nisqually House, edited by Mr. Bagley, is continued.

In the March number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* O. B. Sperlin presents an extended study of the Indian of the Northwest as revealed by the Earliest Journals. Appended to the article is a list of more than fifty journals used in the study. Harrison C. Dale discusses briefly the question whether the returning Astorians used the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains, introducing a letter of Ramsay Crooks, one of the leaders of the party, written June 28, 1856, particularly in criticism of the claim of discovery put forward in behalf of John C. Frémont. A document of some interest is a Hudson's Bay Company contract (1850). The Correspondence of Rev. Ezra Fisher is continued.

The Case for the Filipino, by Máximo M. Kalaw, with an introduction by Manuel L. Quezon, delegate in Congress from the Philippines, discusses the American occupation of the islands and makes a plea for their independence (Century Company).

The Public Archives of Canada, besides continued acquisition of transcripts from London and Paris, the latter nearly completing series B of the Archives des Colonies, has obtained transcripts of a large part of the registers of the Sovereign Council at Quebec, of the papers of Sir Louis Lafontaine at Montreal, of the Masson Collection at McGill University, and of what relates to Canada in the Bancroft Collection at the University of California.

The Canadian Parliament at its last session made an appropriation for a new edition of the first volume of Messrs. Shortt and Doughty's *Documents relating to the Constitutional History of Canada, 1759-1791*, published in 1907, but now out of print.

The archives and library of the Secretaría de Hacienda in Mexico contain a mass of ecclesiastical papers seized when the government confiscated the goods of the clergy sixty years ago. The department has begun the publication of the more important manuscripts by issuing two volumes. Volume I. is entitled *Dos Insurgentes* (Mexico, 1914, pp. 262), the two insurgents being Padre Luis G. Oroncz and Fray José M. Correa, who took part in the revolution of 1810. The second volume (pp. 269) prints a number of documents hitherto unprinted, relating to the missions of California and the Pious Fund.

The second number of the *Revista de Historia Cubana y Americana*, edited by Messrs. L. M. Pérez and F. Córdova (March-April), opens with instructions of Diego Columbus to Diego de Velázquez as *repartidor de indios*, 1522, discovered in the Archives of the Indies by Miss Irene A. Wright. The other documents presented are a letter of Azcárate to the Junta de Información, 1867, an account of the death of Peralta in 1872, by one of his companions, and a programme and letters of Gen. Máximo Gómez, 1884-1885. The third number (May-June) consists of unpublished letters of Gen. Antonio Maceo, 1877-1895, and of a diary kept by Col. Leoncio Vidal in the war of 1895-1896. All are excellently edited.

La Cultura Latino-Americana, Crónica y Bibliografía de sus Progresos is a review recently begun by the Seminary for Romance Languages and Culture in Hamburg (Cöthen, Schulze, I. 1, 1915).

We learn of the issue of a *Bibliografía Venezolanista* by Dr. Manuel S. Sanchez (Carácas, 1914), mentioned as a valuable addition to the national bibliographies.

The *Ordáz and Dortal Expeditions in Search of El Dorado, as described on Sixteenth Century Maps*, is a monograph of fifteen pages by Rudolf Schuller, which is published as *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, vol. LXVI., no. 4.

The political (as distinguished from notarial and judicial) archives of Dutch Guiana (Surinam), Curaçao, and St. Eustatius are about to be transferred to the Rijksarchief in the Hague.

European immigration into South America is the subject of P. Berne, *L'Immigration Européenne en Argentine* (Paris, Rivière, 1916); E. Bonardelli, *Lo Stato di S. Paolo del Brasile e l'Emigrazione Italiana* (Turin, Bocca, 1915, pp. 164); and E. Wagemann, *Die Deutschen Kolonisten im Brasilianischen Staate Espirito Santo* (Munich, Duncker and Humblot, 1915, pp. 151).


Among recent documentary publications relating to Argentine history are R. Levillier, *Correspondencia de los Oficiales Reales de Hacienda del Rio de la Plata con las Reyes de España, reunida en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Madrid, Rivadeneyra, 1915, vol. I., 1540-1596, pp. xv, 535), *Correspondencia de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires con los Reyes de España, reunida en el Archivo de Indias de Sevilla* (Buenos Aires, 1915, vol. I., 1588-1615, pp. xv, 471); and R. Levene, *Comercio de Indias, Antecedentes Legales, 1713-1778* (Buenos Aires, Comp. Sud-Americana, 1915, pp. 463), published as the fifth volume of the *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Seler, *Beobachtungen und Studien in den Ruinen von Palenque* [Yucatan] (Abhandlungen der K.

Preussischen Akademie, 1915, V., pp. 128); K. E. Imberg, *Studien zur Geschichte der Englischen Besteuerung in den Nordamerikanischen Kolonien im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, XIII. 3); M. Marion, *De la Participation Financière de la France à la Guerre de l'Indépendance Américaine* (Revue du Dix-Huitième Siècle, January); C. S. Blue, *John Henry the Spy* (Canadian Magazine, May); R. B. Merriman, *The Monroe Doctrine: its Past and Present Status* (Political Quarterly, [London], March); Gamaliel Bradford, *Charles Sumner* (Yale Review, April); Major Thomas Rowland, C. S. A., *Letters of a Virginia Cadet at West Point, 1859-1861*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); O. G. Villard, *The Submarine and the Torpedo in the Blockade of the Confederacy* (Harper's Monthly, June); E. W. Knight, *Reconstruction and Education in Virginia*, cont. (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); G. M. Dutcher, *National Safety of the United States, Past and Future* (ibid.); S. K. Hornbeck, *La Politique des États-Unis en Extrême-Orient* (Revue Politique Internationale, January); D. C. Johnson, *Courts in the Philippines, Old and New* (Michigan Law Review, February); Pierre-Georges Roy *Un Conseil de Guerre à Montréal (1757)* (Revue Canadienne, March); A. W. H. Eaton, *Chapters in the History of Halifax, Nova Scotia*, V. (Americana, January); J. Hector La Poirte, *Le Projet d'Union de 1822* (Revue Canadienne, April); M. Boucher de la Bruère, *Sir Hippolyte La Fontaine: son Rôle et son Action au Milieu de la Tourmente de 1837-1838* (ibid.); Irene A. Wright *Los Orígenes de la Industria Azucarera en Cuba* (La Reforma Social, [New York], April); E. Giberga, *Las Ideas Políticas en Cuba durante el Siglo XIX.* (Cuba Contemporánea, April); A. Zayas, *Un Capítulo de la Historia General de Cuba, 1867-1868* (ibid., May).

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